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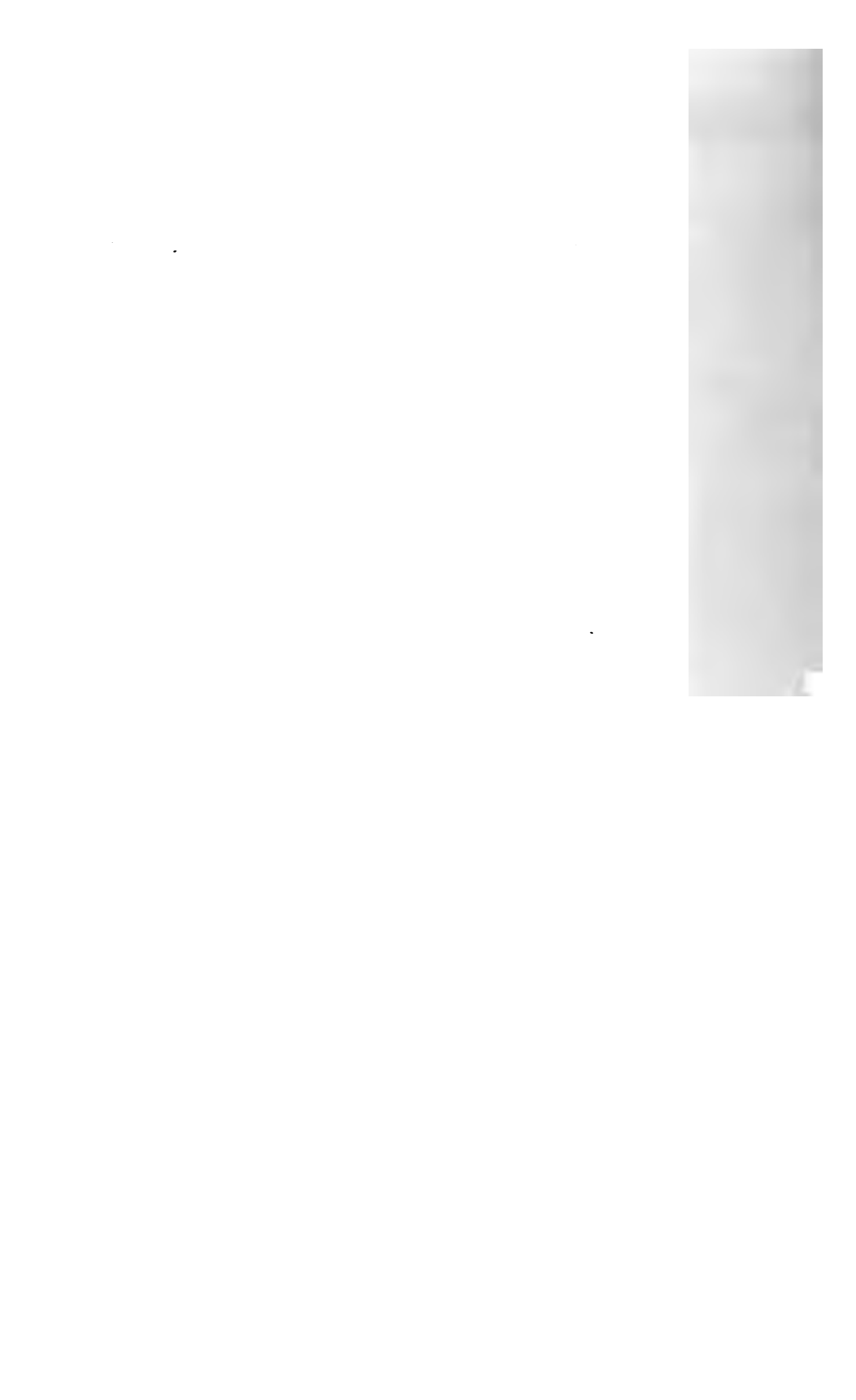
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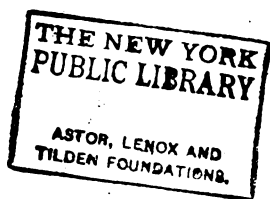












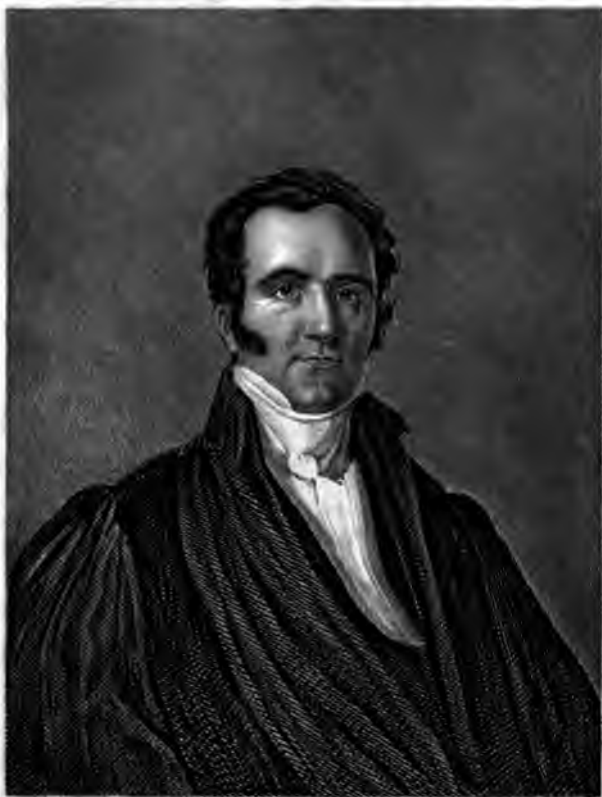


Obituary of the late Mrs. Mary Ann
Morgan, of the late Mrs. Mary Ann Morgan.



Martinus Lutherus
1543

MARTIN LUTHER BEFORE THE DIET AT WORMS



J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ,

votre frère

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HISTORY
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THE REFORMATION

OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, D.D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL OF GENEVA, AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF
THE SOCIÉTÉ ÉVANGÉLIQUE :

VOLUMES I. to V.

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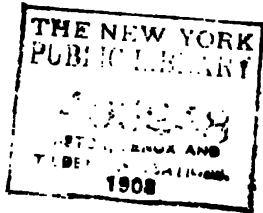
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PREFACE

TO

OLIVER & BOYD'S EDITION REVISED BY THE AUTHOR.

I HAVE been often requested to publish an English Edition of the first three volumes of my History of the Reformation, carefully revised and corrected by myself, and which might thus become a *Standard Edition* in Great Britain.

I have acknowledged the necessity of this task. In fact, without overlooking the merit of the different English translations of this work; even the best, I am compelled to say, have failed in conveying my thoughts in several passages; and in some cases this inaccuracy has been of serious consequence. I will mention one instance.

At the end of the year 1844, I received several letters from the United States, informing me that, besides 75,000 copies of my History put in circulation by different American booksellers, *The American Tract Society* had printed an edition of 24,000 copies, which they sold through the instrumentality of more than a hundred hawkers (*colporteurs*), principally in the *New Settlements*, which no bookseller can reach, but whither the pope ceases not from sending active emissaries; they added, that the committee of this society, composed of different denominations, and among others of Episcopalians and Baptists, were rendered uneasy by certain passages in my history, and had thought proper, with the best intentions, either to modify or retrench them; they informed me, lastly, that two Presbyterian synods, astonished at these changes, and publicly accused the Society of mutilating the work, and that there had arisen wrote one of the most respectable men in the United States, himself a Presbyterian, and not a member of the Society) so violent a discussion, that "the Committee will inevitably be ruined unless you interfere to rescue it."

I thought it my duty to do so without sacrificing, however, any of the facts or any of the opinions I had put forth. And the following is one of the means to which I had recourse:—

On closely examining the inculpated passages, I found that in some cases those which had offended either the Episcopalians or the Baptists, were incorrectly rendered in the English translation which the New York Committee had before it.

Thus in vol. iii. book ix. chap. 4, the Committee had been stopped by this expression: "It is the *Episcopal authority* itself that Luther calls to the bar of judgment in the person of the German primate."

The Committee consequently altered this phrase, and wrote: "It is the *authority of Rome itself* that Luther calls to the bar of judgment in the person of the German primate."

This is no doubt an important alteration, but the first translator had himself changed my idea. The French reads thus: "*C'est l'épiscopat tout entier que Luther traduit à la barre dans la personne du primat germanique.*" (Vol. iii. p. 34, l. 8.)

There is no question of episcopal authority, but of the *whole body of the Roman-catholic bishops*. I pronounce neither for nor against the episcopal authority: I am content to point out an inaccuracy in the translation.

Here is another instance:—

In vol. iii. book ix. chap. 11, the New York Committee were stopped by this expression, which they found in the English translation: "The ancient structure of the Church was thus tottering;" and they substituted, "The ancient structure of *Papery* was thus tottering."

In the French there occurs neither *Church* nor *Papery*, but simply: "*l'ancien édifice s'ébranlait.*" (Vol. iii. p. 150, last line.) Nevertheless the Committee's rendering is preferable. It is not the Church of Christ that was tottering, since the gates of hell cannot prevail against it: it is the Papal Church, as is evident from the context.

Most of the other passages changed by the American Society were no doubt originally translated with tolerable fidelity; but it was sufficient that some were not so, to make the author feel the necessity of a new edition carefully revised by himself.

This I have done in the present Edition. I have revised this translation line by line, and word by word; and I have restored the sense wherever I did not find it clearly rendered. It is the only one which I have corrected. I declare in consequence, that I acknowledge this translation as the only faithful expression of my thoughts in the English language, and I recommend it as such to all my readers.

Farther, I have in this Edition made numerous corrections and additions, frequently of importance. Some facts have been related that have not been introduced elsewhere, so that it will thus have an indisputable authority over all others.

It is almost unnecessary for me to add, that if the other translations appear to me somewhat defective, I accuse neither the publishers nor the translators: this is an inevitable disadvantage when the work is not revised by the author. There are some publishers in particular with whom I have had pleasing intercourse, and whom (I feel compelled to say) I am delighted in reckoning among the number of my friends.

I seize the present opportunity of adding, that neither the evangelical Episcopalians nor the Baptists can find any thing in this work contrary to their principles. Certainly I am a Presbyterian; certainly this work is opposed to a dogmatic and sectarian Episcopacy, which maintains that, in order to be united to Christ, you must be united to a bishop; but it is by no means opposed to the evangelical and constitutional Episcopacy,—to the Episcopacy of Leighton, Scott, J. Newton, Siueneon, and Cecil,—which, faithful to the Word of God, desires to lay no other foundation than Jesus Christ.

There is an error with regard to the Baptists that has misled many individuals. They have imagined that the Anabaptists in the time of the Reformation and the Baptists of our days are the same sect. But they are two sects that, both in doctrine and history, are as distinct as possible. When the English Baptists separated from the Episcopal establishment in the sixteenth century, they did so without being in any way influenced by the Anabaptists of the Continent. The example of the latter would rather have prevented their separation.

I should here render justice to the evangelical Episcopalians and Baptists of Great Britain. They have acknowledged (at least I have heard nothing to the contrary) that the work of God narrated in these volumes had a claim to their entire sympathy. Christianity is neither an abstract doctrine nor an external organization. It is a life from God communicated to mankind, or rather to the Church. This new life is contained essentially in the person of Jesus Christ, and it is given to all those who are united to him, whether Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, or others. For this union is effected neither by the baptism of adults, nor by the episcopacy, nor by general assemblies; but solely by faith in certain Divine facts that Christ has accomplished, his humble incarnation, his atoning death, and his glorious resurrection. From this intimate union of Christians with Christ there necessarily results an intimate union of Christians with all those who receive the life of Christ; for the life that is in one is the life that is in all; and all together, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, &c., form not a simple plurality, but also, and chief of all, a living and organic unity.

The history of the Reformation is the history of one of the greatest outpourings of the life that cometh from God. May this work contribute to unite always more and more all those who are partakers of that Divine life.

J. H. Merle d'Aubigny

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Martinus Lutherus
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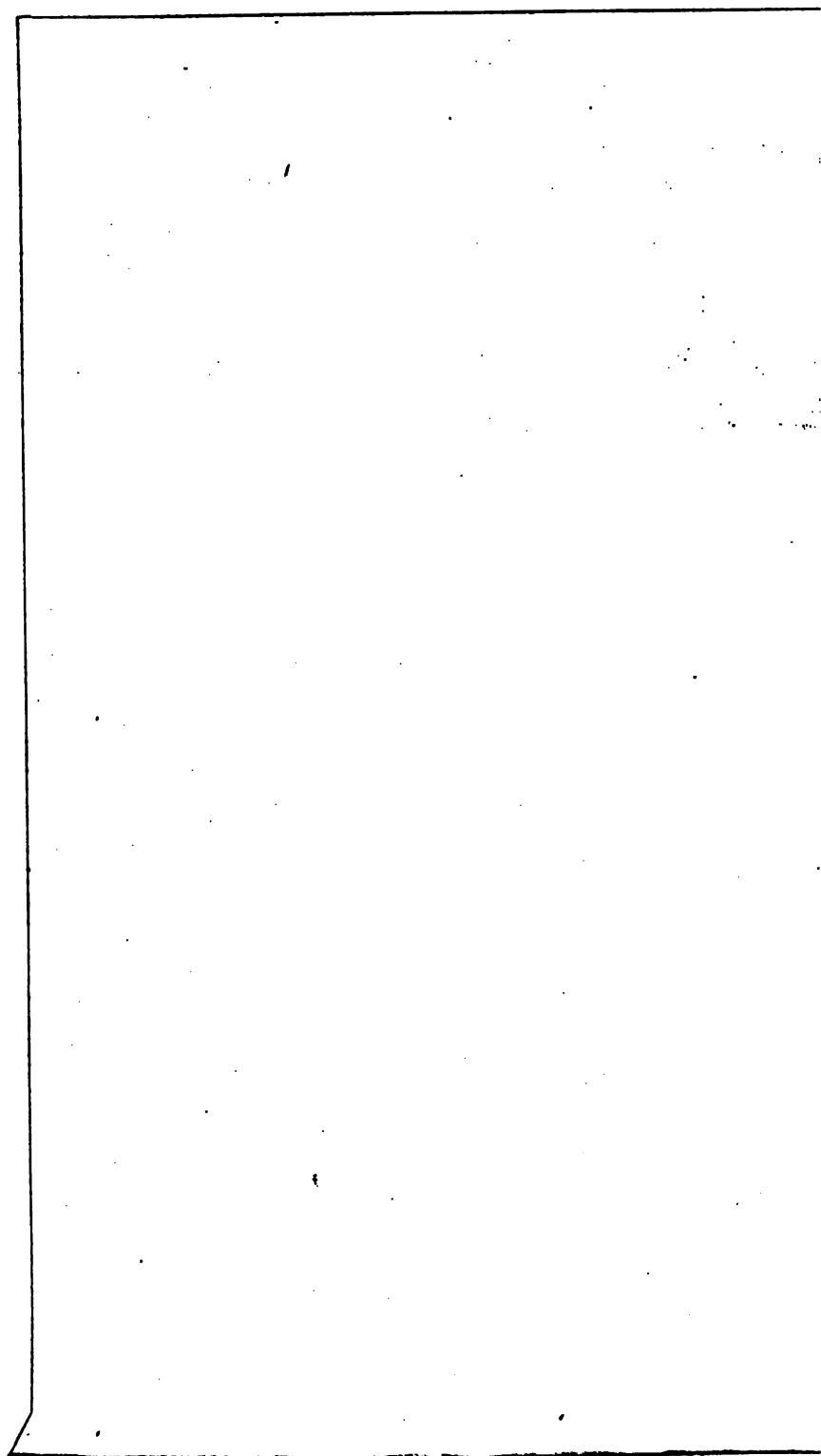
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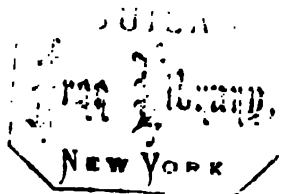
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PREFACE

THE history of one of the greatest revolutions that has ever been accomplished in human affairs—of a mighty impulse communicated to the world three centuries ago, and whose influence is still visible on every side—and of the history of a mere party, is the object of my present undertaking. The history of the Reformation is distinct from that of Protestantism. In the former every thing bears the mark of a regeneration of the human race—of a religious and social change emanating from God himself. In the latter we often witness a glaring degeneracy from its principles, the struggles of parties, a sectarian spirit, and the tricks of petty individualities. The history of Protestantism may have an interest for Protestants only; the history of the Reformation addresses itself to all Christians, or rather to all mankind.

An historian may choose his subject in the wide field presented to his labours: he may describe the great events which have changed the aspect of a people or of the world; or on the other hand he may record that tranquil upward course of a nation, of the Church, or of mankind, which usually succeeds every great social change. Both these departments of history are of vast importance; yet public interest has ever been more strongly attracted to those epochs which, under the name of revolutions, have given fresh life to a nation, or created a new era for society in general.

It is a transformation of the latter kind that, with very humble powers, I have undertaken to describe, not without a hope that the beauty of the subject may compensate for my own deficiencies. The term "revolution," which I here apply to it, has of late fallen into discredit with many individuals, who almost confound it with revolt. But they are wrong: for a revolution is merely a change in the affairs of men,—something new unfolded (*revolutus*) from the bosom of humanity; and this very word, previous to the end of the last century, was more frequently used in a good than in a bad sense: happy, a wonderful revolution, were the terms employed. The Reformation was quite the opposite of a revolt: it was the re-esta-

blishment of the principles of primitive Christianity. It was a *regenerative* movement with respect to all that was destined to revive; a *conservative* movement as regards all that will exist for ever. While Christianity and the Reformation established the great principle of the equality of souls in the eyes of God, and overthrew the usurpations of a haughty priesthood that assumed to place itself between the Creator and his creature, they both laid down this fundamental rule of social order, that all power is derived from God, and called upon all men to "love the brotherhood, fear God, and honour the king."

The Reformation is eminently distinguished from all the revolutions of antiquity, and from most of those of modern times. Political changes—the consolidation or the overthrow of the power of the one or of the many—were the object of the latter. The love of truth, of holiness, of immortality, was the simple yet mighty spring which set in motion that which I have to describe. It indicates a forward movement in human nature. In truth, man advances—he improves, whenever he aims at higher objects, and seeks for immaterial and imperishable blessings, instead of pursuing material, temporal, and earthly advantages. The Reformation is one of the brightest days of this glorious progress. It is a guarantee that the new struggle, which is receiving its accomplishment under our own eyes, will terminate on the side of truth, in a purer, more spiritual, and still nobler triumph.

Primitive Christianity and the Reformation are the two greatest revolutions in history. They were not limited to one nation only, as were the various political movements that history records; but their influence extended over many, and their effects are destined to be felt to the utmost limits of the world.

Primitive Christianity and the Reformation are one and the same revolution, brought about at different epochs and under different circumstances. Although not alike in their secondary features, they are identical in their primary and chief characteristics. One is a repetition of the other. The former put an end to the old world; the latter be-

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gan the new: between them lie the Middle Ages. One is the parent of the other; and although the daughter may in some instances bear marks of inferiority, she has characters that are peculiarly her own.

One of them is the rapidity of its action. The great revolutions that have led to the fall of a monarchy, or wrought an entire change in a political system, or which have launched the human mind on a new career of development, have been slowly and gradually prepared. The old-established power has long been undermined: one by one its chief supports have given way. This was the case at the introduction of Christianity. But the Reformation, at the first glance, seems to present a different aspect. The church of Rome under Leo X. appears in the height of its power and glory. A monk speaks—and in one half of Europe this mighty glory and power crumble into dust. In this revolution we are reminded of the words by which the Son of God foretells his second advent: "As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even to the west, so shall the coming of the Son of Man be."

Such rapidity of action is inexplicable to those who see in this event nothing more than a reform; who look upon it simply as an act of critical sagacity, which consisted in making a choice among various doctrines—rejecting some, preserving others, and arranging those which were retained so as to combine them into a new system.

But how could a whole people, how could many nations have so promptly executed this laborious task? How could this critical examination have kindled the fire and enthusiasm so necessary for great and above all for sudden revolutions? The Reformation, as its history will show, was altogether different. It was a new outpouring of that life which Christianity brought into the world. It was the triumph of the greatest of its doctrines,—of that which animates all who embrace it with the purest and most intense enthusiasm,—the doctrine of Faith, the doctrine of Grace. Had the Reformation been what many Romanists and Protestants of our days imagine it,—had it been that negative system of negative reason which, like a fretful child, rejects whatever is displeasing to it, and disowns the grand truths and leading ideas of universal Christianity, it would never have crossed the threshold of the schools, or been known beyond the narrow limits of the cloister or perhaps of the friar's cell. But with Protestantism, as many understand the word, it had no connexion. Far from being an emaciated, an enervated body, it rose up like a man, full of strength and energy.

Two considerations will account for the suddenness and extent of this revolution. One must be sought in God; the other among men. The impulse was given by an invisible and mighty hand: the change accom-

plished was the work of Omnipotence. An impartial and attentive observer, who looks beyond the surface, must necessarily be led to this conclusion. But as God works by second causes, another task remains for the historian. Many circumstances which have often passed unnoticed, gradually prepared the world for the great transformation of the sixteenth century, so that the human mind was ripe when the hour of its emancipation arrived.

It is the historian's duty to combine these two great elements in the picture he presents to his readers. This has been my endeavour in the following pages. I shall be easily understood so long as I am occupied in investigating the secondary causes that concurred in producing the revolution I have undertaken to describe. Many perhaps will understand me less clearly, and will even be tempted to charge me with superstition, when I ascribe the completion of the work to God. It is a conviction, however, that I fondly cherish. These volumes, as well as the motto I have prefixed to them, lay down in the chief and foremost place this simple and pregnant principle: *GOD IS HISTORY*. But as it is a principle that has been generally neglected and sometimes disputed, it may be right for me to explain my views on this subject, and by this means justify the method I have adopted.

History can no longer remain in our days that dead letter of events, to the detail of which the majority of earlier writers restricted themselves. It is now understood that in history, as in man, there are two elements—matter and spirit. Unwilling to resign themselves to the task of producing a simple recital of facts, which would have been but a barren chronicle, our great modern historians have sought for a vital principle to animate the materials of past ages.

Some have borrowed this principle from the rules of art: they have aimed at being ingenuous, exact, and picturesque in description, and have endeavoured to give life to their narrative by the characteristic details of the events themselves.

Others have sought in philosophy the principle that should fertilize their labours. With the relation of events they have interwoven extended views, instructive lessons, political and philosophical truths; and have given animation to their narrative by the idea they have drawn from it, and by the theory they have been able to associate with it.

Both these methods, undoubtedly, are good, and should be employed within certain limits. But there is another source to which, above all, we must look for the intelligence, spirit, and life of past ages; and this source is Religion. History should live by that life which belongs to it, and that life is God. In history, God should be acknowledged and proclaimed. The history of the world should

PREFACE.

orth as the annals of the government
sovereign King.

re gone down into the lists whither
tals of our historians have invited me.
I have witnessed the actions of men
nations, developing themselves with
and contending in violent collision.
heard a strange din of arms, but I
seen nowhere shown the majestic coun-
of the presiding Judge.

yet there is a living principle, ema-
from God, in every national move-
God is ever present on that vast
where successive generations of men
nd struggle. It is true he is unseen;
the heedless multitude pass by with-
ring for him because he is "a God
dwelleth in the thick darkness,"
tful men, who yearn for the very
le of their existence, seek for him the
uently, and are not satisfied until
prstrate at his feet. And their in-
meet with a rich reward. For from
ight to which they have been com-
to soar to meet their God, the history
world, instead of presenting to their
confused chaos, as it does to the igno-
ward, appears as a majestic temple, on
the invisible hand of God himself is
k, and which rises to his glory above
k of humanity.

I we not recognise the hand of God in
grand manifestations, those great men,
mighty nations, which arise, and start
ere from the dust of the earth, and
micate a fresh impulse, a new form-
stiny to the human race? Shall we
knowledge him in those heroes who
from society at appointed epochs—
isplay a strength and activity beyond
inary limits of humanity—and around
as around a superior and mysterious
nations and individuals unhesitatingly
? Who has launched into the ex-
c of time, those huge comets with their
rains, which appear but at distant in-
s, scattering among the superstitious
abundance and joy, calamity and ter-
Who, if not God? Alexander sought
igin in the abodes of the Divinity. And
most irreligious age there has been no
nt glory that has not endeavoured in
way or other to connect itself with
n.

I do not those revolutions which hurl
from their thrones, and precipitate
nations to the dust,—do not those
spread ruins which the traveller meets
among the sands of the desert,—do not
majestic relics which the field of bat-
y presents to our view; do they not
lare aloud—a *God in history*? Gibbon,
among the ruins of the Capitol, and
nplating its august remains, owned the
ention of a superior destiny. He saw
felt it: in vain would he avert his eyes.
shadow of a mysterious power started

from behind every broken pillar; and he con-
ceived the design of describing its influence in
the history of the disorganisation, decline, and
corruption of that Roman dominion which
had enslaved the world. Shall not we dis-
cern amidst the great ruins of humanity that
almighty hand which a man of noble genius
—one who had never bent the knee to Christ
—perceived amid the scattered fragments
of the monuments of Romulus, the sculptured
marbles of Aurelius, the busts of Cicero and
Virgil, the statues of Cæsar and Augustus,
Pompey's horses, and the trophies of Trajan,
—and shall we not confess it to be the hand
of God?

What a startling fact, that men brought
up amid the elevated ideas of Christianity,
regard as mere superstition that Divine in-
tervention in human affairs which the very
heathens had admitted!

The name given by ancient Greece to the
Sovereign Ruler shows it to have received
primeval revelations of the great truth of a
God, who is the principle of history and the
life of nations. He was styled *Zeus*,¹ or the
life-giver to all that lives,—to nations as well
as to individuals. On his altars kings and
people swore their solemn oaths; and from
his mysterious inspirations Minos and other
legislators pretended to have received their
laws. This is not all: this great truth is
figured forth by one of the most beautiful
fables of heathen antiquity. Even mytho-
logy might teach a lesson to the philosophers
of our days; and I may be allowed to es-
tablish the fact, as perhaps there are readers
who will feel less prejudice against the in-
structions of paganism than of Christianity
itself. This *Zeus*, this supreme Ruler, this
Eternal Spirit, this life-giving Principle, is
the father of Clio, the muse of history, whose
mother is Mnemosyne or Memory. Thus,
according to the notions of antiquity, history
combines a heavenly with an earthly nature.
She is the daughter of God and man; but,
alas! the purblind philosophy of our proud
age is far from having attained the lofty
views of that heathen wisdom. Her divine
paternity has been denied; and the illegiti-
mate child now wanders up and down the
world, like a shameless adventurer, hardly
knowing whence she comes or whither she
is going.

But this God of pagan antiquity is only a
faint reflection, a dim shadow of Jehovah—
of the Eternal One. The true God whom
the Hebrews worship, willing to impress on
the minds of all nations that he reigns conti-
nually upon earth, gave with this intent, if
I may venture the expression, a bodily form
to this sovereignty in the midst of Israel. A
visible theocracy was appointed to exist once
upon the earth, that it might unceasingly
remind us of that invisible theocracy which
shall for ever govern the world.

¹ *Zeus*, from *ζῆω*, I live.

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And see what lustre this great truth (God in history) receives under the Christian dispensation. What is Jesus Christ, if he be not God in history? It was this discovery of Jesus Christ which enabled John Müller, the greatest of modern historians, fully to comprehend his subject. "The Gospel," said he, "is the fulfilment of every hope, the perfection of all philosophy, the interpreter of every revolution, the key to all the seeming contradictions in the physical and moral world: it is life and immortality. Since I have known the Saviour, every thing is clear to my eyes: with him, there is no difficulty I cannot solve."¹

Thus wrote this eminent historian; and is not this great truth, that God has appeared in human nature, in reality the keystone of the arch,—the mysterious link which binds all earthly things together, and connects them with heaven? History records a birth of God, and yet God has no part in history! Jesus Christ is the true God of man's history; it is shown by the very meanness of his advent. When man would raise a shelter against the weather—a shade from the heat of the sun—what preparation of materials, what scaffolding and crowds of workmen, what trenches and heaps of rubbish!—but when God would do the same, he takes the smallest seed that a new-born child might clasp in its feeble hand, deposits it in the bosom of the earth, and from that grain, scarcely distinguishable in its commencement, he produces the stately tree, under whose spreading branches the families of men may find a refuge. To effect great results by imperceptible means—such is the law of God.

In Jesus Christ is found the most glorious fulfilment of this law. Christianity has now taken possession of the gates of every people. It reigns or hovers over all the tribes of the earth, from the rising to the setting sun; and even a sceptical philosophy is compelled to acknowledge it as the social and spiritual law of the world. And yet what was the commencement of this religion, the noblest of all things under the vault of heaven—nay, in the "infinite immense" of creation? A child born in the smallest town of the most despised nation in the world—a child whose mother had not what even the most indigent and wretched woman of our towns possesses, a room to shelter her in the hour of travail—a child born in a stable and cradled in a manger! In this, O God, I acknowledge and adore thee!

The Reformation recognised this divine law, and was conscious of fulfilling it. The idea that "God is in history" was often put forth by the reformers. We find it particularly expressed by Luther in one of those homely and quaint, yet not undignified similitudes, which he was fond of using that he

might be understood by the people. "The world," said he one day at table with his friends, "is a vast and magnificent game of cards, made up of emperors, kings, princes, &c. The pope for many centuries beat the emperors, kings, and princes. They yielded and fell before him. Then came our Lord God. He dealt the cards: he took the lowest (Luther) for himself, and with it he beat the pope, that vanquisher of the kings of the earth.....This is the acc of God. As Mary said: 'He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree.'"¹

The epoch whose history I am desirous of retracing is important for the present generation. When a man becomes sensible of his own weakness, he is generally inclined to look for support in the institutions he sees flourishing around him, or else in the bold devices of his imagination. The history of the Reformation shows that nothing new can be made out of things old; and that if, according to our Saviour's expression, we require new bottles for new wine, we must also have new wine for new bottles. It directs man to God as the universal agent in history,—to that Divine word, ever old by the eternal nature of the truths it contains, ever new by the regenerative influence that it exerts; which purified society three centuries ago, which restored faith in God to souls enfeebled by superstition, and which, at every epoch in the history of man, is the fountain whence floweth salvation.

It is singular to witness a great number of men, agitated by a vague desire of believing in something fixed, addressing themselves in our days to the erroneous Catholicism of Rome. In one sense this movement is natural; religion is so little known among them, that they think it can only be found where they see it inscribed in large letters on a banner that time has rendered venerable. I do not say that all Catholicism is incapable of bestowing on man what he stands in need of. I think we should carefully distinguish between Catholicism and Popery. The latter, in my opinion, is an erroneous and destructive system; but I am far from confounding it with Catholicism. How many worthy men, how many true Christians, has not the catholic church contained within its bosom! What important services were rendered by Catholicism to the existing states of Europe, at the moment of their formation—at a period when it was still deeply impregnated with the Gospel, and when Popery was as yet only hovering over it like a faint shadow! But we live no longer in those days. Strenuous endeavours are now making to reunite Catholicism with Popery; and if catholic and christian truths are put forward, they are merely to

¹ Letter to Charles Bonnet.

¹ Colloquia, or Table-talk.

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serve as baits to draw us into the nets of the hierarchy. We have nothing, then, to hope for on that side. Has Popery renounced one of its observances, of its doctrines, or of its assumptions? Will that religion which was insupportable in former times, be less so in ours? What regeneration has ever been known to emanate from Rome? Is it from a pontifical hierarchy, overflowing with earthly passions, that can proceed the spirit of faith, hope, and charity, which alone can save us? Is it an exhausted system, that has no vitality for itself, which is everywhere in the struggles of death, and which exists only by external aid, that can impart life to others, or animate christian society with the heavenly inspiration that it requires?

Will this yearning of the heart and mind that begins to be felt by many of our contemporaries, lead others to apply to the new Protestantism which in many places has succeeded the powerful teaching of the apostles and reformers? A great vagueness of doctrine prevails in many of those reformed churches whose first members sealed with their blood the clear and living faith that inspired them. Men distinguished for their information, and sensible to all the beauties which this world presents, are carried away into strange aberrations. A general faith in the divinity of the Gospel is the only standard they are willing to uphold. But what is this Gospel? that is the vital question; and yet on this, either they are silent, or else every one answers it according to his own opinions. What avails it to know that God has placed in the midst of all nations a vessel containing a remedy for our souls, if we care not to know its contents; or if we do not strive to appropriate them to ourselves? This system cannot fill up the void of the present times. Whilst the faith of the apostles and reformers appears every where active and effectual for the conversion of the world, this vague system does nothing—enlightens nothing—vivifies nothing.

But let us not be without hope. Does not Roman-catholicism confess the great doctrines of Christianity,—God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—Creator, Saviour, and Sanctifier, who is the Truth? And does not this vague Protestantism hold in its hand the Book of Life, which is sufficient for doctrine, correction, and instruction in righteousness? And how many upright souls, honoured in the eyes of men, lovely in the sight of God, are there not to be found among those subjected to these two systems? How can we forbear loving them? How not ardently desire their complete emancipation from human elements? Charity is infinite: it embraces the most distant opinions, to draw them to the feet of Christ.

Already there are indications that these two extreme opinions are moving nearer to Christ, who is the centre of truth. Are

there not some Roman-catholic churches in which the reading of the Bible is recommended and practised? And what steps has not Protestant rationalism already made! It did not spring from the Reformation: for the history of that great revolution will prove it to have been an epoch of faith. But may we not hope it is drawing nearer to it? Will not the might of truth go forth to it from the word of God, and will not this rationalism be transformed by it? Already we often witness in it a religious feeling, inadequate doubtless, but still it is a movement towards sound doctrine, and which may lead us to hope for some definite progress.

But the new Protestantism and the old Catholicism are of themselves irrelevant and ineffectual. We require something else to restore the saving power to the men of our days. We need something which is not of man—something that comes from God. "Give me," said Archimedes, "a point without the world, and I will lift it from its poles." True Christianity is this point, which raises the heart of man from its double pivot of selfishness and sensuality, and which will one day turn the whole world from its evil ways, and make it revolve on a new axis of righteousness and peace.

Whenever religion has been under discussion, there have been three points to which our attention has been directed; God, Man, and the Priest. There can only be three kinds of religion upon earth, according as God, Man, or the Priest, is its author and its head. I denominate that the religion of the priest, which is invented by the priest, for the glory of the priest, and in which a sacerdotal caste is dominant. By the religion of man, I mean those various systems and opinions which human reason has framed, and which, being the offspring of human infirmity, are consequently devoid of all healing power. The term divine religion I apply to the truth such as God gave it,—the end and aim of which are the glory of God and the salvation of man.

Hierarchism, or the religion of the priest—Christianity, or the religion of God—Rationalism, or the religion of man, are the three doctrines that divide Christendom in our days. There is no salvation, either for man or for society, in the first or in the last. Christianity alone can give life to the world; and, unhappily, of the three prevailing systems, it is not that which has the greatest number of followers.

Some, however, it has. Christianity is operating its work of regeneration among many Catholics in Germany, and no doubt in other countries also. It is accomplishing its task with greater purity and vigour, in my opinion, among the evangelised Christians of Switzerland, France, Great Britain, and the United States. God be praised that these individual or social regenerations, produced by the Gospel, are no longer

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such rarities as must be sought in ancient annals.

It is the history of the Reformation in general that I desire to write. I purpose tracing it among different nations, to show that the same truths have every where produced the same results, and also to point out the diversities arising from the dissimilar characters of the people. It is especially in Germany that we find the primitive type of this reform; there it presents the most organic developments,—there chiefly it bears the character of a revolution not limited to a particular nation, but which concerns the whole world. The Reformation in Germany is the fundamental history of the reform—it is the primary planet; the other reformatations are secondary planets, revolving with it, deriving light from the same source, forming part of the same system, but each having a separate existence, shedding each a different radiance, and always possessing a peculiar beauty. We may apply the language of St Paul to these reforms of the sixteenth century: "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory." (1 Cor. xv. 41.) The Swiss Reformation occurred at the same time as the German, but was independent of it. It presented, at a later period especially, some of the great features observable in that of Germany. The Reformation in Great Britain recommends itself in a very especial manner to our attention, from the powerful influence which the churches of that country are exerting at the present day over all the world. But recollections of ancestry and of refuge—the remembrance of struggles, suffering, and exile endured in the cause of the Reformation in France, lend a particular attraction, in my eyes, to the French reform. Considered by itself, and with respect to the date of its origin, it presents beauties that are peculiarly its own.

I believe the Reformation to be the work of God: his hand is every where visible in it. Still I hope to be impartial in retracing its history. I think I have spoken of the principal Roman-catholic actors in this great drama—of Leo X., Albert of Magdeburg, Charles V., and Doctor Eck, for instance, more favourably than the majority of historians have done. On the other hand, I have had no desire to conceal the faults and errors of the reformers.

As early as the winter of 1831–32, I delivered a course of public lectures on the epoch of the Reformation. I then published my opening discourse.¹ These lectures were a

preparatory labour for the history I now lay before the public.

This history is compiled from the original sources with which a long residence in Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, has rendered me familiar; as well as from the study, in their original languages, of the documents relating to the religious history of Great Britain and other countries. As these sources will be pointed out in the course of the work, it will be unnecessary to enumerate them here.

I should have wished to authenticate the various portions of my work by many original notes; but I feared that if they were long and frequent, they would prove a disagreeable interruption to my readers. I have therefore confined myself to such passages as seemed calculated to give them a clearer view of the history I have undertaken to write.

I address this history to those who love to see past events exactly as they occurred, and not by the aid of that magic glass of genius which colours and magnifies, but which sometimes also diminishes and changes them. Neither the philosophy of the eighteenth nor the romanticism of the nineteenth century will guide my judgments or supply my colours. The history of the Reformation is written in the spirit of the work itself. Principles, it is said, have no modesty. It is their nature to rule, and they steadily assert their privilege. Do they encounter other principles in their paths that would dispute their empire, they give battle immediately. A principle never rests until it has gained the victory; and it cannot be otherwise—with it to reign is to live. If it does not reign supreme, it dies. Thus, at the same time that I declare my inability and unwillingness to enter into rivalry with other historians of the Reformation, I make an exception in favour of the principles on which this history is founded, and I firmly maintain their superiority.

Up to this hour we do not possess, as far as I am aware, any complete history of the memorable epoch that is about to employ my pen. Nothing indicated that this deficiency would be supplied when I began this work. This is the only circumstance that could have induced me to undertake it, and I here put it forward as my justification. This deficiency still exists; and I pray to Him from whom cometh every good and perfect gift, to grant that this humble work may not be profitless to my readers.

¹ Discours sur l'Étude de l'Histoire du Christianisme, et son Utilité pour l'Époque actuelle. Paris, 1832, chez J. J. Bâle.

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priests of Egypt, Gaul, Dacia, Germany, Britain, and India, led the people, so long at least as their eyes were not opened. Jesus Christ, indeed, established a ministry, but he did not found a separate priesthood: he destroyed these living idols of the world, destroyed an overbearing hierarchy, took away from man what he had taken from God, and re-established the soul in immediate connexion with the divine fountain of truth, by proclaiming himself sole Master and sole Mediator. "One is your master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren."¹

As regards doctrine, human systems had taught that salvation is of man: the religions of the earth had devised an earthly salvation. They had told men that heaven would be given to them as a reward: they had fixed its price; and what a price! The religion of God taught that salvation comes from him alone; that it is a gift from heaven; that it emanates from an amnesty—from the grace of the Sovereign Ruler: "God hath given to us eternal life."²

Undoubtedly Christianity cannot be summed up in these two points; but they seem to govern the subject, as far as history is concerned. And as it is impossible for me to trace the opposition between truth and error in all its features, I have been compelled to select the most prominent.

Such were the two constituent principles of the religion that then took possession of the Roman empire and of the world. With these we are within the true limits of Christianity, and beyond them Christianity disappears. On their preservation or their loss depended its greatness or its fall. They are closely connected; for we cannot exalt the priests of the Church or the works of the faithful without lowering Christ in his twofold quality of Mediator and Redeemer. One of these principles was to predominate in the history of the religion; the other in its doctrine. They both reigned at the beginning. Let us inquire: how they were lost; and let us commence by tracing the destiny of the former.

The Church was in the beginning a community of brethren, guided by a few of the brethren. All were taught of God, and each had the privilege of drawing for himself from the divine fountain of light.³ The Epistles which then settled the great questions of doctrine did not bear the pompous title of a single man—of a ruler. We learn from the Holy Scriptures, that they began simply with these words: "The apostles and elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren."⁴

But these very writings of the apostles already foretell that from the midst of this brotherhood there shall arise a power that will destroy this simple and primitive order.⁵

Let us contemplate the formation and trace

the development of this power so alien to the Church.

Paul of Tarsus, one of the greatest apostles of the new religion, had arrived at Rome, the capital of the empire and of the world, preaching in bondage the salvation which cometh from God. A Church was formed beside the throne of the Cæsars. Composed at first of a few converted Jews, Greeks, and Roman citizens, it was rendered famous by the teaching and the death of the Apostle of the Gentiles. For a time it shone out brightly, as a beacon upon a hill. Its faith was everywhere celebrated; but ere long it declined from its primitive condition. It was by small beginnings that both imperial and Christian Rome advanced to the usurped dominion of the world.

The first pastors or bishops of Rome early employed themselves in converting the neighbouring cities and towns. The necessity which the bishops and pastors of the Campagna felt of applying in cases of difficulty to an enlightened guide, and the gratitude they owed to the church of the metropolis, led them to maintain a close union with it. As it has always happened in analogous circumstances, this reasonable union soon degenerated into dependence. The bishops of Rome considered as a right that superiority which the surrounding Churches had freely yielded. The encroachments of power form a great part of history; as the resistance of those whose liberties are invaded forms the other portion. The ecclesiastical power could not escape the intoxication which impells all who are lifted up to seek to mount still higher. It obeyed this general law of human nature.

Nevertheless the supremacy of the Roman bishops was at that period limited to the superintendence of the Churches within the civil jurisdiction of the prefect of Rome.¹ But the rank which this imperial city held in the world offered a prospect of still greater destinies to the ambition of its first pastor. The respect enjoyed by the various Christian bishops in the second century was proportionate to the rank of the city in which they resided. Now Rome was the largest, richest, and most powerful city in the world. It was the seat of empire, the mother of nations. "All the inhabitants of the earth belong to her," said Julian;² and Claudian declared her to be "the fountain of laws."³

If Rome is the queen of cities, why should not her pastor be the king of bishops? Why should not the Roman church be the mother of Christendom? Why should not all nations be her children, and her authority their sovereign law? It was easy for the ambitious heart of man to reason thus. Ambitious Rome did so.

¹ Suburbicaria loca.—See the sixth canon of the Nicene Council, thus quoted by Rufinus (Hist. Ecclæ. x. 6): *Et ad apud Alexandriam et in urbe Roma, vetusta consuetudo servatur, ut vel ille Aegypti, vel hic suburbicariarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat, &c.*

² Julian, *Orat.* i.

³ Claudian in Paneg. Stilliconi, lib. 2.

¹ Matthew xxi. 23. &
⁴ Acts xv. 23.

² 1 John v. 11.
³ 2 Thess. ii.

³ John vi. 45.

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1. when pagan Rome fell, she bowed to the humble minister of the God ce, sitting in the midst of her ruins, and titles which her invincible sword won from the nations of the earth.

bishops of the different parts of the world, fascinated by that charm which had exercised for ages over all nations, and the example of the Campagna, and his work of usurpation. They felt a reluctance in yielding to the bishop of Rome a portion of that honour which was due queen of the world. There was originally no dependence implied in the honour paid. They treated the Roman pastor as they were on a level with him.¹ But as power increases like an avalanche, the bishops, at first simply fraternal, soon issued absolute commands in the mouth of the pontiff. A foremost place among equals was added to him a throne.

Western bishops favoured this enlargement of the Roman pastors, either jealousy of the Eastern bishops, or because they preferred submitting to the suzerainty of a pope, rather than to the domination of a temporal power.

On the other hand, the theological sects distracted the East, strove, each for its own interest Rome in its favour; they sought for victory in the support of the patriarch of the West.

The pope carefully enregistered these applications and intercessions, and smiled to see all voluntarily throwing themselves into his arms. He neglected no opportunity of increasing and extending her power. The flattery, the exaggerated compliments and consultations of other Churches, were in her eyes and in her hands the tokens and documents of her authority. Such a man exalted to a throne: the incense of flattery intoxicates him, his brain grows dizzy. The pope becomes a motive for attacking still more.

The doctrine of the Church and the necessity of its visible unity, which had begun to ground in the third century, favoured the extensions of Rome. The Church is, in all things, the assembly of "them that are justified in Christ Jesus" (1 Cor. i. 2)—the assembly of the first-born which are seated in heaven" (Heb. xii. 23). Yet the Church of our Lord is not simply inward and invisible; it is necessary that it should be manifested, and it is with a view to this manifestation that the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper were instituted. The Church has features different from which distinguish it as an invisible Church. The invisible Church, which is the body of Christ, is necessarily and eternally one. The visible Church no doubt testifies of the unity of the former; but, considered by itself, plurality is a characteristic

already ascribed to it in the New Testament. While speaking of one Church of God,¹ it nee sooner refers to its manifestation to the world, than it enumerates "the Churches of Galatia, of Macedonia, of Judea, all Churches of the saints."² These Churches may undoubtedly, to a certain extent, look for visible unity; but if this union be wanting, they lose none of the essential qualities of the Church of Christ. The strong bond which originally united the members of the Church, was that living faith of the heart which connected them all with Christ as their common head. Different causes soon concurred to originate and develop the idea of a necessity for external union. Men accustomed to the political forms and associations of an earthly country, carried their views and habits into the spiritual and eternal kingdom of Christ. Persecution, powerless to destroy or even to shake this new community, made it only the more sensible of its own strength, and pressed it into a more compact body. To the errors that sprung up in the theosophic schools and in the various sects, was opposed the one and universal truth received from the apostles, and preserved in the Church. This was well, so long as the invisible and spiritual Church was identical with the visible and external Church. But a great separation took place ere long: the form and the life became disunited. The semblance of an identical and exterior organization was gradually substituted for that interior and spiritual communion, which is the essence of the religion of God. Men forsook the precious perfume of faith, and bowed down before the empty vessel that had contained it. They sought other bonds of union, for faith in the heart no longer connected the members of the Church; and they were united by means of bishops, archbishops, popes, mitres, canons, and ceremonies. The living Church retiring gradually within the lonely sanctuary of a few solitary hearts, an external Church was substituted in its place, and all its forms were declared to be of divine appointment. Salvation no longer flowing from the Word, which was henceforward put out of sight, the priests affirmed that it was conveyed by means of the forms they had themselves invented, and that no one could attain it except by these channels. No one, said they, can by his own faith attain to everlasting life. Christ communicated to the apostles, and these to the bishops, the unction of the Holy Spirit; and this spirit is to be procured only in that order of succession! Originally, whoever possessed the spirit of Jesus Christ was a member of the Church; now the terms were inverted, and it was maintained that he only who was a member of the Church could receive the Spirit.³

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 9. ² 1 Tim. iii. 15.

³ 1 Cor. xvi. 1. ⁴ 2 Cor. viii. 1. Gal. i. 22. 1 Cor. xiv. 32.

⁵ *Ubi ecclesia, ibi et spiritus Dei. Ubi spiritus Dei, ibi ecclesia.* Irenæus.

Notes. Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 24; *Notat. Hist. Eccles. yperina*, cv. 26, 72, 73.

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As these ideas became established, the distinction between the people and the clergy was more strongly marked. The salvation of souls no longer depended entirely on faith in Christ, but also, and in a more especial manner, on union with the Church. The representatives and heads of the Church were made partakers of the trust that should be placed in Christ alone, and became the real mediators of their flocks. The idea of a universal Christian priesthood was gradually lost sight of; the servants of the Church of Christ were compared to the priests of the old covenant; and those who separated from the bishop were placed in the same rank with Korah, Dathan, and Abiram! From a peculiar priesthood, such as was then formed in the Church, to a sovereign priesthood, such as Rome claims, the transition was easy.

In fact, no sooner was the erroneous notion of the necessity for a visible unity of the Church established, than another appeared—the necessity for an outward representation of that union. Although we find no traces in the Gospel of Peter's superiority over the other apostles; although the very idea of a primacy is opposed to the fraternal relations which united the brethren, and even to the spirit of the Gospel dispensation, which on the contrary requires all the children of the Father to "minister one to another," acknowledging only one teacher and one master; although Christ had strongly rebuked his disciples, whenever ambitious desires of pre-eminence were conceived in their carnal hearts: the primacy of St. Peter was invented and supported by texts wrongly interpreted, and men next acknowledged in this apostle and in his self-styled successors at Rome, the visible representatives of visible unity—the heads of the universal Church.

The constitution of the Patriarchate contributed in like manner to the exaltation of the Papacy. As early as the three first centuries the metropolitan Churches had enjoyed peculiar honour. The council of Nice, in its sixth canon, mentions three cities, whose Churches, according to it, exercised a long-established authority over those of the surrounding provinces: these were Alexandria, Rome, and Antioch. The political origin of this distinction is indicated by the name which was at first given to the bishops of these cities: they were called *Exarchs*, from the title of the civil governors.¹ Somewhat later they received the more ecclesiastical appellation of *Patriarchs*. We find this title first employed at the council of Constantinople, but in a different sense from that which it afterwards received. It was not until shortly before the council of Chalcedon that it was given exclusively to the great metropolitans. The second general council created a new patriarchate, that of Constan-

tinople itself, the new Rome, the second capital of the empire. The church of Byzantium, so long obscure, enjoyed the same privileges, and was placed by the council of Chalcedon in the same rank as the Church of Rome. Rome at that time shared the patriarchal supremacy with these three churches. But when the Mahometan invasion had destroyed the sees of Alexandria and of Antioch,—when the see of Constantinople fell away, and in later times even separated from the West, Rome remained alone, and the circumstances of the time gathered all the Western Churches around her see, which from that time has been without a rival.

New and more powerful friends than the rest soon came to her assistance. Ignorance and superstition took possession of the Church, and delivered it, fettered and blindfold, into the hands of Rome.

Yet this bondage was not effected without a struggle. Frequently did the Churches proclaim their independence; and their courageous voices were especially heard from Proconsular Africa and from the East.²

But Rome found new allies to stifle the cries of the Churches. Princes, whom those stormy times often shook upon their thrones, offered their protection if Rome would in its turn support them. They conceded to her the spiritual authority, provided she would make a return in secular power. They were lavish of the souls of men, in the hope that she would aid them against their enemies. The power of the hierarchy which was ascending, and the imperial power which was declining, leant thus one upon the other, and by this alliance accelerated their twofold destiny.

Rome could not lose by it. An edict of Theodosius II. and of Valentinian III. proclaimed the Roman bishop "rector of the whole Church."³ Justinian published a similar decree. These edicts did not contain all that the popes pretended to see in them; but in those times of ignorance it was easy for them to secure that interpretation which was most favourable to themselves. The domination of the emperors in Italy becoming daily more precarious, the bishops of Rome took advantage of this circumstance to free themselves from their dependence.

But already had issued from the forests of the North the most effectual promoters of the

¹ Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, writes thus of Stephen bishop of Rome—"Magis ac magis ejus erroribus denotatis qui hereticorum causam contra Christianos et contra *Electum Dei* asserere conatur...qui unitatem et veritatem de divina lege venientem non tenens....Consuetudo sine veritate, vetustas erroris est. Epist. 74.

² Firmilian, bishop of Cesarea in Cappadocia, said also in the latter half of the third century: "Nos autem qui Romani sumus, non ea in omnibus observare quæ sunt ab origine tradita, et frustra auctoritatem apostolorum prætereundum. Ceterum nos (i. e. the bishops of the Asiatic churches which were more ancient than that of Rome) veritatem et consuetudinem jungimus, et consuetudini Romanorum consuetudinem sed veritatis opponimus; ab initio hoc tenentes quod a Christo et ab apostolo traditum est. Cypri Ep. 75. These are testimonies of great importance.

³ See Canon. Sardic. vi., and also the Council of Chalcedon, canons 8 and 19, *ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς διακονίας*.

papal power. The barbarians who had invaded and settled in the West, after being satiated with blood and plunder, lowered their reeking swords before the intellectual power that met them face to face. Recently converted to Christianity, ignorant of the spiritual character of the Church, and feeling the want of a certain external pomp in religion, they prostrated themselves, half savage and half beathen as they were, at the feet of the high-priest of Rome. With their aid the West was in his power. At first the Vandals, then the Ostrogoths, somewhat later the Burgundians and Alans, next the Visigoths, and lastly the Lombards and Anglo-Saxons, came and bent the knee to the Roman pontiff. It was the sturdy shoulders of these children of the idolatrous north that succeeded in placing on the supreme throne of Christendom a pastor of the banks of the Tiber.

At the beginning of the seventh century these events were accomplishing in the West, precisely at the period when the power of Mahomet arose in the East, prepared to invade another quarter of the world.

From this time the evil continued to increase. In the eighth century we see the Roman bishops resisting on the one hand the Greek emperors, their lawful sovereigns, and endeavouring to expel them from Italy, while with the other they court the mayors of the palace in France, begging from this new power, just beginning to rise in the West, a share in the wreck of the empire. Rome founded her usurped authority between the East, which she repelled, and the West, which she summoned to her aid. She raised her throne between two revolts. Startled by the shouts of the Arabs, now become masters of Spain, and who boasted that they would speedily arrive in Italy by the gates of the Pyrenees and Alps, and proclaim the name of Mahomet on the Seven Hills; alarmed at the inscience of Astolphus, who at the head of his Lombards, roaring like a lion, and brandishing his sword before the gates of the eternal city, threatened to put every Roman to death;¹ Rome, in the prospect of ruin, turned her frightened eyes around her, and threw herself into the arms of the Franks. The usurper Pepin demanded her pretended sanction of his new authority; it was granted, and the Papacy obtained in return his promise to be the defender of the "Republic of God." Pepin wrested from the Lombards the cities they had taken from the Greek emperor; yet, instead of restoring them to that prince, he laid their keys on St. Peter's altar, and swore with uplifted hands that he had not taken up arms for man, but to obtain from God the remission of his sins, and to do homage for his conquests to St. Peter. Thus did France establish the temporal power of the popes.

Charlemagne appeared; the first time he ascends the stairs to the basilic of St. Peter, devoutly kissing each step. A second time he presents himself, lord of all the nations that formed the empire of the West, and of Rome itself. Leo III. thought fit to bestow the imperial title on him who already possessed the power; and on Christmas day, in the year 800, he placed the diadem of the Roman emperors on the brow of the son of Pepin.¹ From this time the pope belongs to the empire of the Franks: his connexion with the East is ended. He broke off from a decayed and fallen tree to graft himself upon a wild and vigorous sapling. A future elevation, to which he would have never dared aspire, awaits him among these German tribes with whom he now unites himself.

Charlemagne bequeathed to his feeble successors only the wrecks of his power. In the ninth century disunion every where weakened the civil authority. Rome saw that this was the moment to exalt herself. When could the Church hope for a more favourable opportunity of becoming independent of the state, than when the crown which Charles had worn was broken, and its fragments lay scattered over his former empire?

Then appeared the False Decretals of Isidore. In this collection of the pretended decrees of the popes, the most ancient bishops, who were contemporary with Tacitus and Quintilian, were made to speak the barbarous Latin of the ninth century. The customs and constitutions of the Franks were seriously attributed to the Romans in the time of the emperors. Popes quoted the Bible in the Latin translation of Jerome, who had lived one, two, or three centuries after them; and Victor, bishop of Rome, in the year 192, wrote to Theophilus, who was archbishop of Alexandria in 385. The impostor who had fabricated this collection endeavoured to prove that all bishops derived their authority from the bishop of Rome, who held his own immediately from Christ. He not only recorded all the successive conquests of the pontiffs, but even carried them back to the earliest times. The popes were not ashamed to avail themselves of this contemptible imposture. As early as 865, Nicholas I. drew from its stores the weapons by which to combat princes and bishops.² This impudent invention was for ages the arsenal of Rome.

Nevertheless, the vices and crimes of the pontiffs suspended for a time the effects of the decretals. The Papacy celebrated its admission to the table of kings by shameful orgies. She became intoxicated; her senses were lost in the midst of drunken revellings. It is about this period that tradition places

¹ *Personas ut leo.... avarum omnes uno gladio jugulari.* Anastasius, *Vit. Vit. Pontif.* p. 62.

¹ *Viam est et ipsi Apostolice Leon.... ut ipsum Carolum, Imperatorem nominare debuisse, qui ipsum Romanum tenebat, ubi semper Caesar sedere soliti erant, et reliquas sedes....* Annalista Lombardicus, ad an. 800.

² See Ep. ad Univers. Episc. Gall. *Mani* xv.

upon the papal throne a woman named Joan, who had taken refuge in Rome with her lover, and whose sex was betrayed by the pangs of childbirth during a solemn procession. But let us not needlessly augment the shame of the pontifical court. Abandoned women at this time governed Rome; and that throne which pretended to rise above the majesty of kings was sunk deep in the dregs of vice. Theodora and Marozia installed and deposed at their pleasure the self-styled masters of the Church of Christ, and placed their lovers, sons, and grandsons, in St. Peter's chair. These scandals, which are but too well authenticated, may perhaps have given rise to the tradition of Pope Joan.

Rome became one wide theatre of disorders, the possession of which was disputed by the most powerful families of Italy. The counts of Tuscany were generally victorious. In 1033, this house dared to place on the pontifical throne, under the name of Benedict IX., a youth brought up in debauchery. This boy of twelve years old continued, when pope, the same horrible and degrading vices.¹ Another party chose Sylvester III. in his stead; and Benedict, whose conscience was loaded with adulteries, and whose hands were stained with murder,² at last sold the Papacy to a Roman ecclesiastic.

The emperors of Germany, filled with indignation at such enormities, purged Rome with the sword. The empire, asserting its paramount rights, drew the triple crown from the mire into which it had fallen, and saved the degraded papacy by giving it respectable men as its chiefs. Henry III. deposed three popes in 1046, and his finger, decorated with the ring of the Roman patricians, pointed out the bishop to whom the keys of St. Peter should be confided. Four popes, all Germans, and nominated by the emperor, succeeded. When the Roman pontiff died, the deputies of that church repaired to the imperial court, like the envoys of other dioceses, to solicit a new bishop. With joy the emperor beheld the popes reforming abuses, strengthening the Church, holding councils, installing and deposing prelates, in defiance of foreign monarchs: the Papacy by these pretensions did but exalt the power of the emperor, its lord paramount. But to allow of such practices was to expose his own authority to great danger. The power which the popes thus gradually recovered might be turned suddenly against the emperor himself. When the reptile had gained strength, it might wound the bosom that had cherished it; and this result followed.

And now begins a new era for the papacy. It rises from its humiliation, and soon tramples the princes of the earth under foot.

To exalt the Papacy is to exalt the Church to advance religion, to ensure to the spirit the victory over the flesh, and to God the conquest of the world. Such are its maxims in these ambition finds its advantage, and fanaticism its excuse.

The whole of this new policy is personified in one man: Hildebrand.

This pope, who has been by turns indirectly exalted or unjustly traduced, is the personification of the Roman pontificate: all its strength and glory. He is one of the normal characters in history, which include within themselves a new order of things, similar to those presented in other spheres: Charlemagne, Luther, and Napoleon.

This monk, the son of a carpenter of Savoy, was brought up in a Roman convent and had quitted Rome at the period when Henry III. had there deposed three popes and taken refuge in France in the austere convent of Cluny. In 1048, Bruno, bishop of Toul, having been nominated pope by the emperor at Worms, who was holding the German Diet in that city, assumed the pontifical habits, and took the name of Leo IX.; but Hildebrand, who had hastened thither, refused to recognise him, since it was said he³ from the secular power that he held the tiara.⁴ Leo, yielding to the irresistible power of a strong mind and of a deep conviction immediately humbled himself, laid aside his sacerdotal ornaments, and clad in the garb of a pilgrim, set out barefoot for Rome alone, with Hildebrand (says an historian), in order to be there legitimately elected by the clergy and the Roman people. From this time Hildebrand was the soul of the Papacy, until he became pope himself. He had governed the Church under the name of several pontiffs before he reigned in person as Gregory VII. One grand idea had taken possession of this great genius. He desired to establish a visible theocracy, of which the pope, as vicar of Jesus Christ, should be the head. The recollection of the universal dominion of heathen Rome haunted his imagination and animated his zeal. He wished to restore to papal Rome all that imperial Rome had lost. "Woe to Marius and Cæsar," said his flatterers, "could not effect by torrents of blood, thou hast accomplished by a word."

Gregory VII. was not directed by the spirit of the Lord. That spirit of truth, humility, and long-suffering, was unknown to him. He sacrificed the truth whenever he judged it necessary to his policy. This he did particularly in the case of Herenger, archdeacon of Angers. But a spirit far superior to that of the generality of pontiffs—a deep conviction of the justice of his cause—undoubtedly animated him. He was bold, ambitious, pe-

¹ Cujus quidem post adeptum sacerdotium vita quam turpis, quam turba, quamque execranda existit, horresco referre. Desiderius (abbot of Cassino, afterwards Pope Victor III.), *De Miraculis a S. Benedicto, &c.*, lib. III. tit. I.

² Theophylactus, . . . cum post multa adulteria et homicidia manibus suis perpetrata, &c. Bonizo (bishop of Sutri, afterwards of Piacenza), *Liber ad Amicum*.

³ Quis non secundum canonicam institutionem, sed per secularum et regium potentatem, Romanam ecclesiam recipere velle. Bruno de Segni, *Vita Leonis*. (Otto of Freisingen, an historian who lived a century later, places Cluny this meeting of Leo and Hildebrand. This is probably an error.)

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ring in his designs, and at the same time ful and politic in the use of the means : would ensure success.

his first task was to organize the militia he Church. It was necessary to gain igh before attacking the empire. A ell held at Rome removed the pastors heir families, and compelled them to e the devoted adherents of the hier- y. The law of celibacy, planned and out by popes, who were themselves a, changed the clergy into a sort of sic order. Gregory VII. claimed the power over all the bishops and priests istendom, that an abbot of Cluny exer- in the order over which he presides. legates of Hildebrand, who compared elves to the proconsuls of ancient Rome, led through the provinces, depriving stors of their legitimate wives ; and, if ary, the pope himself raised the popu- ainist the married clergy.¹

chief of all, Gregory designed emanci- g Rome from its subjection to the em- Never would he have dared conceive a scheme, if the troubles that afflicted inority of Henry IV., and the revolt of rman princes against that young em- had not favoured its execution. The as at this time one of the magnates of pire. Making common cause with the great vassals, he strengthened himself aristocratic interest, and then forbade lesiastics, under pain of excommunica- e receive investiture from the emperor. ke the ancient ties that connected the hes and their pastors with the royal ity, but it was to bind them all to the eal throne. To this throne he under- chain priests, kings, and people, and e the pope a universal monarch. It ome alone that every priest should t was in Rome alone that he should

The kingdoms and principalities of th are her domain. All kings were to : at the thunderbolts hurled by the of modern Rome. Woe to him who

Subjects are released from their oaths giance ; the whole country is placed an interdict ; public worship ceases ; rches are closed ; the bells are mute ; raments are no longer administered ; malediction extends even to the dead, m the earth, at the command of a y pontiff, denies the repose of the

pope, subordinate from the very begin- f his existence successively to the , Frank, and German emperors, was ee, and he trod for the first time as qual, if not their master. Yet Gre- II. was humbled in his turn : Rome ren, and Hildebrand compelled to flee.

He died at Salerno, exclaiming, " I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore do I die in exile."¹ Who shall dare charge with hypocrisy these words uttered on the very brink of the grave ?

The successors of Gregory, like soldiers arriving after a victory, threw themselves as conquerors on the enslaved Churches. Spain rescued from Islamism, Prussia reclaimed from idolatry, fell into the arms of the crowned priest. The Crusades, which were undertaken at his instigation, extended and confirmed his authority. The pious pil- grims, who in imagination had seen saints and angels leading their armed bands,—who, entering humble and barefoot within the walls of Jerusalem, burnt the Jews in their synagogue, and watered with the blood of thousands of Saracens the places where they came to trace the sacred footsteps of the Prince of Peace,—carried into the East the name of the pope, who had been forgotten there since he had exchanged the supremacy of the Greeks for that of the Franks.

In another quarter the power of the Church effected what the arms of the repub- lic and of the empire had been unable to accomplish. The Germans laid at the feet of a bishop those tributes which their ancestors had refused to the most powerful generals. Their princes, on succeeding to the imperial dignity, imagined they received a crown from the popes, but it was a yoke that was placed upon their necks. The kingdoms of Christendom, already subject to the spiritual authority of Rome, now became her serfs and tributaries.

Thus every thing was changed in the Church.

It was at first a community of brethren, and now an absolute monarchy was estab- lished in its bosom. All Christians were priests of the living God,² with humble pas- tors as their guides. But a haughty head is upraised in the midst of these pastors ; a mysterious voice utters words full of pride ; an iron hand compels all men, great and small, rich and poor, bond and free, to wear the badge of its power. The holy and pri- mitive equality of souls before God is lost sight of. At the voice of one man (Chris- tendom is divided into two unequal parties : on the one side is a separate caste of priests, daring to usurp the name of the Church, and claiming to be invested with peculiar privi- leges in the eyes of the Lord ; and, on the other, servile flocks reduced to a blind and passive submission—a people gagged and fettered, and given over to a haughty caste. Every tribe, language, and nation of Chris- tendom, submits to the dominion of this spir- itual king, who has received power to con- quer.

*arumque prodeunt, clamores insulantium, digitos
sem, colaphos pulsantium, perferunt. Alii mem-
liti, alii per longos cruciatus superbo necati, &c.
and Durand, *Treasures Rev. Anecd.* i. 241.*

¹ *Dilexi iustitiam et odivi iniquitatem, propterea mories
in exilio.*

² *1 Peter ii. 9.*

CHAPTER II.

Grace—Dead Faith—Works—Unity and Duality—Pelagianism—Salvation at the hands of the Priest—Penance—Flaccitations—Indulgences—Works of Supererogation—Purgatory—The Tariff—Jubilee—The Papacy and Christianity—State of Christendom.

BUT side by side with the principle that should pervade the history of Christianity, was found another that should preside over its doctrine. This was the great idea of Christianity—the idea of grace, of pardon, of amnesty, of the gift of eternal life. This idea supposed in man an alienation from God, and an inability of returning by any power of his own into communion with that infinitely holy being. The opposition between the true and the false doctrine undoubtedly cannot be entirely summed up in the question of salvation by faith or by works. Nevertheless it is its most striking characteristic. But further, salvation considered as coming from man, is the creative principle of every error and abuse. The excesses produced by this fundamental error led to the Reformation, and by the profession of the contrary principle it was carried out. This feature should therefore be very prominent in an introduction to the history of that reform.

Salvation by grace was the second characteristic which essentially distinguished the religion of God from all human systems. What had now become of it? Had the Church preserved, as a precious deposit, this great and primordial thought? Let us trace its history.

The inhabitants of Jerusalem, of Asia, of Greece, and of Rome, in the time of the first emperors, heard these glad tidings: "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God."¹ At this proclamation of peace, at this joyful news, at this word of power, many guilty souls believed, and were drawn to Him who is the source of peace; and numerous Christian Churches were formed in the midst of the degenerate nations of that age.

But a great mistake was soon made as to the nature of this saving faith. Faith, according to St. Paul, is the means by which the whole being of the believer—his understanding, heart, and will—enter into possession of the salvation purchased for him by the incarnation and death of the Son of God. Jesus Christ is apprehended by faith, and from that hour becomes all things to man and in man. He communicates a divine life to our human nature; and man thus renewed, and freed from the chains of sin and self, feels new affections and performs new works. Faith, says the theologian in order to express his ideas, is the subjective appropriation of the objective work of Christ. If

faith be not an appropriation of salvation, it is nothing; all the Christian economy is thrown into confusion, the fountains of the new life are sealed, and Christianity is overthrown from its foundations.

And this is what did happen. This practical view of faith was gradually forgotten. Soon it became, what it still is to many persons, a simple act of the understanding, mere submission to a superior authority.

From this first error there necessarily proceeded a second. Faith being thus stripped of its practical character, it was impossible to say that it alone had power to save: it works no longer were its fruits, they were of necessity placed side by side with it, and the doctrine that man is justified by faith and by works prevailed in the Church. In place of that Christian unity which comprises in a single principle justification and works, grace and the law, doctrine and duty, succeeded that melancholy duality which regards religion and morality as two entirely distinct things—that fatal error, which, by separating things that cannot live unless united, and by putting the soul on one side and the body on the other, is the cause of spiritual death. The words of the apostle, re-echoing across the interval of ages are—"Having begun in the spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh?"

Another great error contributed still further to unsettle the doctrine of grace: this was Pelagianism. Pelagius asserted that human nature is not fallen—that there is no hereditary corruption, and that man, having received the power to do good, has only to will in order to perform.¹ If good works consist only in external acts, Pelagius is right. But if we look to the motives whence these outward acts proceed, we find every where in man's nature selfishness, forgetfulness of God, pollution, and impotency. The Pelagian doctrine, expelled by Augustine from the Church when it had presented itself boldly, insinuated itself as demi-Pelagianism, and under the mask of the Augustine forms of expression. This error spread with astonishing rapidity throughout Christendom. The danger of the doctrine was particularly manifested in this,—that by placing goodness without, and not within, the heart, it set a great value on external actions, legal observances, and penitential works. The more these practices were observed, the more righteous man became: by them heaven was gained; and soon the extravagant idea prevailed that there are men who have advanced in holiness beyond what was required of them.

Whilst Pelagianism corrupted the Christian doctrine, it strengthened the hierarchy. The hand that lowered grace, exalted the Church; for grace is God, the Church is man.

¹ Velle et esse ad hominem referenda sunt, quia de se nihil forte descendunt. Pelagius in Aug. De Gratia Dei cap. 4.

The more we feel the truth that all men are guilty before God, the more also shall we go to Christ as the only source of grace. We could we then place the Church in the same rank with Christ, since it is but an assembly of all those who are found in the wretched state by nature? But so as we attribute to man a peculiar holiness, personal merit, every thing is changed. Clergy and the monks are looked upon as the most natural channels through which receive the grace of God. This was what had often after the times of Pelagius. Taken from the hands of God, fell those of the priests, who set themselves in place of our Lord. Souls thirsting for a were no more to look to heaven, but to Church, and above all to its pretended

To these blinded souls the Roman God was God. Hence the greatness of Pelagianism—hence unutterable abuses. The priests still further. When Pelagianism had down the doctrine that man could reach a state of perfect sanctification, it was also that the merits of saints and their might be applied to the Church. A divine power was attributed to their intercession. Prayers were made to them; their aid invoked in all the sorrows of life; real idolatry thus supplanted the worship of the living and true God.

At the same time, Pelagianism multiplied ceremonies. Man, imagining that he had that he ought by good works to merit himself deserving of grace, saw no means of meriting it than acts of externalship. The ceremonial law became more complicated, and was soon put on a par, to say the least, with the moral law. The consciences of Christians burdened with a yoke that had been deemed insupportable in the times of the apostles.

It was especially by the system of penance, which flowed immediately from Pelagianism, that Christianity was perverted. Penance had consisted in certain expressions of repentance, required by the Church from those who had been excluded on account of scandals, and who were to be received again into its bosom.

Gregorian penance was extended to every one, and to the most secret, and was considered as a sort of punishment to which it was necessary to submit, in order to obtain forgiveness of God through the priest's intercession.

Monastic penance was thus confounded with Christian repentance, without which it was neither justification nor sanctification.

Instead of looking to Christ for pardon by faith alone, it was sought for principally in the Church through penitential

Great importance was soon attached to external marks of repentance—to tears, fasting, and mortification of the flesh; and the inward regeneration of the heart, which alone constitutes a real conversion, was forgotten.

As confession and penance are easier than the extirpation of sin and the abandonment of vice, many ceased contending against the lusts of the flesh, and preferred gratifying them at the expense of a few mortifications.

The penitential works, thus substituted for the salvation of God, were multiplied in the Church from Tertullian down to the thirteenth century. Men were required to fast, to go barefoot, to wear no linen, &c.; to quit their homes and their native land for distant countries; or to renounce the world and embrace a monastic life.

In the eleventh century voluntary flagellations were superadded to these practices; somewhat later they became quite a mania in Italy, which was then in a very disturbed state. Nobles and peasants, old and young, even children of five years of age, whose only covering was a cloth tied round the middle, went in pairs, by hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands, through the towns and villages, visiting the churches in the depth of winter. Armed with scourges, they flogged each other without pity, and the streets resounded with cries and groans that drew tears from all who heard them.

Still, long before the disease had reached such a height, the priest-ridden world had sighed for deliverance. The priests themselves had found out, that if they did not apply a remedy their usurped power would slip from their hands. They accordingly invented that system of barter celebrated under the title of Indulgences. They said to their penitents: "You cannot accomplish the tasks imposed on you. Well! we, the priests of God and your pastors, will take this heavy burden upon ourselves. For a seven weeks' fast," said Regino, abbot of Prüm, "you shall pay twenty pence, if you are rich; ten, if less wealthy; and three pence if you are poor; and so on for other matters."¹ Courageous men raised their voices against this traffic, but in vain!

The pope soon discovered what advantages could be derived from these indulgences. Alexander Hales, the irrefragable doctor, invented in the thirteenth century a doctrine well calculated to secure these vast revenues to the Papacy. A bull of Clement VII. declared it an article of faith. Jesus Christ, it was said, had done much more than was necessary to reconcile God to man. One single drop of his blood would have been sufficient. But he shed it copiously, in order to form a treasure for his Church that eternity can never exhaust. The supererogatory merits of the saints, the reward of the good works they had done beyond their obligation, have

still further augmented this treasure. Its keeping and management were confided to Christ's vicar upon earth. He applies to each sinner, for the sins committed after baptism, these merits of Jesus Christ and of the saints, according to the measure and the quantity his sins require. Who would venture to attack a custom of such holy origin?

This inconceivable traffic was soon extended and complicated. The philosophers of Alexandria had spoken of a fire in which men were to be purified. Many ancient doctors had adopted this notion; and Rome declared this philosophical opinion a tenet of the Church. The pope by a bull annexed Purgatory to his domain. In that place, he declared, men would have to expiate the sins that could not be expiated here on earth; but that indulgences would liberate their souls from that intermediate state in which their sins would detain them. Thomas Aquinas set forth this doctrine in his famous *Summa Theologie*. No means were spared to fill the mind with terror. The priests depicted in horrible colours the torments inflicted by this purifying fire on all who became its prey. In many Roman-catholic countries we may still see paintings exhibited in the churches and public places, wherein poor souls, from the midst of glowing flames, invoke with anguish some alleviation of their pain. Who could refuse the ransom which, falling into the treasury of Rome, would redeem the soul from such torments?

Somewhat later, in order to reduce this traffic to a system, they invented (probably under John XXII.) the celebrated and scandalous Tariff of Indulgences, which has gone through more than forty editions. The least delicate ears would be offended by an enumeration of all the horrors it contains. Incest, if not detected, was to cost five groats; and six, if it was known. There was a stated price for murder, infanticide, adultery, perjury, burglary, &c. "O disgrace of Rome!" exclaims Claude d'Espence, a Roman divine; and we may add, O disgrace of human nature! for we can utter no reproach against Rome that does not recoil on man himself. Rome is human nature exalted in some of its worst propensities. We say this that we may speak the truth; we say it also, that we may be just.

Boniface VIII., the most daring and ambitious pontiff after Gregory VII., was enabled to effect still more than his predecessors.

In the year 1300, he published a bull, in which he declared to the Church that every hundred years all who made a pilgrimage to Rome should receive a plenary indulgence. From all parts, from Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, France, Spain, Germany, and Hungary, people flocked in crowds. Old men of sixty and seventy undertook the journey, and in one month two hundred thousand pil-

grims visited Rome. All these strangers brought rich offerings; and the pope and the Romans saw their coffers replenished.

Roman avarice soon fixed each Jubilee at fifty, then at thirty-three, and lastly at twenty-five years' interval. Then, for the greater convenience of purchasers, and the greater profit of the sellers, both the jubilee and its indulgences were transported from Rome to every market-place in Christendom. It was no longer necessary to leave one's home. What others had gone in search of beyond the Alps, each man could now buy at his own door.

The evil could not become greater.

Then the Reformer appeared.

We have seen what had become of the principle that was destined to govern the history of Christianity; we have seen also what became of that which should have pervaded its doctrines: both were lost.

To set up a mediatorial caste between God and man—to obtain by works, by penance, and by money, the salvation which is the free gift of God—such is Popery.

To open to all, through Jesus Christ, without any human mediator, without that power which calls itself the Church, free access to the great boon of eternal life which God offers to man—such is Christianity and the Reformation.

Popery is a lofty barrier erected by the labour of ages between God and man. If any one desires to scale it, he must pay or he must suffer; and even then he will not surmount it.

The Reformation is the power that has overthrown this barrier, that has restored Christ to man, and has thus opened a level path by which he may reach his Creator.

Popery interposes the Church between God and man.

Primitive Christianity and the Reformation bring God and man face to face.

Popery separates them—the Gospel unites them.

After having thus traced the history of the decline and fall of the two great principles that were to distinguish the religion of God from all human systems, let us see what were some of the consequences of this immense transformation.

But first let us pay due honour to the Church of the Middle Ages, which succeeded that of the apostles and of the fathers, and which preceded that of the reformers. The Church was still the Church, although fallen, and daily more and more enslaved: that is to say, she was always the greatest friend of man. Her hands, though bound, could still be raised to bless. Eminent servants of Jesus Christ, who were true Protestants as regards the essential doctrines of Christianity, diffused a cheering light during the dark ages; and in the humblest convent, in the remotest parish, might be found poor monks

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our priests to alleviate great sufferings. Catholic church was not the Papacy. After was the oppressor, the former the good. The Reformation, which declared against the one, came to deliver that. And it must be confessed that Papacy itself became at times in the of God, who brings good out of evil, many counterpoise to the power and ion of princes.

CHAPTER III.

Relics—Easter Revels—Morals—Corruption—Dis- of the Priests, Bishops, and Popes—A Papal Family under VI.—Cesar Borgia—Education—Ignorance—Masses.

s now see what was the state of the h previous to the Reformation. nations of Christendom no longer l to a holy and living God for the free l eternal life. To obtain it, they were d to have recourse to all the means a superstitious, fearful, and alarmed nation could devise. Heaven was with saints and mediators, whose duty s to solicit this mercy. Earth was with pious works, sacrifices, observ- and ceremonies, by which it was to be ed. Here is a picture of the religion i period transmitted to us by one who ng a monk, and afterwards a fellow- rer of Luther's—by Myconius :— he sufferings and merits of Christ were l upon as an idle tale, or as the fictions mer. There was no thought of the by which we become partakers of the r's righteousness and of the heritage al life. Christ was looked upon as a i judge, prepared to condemn all who l not have recourse to the intercession i saints, or to the papal indulgences. intercessors appeared in his place :— he Virgin Mary, like the Diana of pa- na, and then the saints, whose numbers continually augmented by the popes. i mediators granted their intercession o such applicants as had deserved well i orders founded by them. For this it necessary to do, not what God had com- d in his Word, but to perform a num- works invented by monks and priests, hich brought money to the treasury. i works were Ave-Marias, the prayers at Ursula and of Saint Bridget: they chant and cry night and day. There as many resorts for pilgrims as there mountains, forests, and valleys. But penances might be compounded for money. The people, therefore, brought convents and to the priests money and thing that had any value—fowls, i geese, eggs, wax, straw, butter, and

cheese. Then the hymns resounded, the bells rang, incense filled the sanctuary, sacri fices were offered up, the larders overflowed, the glasses went round, and masses termi nated and concealed these pious orgies. The bishops no longer preached, but they conso- crated priests, bells, monks, churches, chapels, images, books, and cemeteries; and all this brought in a large revenue. Bones, arms, and feet were preserved in gold and silver boxes; they were given out during mass for the faithful to kiss, and this too was a source of great profit.

"All these people maintained that the pope, 'sitting as God in the temple of God,'¹ could not err, and they would not suffer any contradiction."²

In the church of All Saints at Wittenberg was shown a fragment of Noah's ark, some soot from the furnace of the Three Children, a piece of wood from the cradle of Jesus Christ, some hair from the beard of St. Christo- pher, and nineteen thousand other relics of greater or less value. At Schaffhausen was exhibited the breath of St. Joseph that Nicodemus had received in his glove. In Wurtemberg you might meet a seller of indulgences, vending his merchandise, his head adorned with a large feather plucked from the wing of St. Michael.³ But it was not necessary to travel far in search of these precious treasures. Men who farmed the relics traversed the whole country, hawking them about the rural districts (as has since been the case with the Holy Scriptures), and carrying them to the houses of the faithful, to spare them the trouble and expense of a pilgrimage. They were exhibited with pomp in the churches. These wandering hawkers paid a stipulated sum to the owners of the relics,—a per-centage on their profits. The kingdom of heaven had disappeared, and in its place a market of abominations had been opened upon earth.

Thus a spirit of profanity had invaded reli- gion; and the holiest recollections of the Church, the seasons which more particularly summoned the faithful to holy meditation and love, were disgraced by buffoonery and heathenish profanation. The "Revels of Easter" held a distinguished place in the records of the Church. As the festival of the resurrection of Christ ought to be cele- brated with joy, the preachers studied in their sermons every thing that might raise a laugh among their hearers. One imitated the note of the cuckoo; another hissed like a goose. One dragged to the altar a layman robed in a monk's frock; a second related the most indecent stories; and a third re- counted the tricks of St. Peter, and among others, how in a tavern he had cheated his host by not paying his reckoning.⁴ The

¹ 2 Thessalonians, ii. 4.

² Myconius, History of the Reformation; and Beckmann, History of Lutheranism.

³ Müller's Religion, vol. iii. p. 22.

⁴ Ecclempiæ, De Ritu Paschali.

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lower clergy took advantage of this opportunity to ridicule their superiors. The churches were converted into a mere stage for mountebanks, and the priests into buffoons.

If such was the state of religion, what must have been the state of morals?

Undoubtedly the corruption was not at that time universal. Justice requires that this should not be forgotten. The Reformation elicited numerous examples of piety, righteousness, and strength of mind. The spontaneous action of God's power was the cause; but how can we deny that he had beforehand deposited the seeds of this new life in the bosom of the Church? If in our days we should bring together all the immoralities, all the turpitudes committed in a single country, the mass of corruption would doubtless shock us still. Nevertheless, the evil at this period wore a character and universality that it has not borne subsequently. And, above all, the mystery of iniquity desolated the holy places, as it has not been permitted to do since the days of the Reformation.

Morality had declined with the decline of faith. The tidings of the gift of eternal life is the power of God to regenerate man. Take away the salvation which God has given, and you take away sanctification and good works. And this result followed.

The doctrine and the sale of indulgences were powerful incentives to evil among an ignorant people. True, according to the Church, indulgences could benefit those only who promised to amend their lives, and who kept their word. But what could be expected from a tenet invented solely with a view to the profit that might be derived from it? The venders of indulgences were naturally tempted, for the better sale of their merchandise, to present their wares to the people in the most attractive and seducing aspect. The learned themselves did not fully understand the doctrine. All that the multitude saw in them was, that they permitted men to sin; and the merchants were not over eager to dissipate an error so favourable to their sale.

What disorders and crimes were committed in these dark ages, when impunity was to be purchased by money! What had man to fear, when a small contribution towards building a church secured him from the fear of punishment in the world to come? What hope could there be of revival when all communication between God and man was cut off, and man, an alien from God, who is the spirit and the life, moved only in a round of paltry ceremonies and sensual observances, in an atmosphere of death!

The priests were the first who yielded to this corrupting influence. By desiring to exalt themselves they became abased. They had aimed at robbing God of a ray of his glory, and placing it in their own bosoms; but their attempt had proved vain, and they

had only hidden there a heaven stolen from the power of evil.

of the age swarms with scandalous places, the people were delighted a priest keep a mistress, that women might be safe from him. What humiliating scenes did the pastor in those days present! The man supported the woman and she had borne him with the tithings.¹ His conscience was troubled in the presence of the people, his domestics, and before God, fearing to come to wait if he died, made provision against it and robbed her own house. Her lost. Her children were ever a satisfaction against her. Despised plunged into quarrels and debates was the family of the priest!..... frightful scenes, by which the how to profit.²

The rural districts were the mercurious disorders. The abodes were often dens of corruption. Adrian at Bruges,³ the abbot Tripel,⁴ imitated the manners of the had their harems. Priests, of dissolute characters, frequented played at dice, and crowned their quarrels and blasphemy.⁵

The council of Schaffhausen priests to dance in public, excoriations, and to carry more than arms: they decreed also that found in houses of ill fame should be flogged.⁶ In the archbishopric they scaled the walls by night, all kinds of disorder and confusion and taverns, and broke the doors. In many places the priest paid a regular tax for the woman with lived, and for each child he had. German bishop said publicly or great entertainment, that in one thousand priests had presented before him for that purpose. It who relates this.⁷

If we go higher in the hierarchy we find the corruption not less. dignitaries of the Church prefer mult of camps to the hymns of the able, lance in hand, to reduce bours to obedience, was one of the fictions of a bishop. Baldwin, of Treves, was continually at with neighbours and his vassals: he their castles, built strongholds, of nothing but the extension of his

¹ Nicol. De Clemangis, de Præsulib. Simo

² The words of Seb. Stor., pastor of Lichs

³ Ffassin Beytrage, II. 224.

⁴ Metern. Nederl. Hist. viii.

⁵ Hottinger, Hist. Eccles. ix. 305.

⁶ Mandate of Hugo, bishop of Constance,

⁷ Müller's Reliq., lili. 231.

⁸ Steubing, Geoch. der Nass. Oran. Lande

⁹ Uno anno ad se delata undecim millia
lam consulariorum. Erasmi Opp. ix. 401.

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A certain bishop of Eichstadt, when administering justice, wore a coat of mail under his robes, and held a large sword in his hand. He used to say he was not afraid of five barons, provided they did but attack him in a fight.¹ Everywhere the bishops were continually at war with their towns. The towns demanded liberty, the bishops required implicit obedience. If the latter lost the victory, they punished the rebels by sacrificing numerous victims to their vengeance; but the flame of insurrection burst out again, at the very moment when it was thought to be extinguished. And what a spectacle was presented by the pontifical throne in the times immediately preceding the Reformation! Rome, it is acknowledged, had seldom witnessed such infamy.

Lodovico Borgia, after having lived with a man lady, had continued the same illicit connexion with one of her daughters, named a Vanozza, by whom he had five children. He was a cardinal and archbishop, residing at Rome with Vanozza and other men, visiting the churches and the hospitals, when the death of Innocent VIII. created a vacancy in the pontifical chair. He succeeded in obtaining it by bribing each cardinal at a stipulated price. Four cardinals with silver publicly entered the palace of Vanozza, one of the most influential of the cardinals. Borgia became pope under the name of Alexander VI., and rejoiced in thus attaining the summit of earthly felicity.

On the day of his coronation, his son, a youth of ferocious and dissolute manners, was created archbishop of Valencia and bishop of Pampeluna. He next celebrated in the Vatican the marriage of his daughter Lucretia, by festivities at which his mistress, Julia Bella, was present, and which were enlivened by licentious plays and songs. "All the clergy," says an historian,² "kept mistresses, and all the contents of the capital were houses of ill fame." Lodovico Borgia espoused the cause of the Ghibellines; and when by their assistance he had destroyed the Ghibellines, he turned upon the Ghibellines and crushed them in their turn. He desired to share alone in all these evils. In 1497, Alexander gave the duchy of Benevento to his eldest son. The duke suddenly disappeared. A faggot-dealer, on the banks of the Tiber, one George Schiavoni, was seen a dead body thrown into the stream during the night; but he said nothing of it, being a common occurrence. The body of the duke was found. His brother Cæsar had been the instigator of his death.³ This was not enough. His brother-in-law stood his way: one day Cæsar caused him to be stabbed on the very stairs of the pontifical

palace. He was carried bleeding to his own apartments. His wife and sister did not leave him; and fearful that Cæsar would employ poison, they prepared his meals with their own hands. Alexander set a guard on the doors; but Cæsar ridiculed these precautions, and remarked, as the pope was about to pay a visit to his son-in-law, "What is not done at dinner, will be done at supper." Accordingly, one day he gained admittance to the chamber of the convalescent, turned out the wife and sister, and calling in his executioner Michelotto, the only man in whom he placed any confidence, ordered his brother-in-law to be strangled before his eyes.⁴ Alexander had a favourite, Perotto, whose influence also offended the young duke. He rushed upon him: Perotto took refuge under the pontifical mantle, and clasped the pope in his arms. Cæsar stabbed him, and the blood of his victim spirted in the face of the pontiff.⁵ "The pope," adds a contemporary and eye-witness of these scenes, "loves the duke his son, and lives in great fear of him."

Cæsar was the handsomest and strongest man of his age. Six wild bulls fell easily beneath his blows in single combat. Every morning some new victim was found, who had been assassinated during the night in the Roman streets. Poison carried off those whom the dagger could not reach. No one dared move or breathe in Rome, for fear that his turn should come next. Cæsar Borgia was the hero of crime. That spot of earth in which iniquity had attained such a height was the throne of the pontiffs. When man gives himself up to the powers of evil, the higher he claims to be exalted before God, the lower he sinks into the abyss of hell. The dissolute entertainments given by the pope, his son Cæsar, and his daughter Lucretia, in the pontifical palace, cannot be described or even thought of without shuddering. The impure groves of antiquity saw nothing like them. Historians have accused Alexander and Lucretia of incest; but this charge does not appear sufficiently established. The pope had prepared poison in a box of sweetmeats that was to be served up after a sumptuous repast: the cardinal for whom it was intended being forewarned, gained over the attendant, and the poisoned box was set before Alexander.⁶ He ate of it and died. "The whole city ran together, and could not satiate their eyes with gazing on this dead viper."⁷

Such was the man who filled the papal chair at the beginning of the century in which the Reformation burst forth.

Thus had the clergy brought not only themselves but religion into disrepute. Well might a powerful voice exclaim: "The

Schmidt, Gesch. der Deutschen, vol. v.

Adorno.

¹ Adorno il fratello duca di Gandia e lo fa butar nel ceno. M. of Capello, ambassador at Rome in 1500, cited by Botta.

² Intro in camera.....fe usir la moglie e sorella..... estrangolò dito zovene. M. of Capello, Botta.

³ Adorno il sangue li saltò in la faccia del papa. Ibid.

⁴ E messo la sentola velenata avanti li piedi. Botta.

⁵ Gordon, Tomas, Infessura, Guicciardini, &c.

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ecclesiastical order is opposed to God and to his glory. The people know it well; and this is but too plainly shown by the many songs, proverbs, and jokes against the priests, that are current among the commonalty, and all those caricatures of monks and priests on every wall, and even on the playing-cards. Every one feels a loathing on seeing or hearing a priest in the distance." It is Luther who speaks thus.¹

The evil had spread through all ranks: "a strong delusion" had been sent among men;² the corruption of manners corresponded with the corruption of faith. A mystery of iniquity oppressed the enslaved Church of Christ.

Another consequence necessarily flowed from the neglect into which the fundamental doctrine of the Gospel had fallen. Ignorance of the understanding accompanied the corruption of the heart. The priests having taken into their hands the distribution of a salvation that belongs only to God, had secured a sufficient title to the respect of the people. What need had they to study sacred learning? It was no longer a question of explaining the Scriptures, but of granting letters of indulgence; and for this ministry it was not necessary to have acquired much learning.

In country places, they chose for preachers, says Wimpeling, "miserable wretches whom they had previously raised from beggary, and who had been cooks, musicians, huntsmen, stable-boys, and even worse."³

The superior clergy themselves were often sunk in great ignorance. A bishop of Dunfeld congratulated himself on having never learnt either Greek or Hebrew. The monks asserted that all heresies arose from those two languages, and particularly from the Greek. "The New Testament," said one of them, "is a book full of serpents and thorns. Greek," continued he, "is a new and recently invented language, and we must be upon our guard against it. As for Hebrew, my dear brethren, it is certain that all who learn it, immediately become Jews." Heresbach, a friend of Erasmus, and a respectable author, reports these expressions. Thomas Linacer, a learned and celebrated ecclesiastic, had never read the New Testament. In his latter days (in 1524), he called for a copy, but quickly threw it away from him with an oath, because on opening it his eyes had glanced upon these words: "But I say unto you, Swear not at all." Now he was a great swearer. "Either this is not the Gospel," said he, "or else we are not Christians."⁴ Even the faculty of theology at Paris scrupled not to declare to the parliament: "Re-

ligion is ruined, if you permit the study of Greek and Hebrew."

If any learning was found here and there among the clergy, it was not in sacred literature. The Ciceronians of Italy affected a great contempt for the Bible on account of its style. Pretended priests of the Church of Christ translated the writings of holy men, inspired by the Spirit of God, in the style of Virgil and of Horace, to accommodate their language to the ears of good society. Cardinal Bembo, instead of the *Holy Ghost*, used to write *the breath of the heavenly zephyr*; for the expression to *forgive sins—to bend the manes and the sovereign gods*; and for *Christ, the Son of God—Minerva sprung from the head of Jupiter*. Finding one day the worthy Sadoleto engaged in translating the Epistle to the Romans, he said to him: "Leave these childish matters: such fooleries do not become a sensible man."

These were some of the consequences of the system that then oppressed Christendom. This picture undoubtedly demonstrates the corruption of the Church, and the necessity for a reformation. Such was our design in writing this sketch. The vital doctrines of Christianity had almost entirely disappeared, and with them the life and light that constitute the essence of the religion of God. The material strength of the Church was gone. It lay an exhausted, enfeebled, and almost lifeless body, extended over that part of the world which the Roman empire had occupied.

CHAPTER IV.

Imperishable Nature of Christianity—Two Laws of God—Apparent Strength of Rome—Secret Opposition—Decline—Threefold Opposition—Kings and People—Transformation of the Church—The Pope judged in Italy—Discoveries of Kings and their Subjects—Frederick the Wise—Moderation and Expectation.

THE evils which thus afflicted Christendom; superstition, unbelief, ignorance, vain speculations, and corruption of morals—the natural fruits of the heart of man—were not new upon the earth. Often had they appeared in the history of nations. They had invaded, especially in the East, the different religious systems that had seen their day of glory. Those enervated systems had sunk under these evils, had fallen under their attack, and not one of them had ever risen again.

Was Christianity now to undergo the same fate? Would it be lost like these old national religions? Would the blow that had caused their death be sufficient to deprive it of life? Could nothing save it? Will these hostile powers that overwhelm it, and which have already overthrown so many

¹ Da man an alle Wände, auf allerley Zettel, zuletzt auch auf den Kartenspielen, Pfaffen, und Mönche malete. Luth. Rep. II. 674.

² Thes. II. II.

³ Apologia pro Rep. Christ.

⁴ Müller's Halle. III. 202.

¹ Follert, Mon. Ined. p. 608.

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various systems of worship, be able to seat themselves without resistance on the ruins of the Church of Jesus Christ?

No! There is in Christianity what none of these national systems possessed. It does not, like them, present certain general ideas mingled with tradition and fable, destined to fall sooner or later under the assault of reason: it contains a pure and undefiled truth, founded on facts capable of bearing the examination of every upright and enlightened mind. Christianity does not propose merely to excite in man certain vague religious feelings, whose charm once lost can never be recovered: its object is to satisfy, and it does really satisfy, all the religious wants of human nature, whatever may be the degree of development which it has attained. It is not the work of man, whose labours pass away and are forgotten; it is the work of God, who upholds what he has created; and it has the promise of its Divine Head as the pledge of its duration.

It is impossible for human nature ever to rise superior to Christianity. And if for a time man thought he could do without it, it soon appeared to him with fresh youth and a new life, as the only remedy for souls. The degenerate nations then returned with new ardour towards those ancient, simple, and powerful truths, which in the hour of their infatuation they had despised.

In fact, Christianity manifested in the sixteenth century the same regenerative power that it had exercised at first. After fifteen centuries the same truths produced the same effects. In the day of the Reformation, as in the time of Peter and Paul, the Gospel overthrew mighty obstacles with irresistible force. Its sovereign power displayed its efficacy from north to south among nations the most dissimilar in manners, character, and intellectual development. Then, as in the times of Stephen and James, it kindled the fire of enthusiasm and devotedness in the lifeless nations, and elevated them to the height of martyrdom.

How was this revival of the Church accomplished?

We observe here two laws by which God governs the Church in all times.

First he prepares slowly and from afar that which he designs to accomplish. He has ages in which to work.

Then, when the time is come, he effects the greatest results by the smallest means. It is thus he acts in nature and in history. When he wishes to produce a majestic tree, he deposits a small seed in the bosom of the earth, when he wishes to renovate his Church, he employs the meanest instruments to accomplish what emperors and learned and distinguished men in the Church could not effect. We shall soon go in search of, and we shall discover, that small seed which a Divine hand placed in the earth in the days of the Reformation. But we must here dis-

tinguish and recognise the different means by which God prepared the way for this great revolution.

At the period when the Reformation was about to burst forth, Rome appeared in peace and security. One might have said that nothing could ever disturb her in her triumph: great victories had been achieved by her. The general councils—those upper and lower chambers of Catholicism—had been subdued. The Waldenses and the Hussites had been crushed. No university, except perhaps that of Paris, which sometimes raised its voice at the signal of its kings, doubted the infallibility of the oracles of Rome. Every one seemed to have taken his own share of its power. The higher orders of the clergy preferred giving to a distant chief the tithes of their revenues, and tranquilly to consume the remainder, to risking all for an independence that would cost them dear and would bring them little profit. The inferior clergy, attracted by the prospect of brilliant stations, which their ambition painted and discovered in the distance, willingly purchased by a little slavery the flattering hopes they cherished. Besides, they were every where so oppressed by the chiefs of the hierarchy, that they could scarcely stir under their powerful hands, and much less raise themselves and make head against them. The people bent the knee before the Roman altar; and even kings themselves, who began in secret to despise the bishop of Rome, would not have dared lay hands upon his power for fear of the imputation of sacrilege.

But if external opposition appeared to have subsided, or even to have entirely ceased, when the Reformation broke out, its internal strength had increased. If we take a nearer view of the edifice, we discover more than one symptom that foreboded its destruction. The cessation of the general councils had scattered their principles throughout the Church, and carried disunion into the camp of their opponents. The defenders of the hierarchy were divided into two parties: those who maintained the system of absolute papal dominion, according to the maxims of Hildebrand; and those who desired a constitutional papal government, offering securities and liberty to the several Churches.

And more than this, in both parties faith in the infallibility of the Roman bishop had been rudely shaken. If no voice was raised to attack it, it was because every one felt anxious rather to preserve the little faith he still possessed. They dreaded the slightest shock, lest it should overthrow the whole edifice. Christendom held its breath; but it was to prevent a calamity in which it feared to perish. From the moment that man trembles to abandon a long-worshipped persuasion, he possesses it no more. And he will not much longer keep up the appearance that he wishes to maintain.

The Reformation had been gradually pre-

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pared by God's providence in three different spheres—the political, the ecclesiastical, and the literary. Princes and their subjects, Christians and divines, the learned and the wise, contributed to bring about this revolution of the sixteenth century. Let us pass in review this triple classification, finishing with that of literature, which was perhaps the most powerful in the times immediately preceding the reform.

And, firstly, Rome had lost much of her ancient credit in the eyes of nations and of kings. Of this the Church itself was the primary cause. The errors and superstitions which she had introduced into Christianity were not, properly speaking, what had inflicted the mortal wound. The Christian world must have been raised above the clergy in intellectual and religious development, to have been able to judge of it in this point of view. But there was an order of things within the comprehension of the laity, and by this the Church was judged. It had become altogether earthly. That sacerdotal dominion which lorded over the nations, and which could not exist except by the delusion of its subjects, and by the halo that encircled it, had forgotten its nature, left heaven and its spheres of light and glory to mingle in the vulgar interests of citizens and princes. The priests, born to be the representatives of the Spirit, had bartered it away for the flesh. They had abandoned the treasures of science and the spiritual power of the Word, for the brute force and false glory of the age.

This happened naturally enough. It was in truth the spiritual order which the Church had at first undertaken to defend. But to protect it against the resistance and attacks of the people, she had recourse to earthly means, to vulgar arms, which a false policy had induced her to take up. When once the Church had begun to handle such weapons, her spirituality was at an end. Her arm could not become temporal and her heart not become temporal also. Ere long was seen apparently the reverse of what had been at first. After resolving to employ earth to defend heaven, she made use of heaven to defend the earth. Theocratic forms became in her hands the means of accomplishing worldly enterprises. The offerings which the people laid at the feet of the sovereign pontiff of Christendom were employed in maintaining the splendour of his court and in paying his armies. His spiritual power served as steps by which to place the kings and nations of the earth under his feet. The charm ceased, and the power of the Church was lost, so soon as the men of those days could say, She is become as one of us.

The great were the first to scrutinize the titles of this imaginary power.¹ This very examination might perhaps have been suffi-

cient for the overthrow of Rome. But fortunately for her the education of the princes was every where in the hands of her adepts, who inspired their august pupils with sentiments of veneration towards the Roman pontiff. The rulers of the people grew up in the sanctuary of the Church. Princes of ordinary capacity never entirely got beyond it: many longed only to return to it at the hour of death. They preferred dying in a friar's cowl to dying beneath a crown.

Italy—that European apple of discord—contributed perhaps more than anything else to open the eyes of kings. They had to contract alliances with the pope, which had reference to the temporal prince of the States of the Church, and not to the bishop of bishops. Kings were astonished at seeing the popes ready to sacrifice the rights belonging to the pontiff, in order that they might preserve some advantage to the prince. They perceived that these pretended organs of the truth had recourse to all the paltry wiles of policy,—to deceit, dissimulation, and perjury.² Then fell off the bandage which education had bound over the eyes of princes. Then the artful Ferdinand of Aragon played stratagem against stratagem. Then the impetuous Louis XII. had a medal struck, with the inscription, *Perdum Babylonis Nomen*.³ And the good Maximilian of Austria, grieved at hearing of the treachery of Leo X., said openly: "This pope also, in my opinion, is a scoundrel. Now may I say, that never in my life has any pope kept his faith or his word with me....I hope, God willing, this will be the last of them."⁴

Kings and people then began to feel impatient under the heavy burden the popes had laid upon them. They demanded that Rome should relieve them from tithes, tributes, and annates, which exhausted their resources. Already had France opposed Rome with the Pragmatic Sanction, and the chiefs of the empire claimed the like immunity. The emperor was present in person at the council of Pisa in 1511, and even for a time entertained the idea of securing the Papacy to himself. But of all these leaders, none was so useful to the Reformation as he in whose states it was destined to commence.

Frederick of Saxony, surnamed the Wise, was at that time the most powerful of all the Electors. Coming to the government of the hereditary states of his family in 1487, he had received the electoral dignity from the emperor; and in 1493, having gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he was there made a knight of the Holy Sepulchre. The influence he exercised, his wealth and liberality, raised him above his equals. God chose him to serve as a tree under whose shelter the seeds of truth might put forth their first

¹ Adrien Baillet, *Hist. des Démonés de Boniface VIII. avec Philippe le Bel.* Paris, 1708.

² Guicciardini. *Storia d'Italia.*

³ I will destroy the name of Babylon.

⁴ Baillet. *Annal.* ed ann. 1500.

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shoots, without being uprooted by the tempests around them.¹

No one was better adapted for this noble ministry. Frederick possessed the esteem of all, and enjoyed the full confidence of the emperor. He even supplied his place when Maximilian was absent from Germany. His wisdom did not consist in the skilful exercise of a crafty policy, but in an enlightened, far-seeing prudence; the first principle of which was never from interested motives to infringe the laws of honour and of religion.

At the same time, he felt the power of God's word in his heart. One day, when the vicar-general Staupitz was with him, the conversation turned on those who were in the habit of delivering empty declamations from the pulpit. "All discourses," said the elector, "that are filled only with subtleties and human traditions, are wonderfully cold and unimpressive; since no subtlety can be advanced, that another subtlety cannot overthrow. The Holy Scriptures alone are clothed with such power and majesty, that, destroying all our learned reasoning-machines, they press us close, and compel us to say, Never man spake like this man." Staupitz having expressed himself entirely of that opinion, the elector shook him cordially by the hand and said: "Promise me that you will always think the same."²

Frederick was precisely the prince required at the beginning of the Reformation. Too much weakness on the part of the friends of this work would have allowed of its being crushed. Too much precipitation would have made the storm burst forth sooner, which from its very commencement began to gather in secret against it. Frederick was moderate but firm. He possessed that virtue which God requires at all times in those who live his ways: he waited for God. He put in practice the wise counsel of Gamaliel: "If this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it."³ "Things are come to such a pass," said this prince to Spengler of Nuremberg, one of the most enlightened men of his day, "that man can do no more; God alone must act. For this reason we place in his powerful hands these mighty works that are too difficult for us." Providence claims our admiration in the choice it made of such a ruler to protect its rising work.

¹ Qui pro multis pollebat principibus aliis, auctoritate, ingenio, potentia, liberalitate et magnificentia. Cochleus, *Acta L.* p. 2.
² *Luth. Epp.*

³ *Acta v.* 30, 30.

CHAPTER V.

Popular Feeling—The Empire—Providential Preparations—Impulse of the Reformation—Peace—The Commonalty—National Character—Papal Yoke—State of the Empire—Opposition at Rome—Middle Classes—Switzerland—Courage—Liberty—Smaller Cantons—Italy—Obstacles to the Reform—Spain—Obstacles—Portugal—France—Preparations—Disappointment—The Low Countries—England—Scotland—The North—Russia—Poland—Bohemia—Hungary.

WE have seen God's preparations among the princes for the work he was about to accomplish; let us now consider what they were among their subjects. It would have been of less importance for the chiefs to have been ready, if the nations themselves had not been so. The discoveries made by the kings had acted gradually upon the people. The wisest of them began to grow accustomed to the idea that the bishop of Rome was a mere man, and sometimes even a very bad man. The people in general began to suspect that he was not much holier than their own bishops, whose reputation was very equivocal. The licentiousness of the popes excited the indignation of Christendom, and a hatred of the Roman name was deeply seated in the hearts of nations.¹

Numerous causes at the same time facilitated the emancipation of the various countries of the West. Let us cast a glance over their condition at this period.

The Empire was a confederation of different states, having an emperor at their head, and each possessing sovereignty within its own territories. The Imperial Diet, composed of all the princes or sovereign states, exercised the legislative power for all the Germanic body. It was the emperor's duty to ratify the laws, decrees, and *recesses* of this assembly, and he had the charge of applying them and putting them into execution. The seven most powerful princes, under the title of Electors, had the privilege of conferring the imperial crown.

The north of Germany, inhabited principally by the ancient Saxon race, had acquired the greatest portion of liberty. The emperor, whose hereditary possessions were continually harassed by the Turks, was compelled to keep on good terms with these princes and their courageous subjects, who were at that time necessary to him. Several free cities in the north, west, and south of the empire, had by their commerce, manufactures, and industry, attained a high degree of prosperity, and consequently of independence. The powerful house of Austria, which wore the imperial crown, held most of the states of southern Germany in its power, and narrowly watched every movement. It was preparing to extend its dominion over the whole of the empire, and even beyond it, when the Reformation raised a powerful

¹ Odium Romani nominis, penitus infixum esse multarum gentium animis opinor, ob ea, quæ vulgo de moribus ejus urbis jactantur. Erasmus. *Epp. lib. xli. p. 634.*

barrier against its encroachments, and saved the independence of Europe.

As Judæa, when Christianity first appeared, was in the centre of the old world, so Germany was the centre of Christendom. It touched, at the same time, on the Low Countries, England, France, Switzerland, Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Denmark, and all the North. It was in the very heart of Europe that this principle of life was destined to be developed, and its pulsations were to circulate through the arteries of this great body the generous blood that was appointed to vivify all its members.

The particular form of constitution which the empire had received, conformably with the dispensations of Providence, favoured the propagation of new ideas. If Germany had been a monarchy strictly so called, like France or England, the arbitrary will of the sovereign might have sufficed to check for a while the progress of the Gospel. But it was a confederation. The truth, opposed in one state, might be received with favour in another.

The internal peace that Maximilian had secured to the empire was no less favourable to the Reformation. For a long time, the numerous members of the Germanic body seemed to have taken a pleasure in tearing each other to pieces. Nothing had been seen but confusion, discord, and wars incessantly renewed. Neighbours were against neighbours, town against town, nobles against nobles. Maximilian had laid a firm foundation of public order in the Imperial Chamber, an institution appointed to decide all differences between the various states. The German nations, after so many disorders and anxieties, saw the beginning of a new era of security and repose. Nevertheless Germany, when Luther appeared, still presented to the eye of the observer that motion which agitates the sea after a storm of long continuance. The calm was yet uncertain. The first breeze might make the tempest burst forth anew. Of this we shall see more than one example. The Reformation, by communicating a new impulse to the German race, for ever destroyed the old causes of agitation. It put an end to the barbarous system that had hitherto prevailed, and gave a new one to Europe.

Meanwhile the religion of Jesus Christ had exerted on Germany its peculiar influence. The third estate (the commonalty) had rapidly advanced. In the different parts of the empire, particularly in the free cities, numerous institutions arose, calculated to develop this imposing mass of the people. There the arts flourished: the burghers devoted themselves in security to the tranquil labours and sweet relations of social life. They became more and more accessible to information. Thus they daily acquired greater respect and influence. It was not magistrates, who are often compelled to adapt their

conduct to the political exigencies of the times; or nobles passionately fond of military glory above all things; or an ambitious and greedy priesthood, trading with religion as its peculiar property, that were to found the Reformation in Germany. It was to be the work of the middle classes—of the people—of the whole nation.

The peculiar character of the Germans seemed especially favourable to a religious reformation. They had not been enervated by a false civilisation. The precious seeds that the fear of God deposits among a people had not been scattered to the winds. Ancient manners still survived. In Germany was found that uprightness, fidelity, and industry—that perseverance and religious disposition, which still flourishes there, and which promises greater success to the Gospel than the fickle, scornful, and sensual character of other European nations.

The Germans had received from Rome that great element of modern civilisation—the faith. Instruction, knowledge, legislation—all except their courage and their arms—had come to them from the sacerdotal city. Strong ties had from that time connected Germany with the Papacy. The former was a spiritual conquest of the latter, and we know to what use Rome has always applied her conquests. Other nations, who had possessed the faith and civilisation before the Roman Pontiff existed, had maintained a greater independence with respect to it. But this subjection of the Germans was destined only to make the reaction more powerful at the moment of awakening. When the eyes of Germany should be opened, she would tear away the trammels in which she had so long been held captive. The slavery she had endured would give her a greater longing for deliverance and liberty, and the hardy champions of truth would go forth from that prison of restraint and discipline in which for ages her people had been confined.

There was at that time in Germany something very nearly resembling what in the political language of our days is termed "a see-saw system." When the head of the empire was of an energetic character, his power increased; when on the contrary he possessed little ability, the influence and authority of the princes and electors were augmented. Never had the latter felt more independent of their chief than under Maximilian at the period of the Reformation. And their leader having taken part against it, it is easy to understand how that very circumstance was favourable to the propagation of the Gospel.

In addition to this, Germany was weary of what Rome contemptuously denominated "the patience of the Germans." The latter had in truth shown much patience since the time of Louis of Bavaria. From that period the emperors had laid down their arms, and the tiara had been placed without resistance

above the crown of the Cæsars. But the strife had only changed its scene of action. It had descended to lower ground. These same struggles, of which popes and emperors had set the world an example, were soon renewed on a smaller scale in every city of Germany between the bishops and the magistrates. The burghers had taken up the sword which the chiefs of the empire had let fall. As early as 1329, the citizens of Frankfort-on-the-Oder had resisted with intrepidity all their ecclesiastical superiors. Having been excommunicated for their fidelity to the Margrave Louis, they had remained for twenty-eight years without masses, baptism, marriage ceremonies, or funeral rites. The return of the priests and monks was greeted with laughter, like a comedy or farce. A deplorable error, no doubt, but the priests themselves were the cause of it. At the period of the Reformation these oppositions between the magistrates and the ecclesiastics had increased. Every hour the privileges and temporal assumptions of the clergy brought these two bodies into collision.

But it was not only among the burgo-masters, councillors, and secretaries of the cities that Rome and her clergy found opponents. About the same time the indignation was at work among the populace. It broke out in 1493, and later in 1502, in the Rhenish provinces: the peasants, exasperated at the heavy yoke imposed upon them by their ecclesiastical sovereigns, formed among themselves what has been called the "League of the Shoes." They began to assemble by night in Alsace, repairing by unfrequented paths to isolated hills, where they swore to pay in future no taxes but such as they had freely consented to, to abolish all tolls and *jolage*,¹ to limit the power of the priests, and to plunder the Jews. Then placing a peasant's shoe on the end of a pole by way of standard, they marched against the town of Schlettstadt, proposing to call to their assistance the free confederation of the Swiss: but they were soon dispersed. This was only one of the symptoms of the general fermentation that agitated the castles, towns, and rural districts of the empire.

Thus, every where, from high to low, was heard a hollow murmur, forerunner of the thunderbolt that was soon to fall. Germany appeared ripe for the appointed task of the sixteenth century. Providence in its slow progress had prepared every thing; and even the passions which God condemns, were directed by his almighty hand to the accomplishment of his designs.

Let us take a glance at the other nations of Europe.

Thirteen small republics, placed with their allies in the centre of Europe, among mountains which seemed to form its citadel, composed a simple and brave nation. Who

would have looked in those sequestered valleys for the men whom God would choose to be the liberators of the Church conjointly with the children of the Germans? Who would have thought that small unknown cities—scarcely raised above barbarism, hidden behind inaccessible mountains, on the shores of lakes that had found no name in history—would surpass, as regards Christianity, even Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome? Nevertheless, such was the will of Him who "causeth it to rain upon one piece of land, and the piece of land whereupon it raineth not, withereth."²

Other circumstances besides seemed destined to oppose numerous obstacles to the progress of the Reformation in the bosom of the Helvetic population. If the obstructions of power were to be dreaded in a monarchy, the precipitancy of the people was to be feared in a democracy.

But in Switzerland, also, the way had been prepared for the truth. It was a wild but generous stock, that had been sheltered in her deep valleys, to be grafted one day with a fruit of great value. Providence had scattered among these new people principles of courage, independence, and liberty, that were to be developed in all their majesty, so soon as the day of battle against Rome should arrive. The pope had conferred upon the Swiss the title of Protectors of the Liberty of the Church. But they seem to have understood this honourable appellation in a sense somewhat different from the pontiff. If their soldiers guarded the pope beneath the shadow of the ancient Capitol, their citizens carefully protected in the bosom of the Alps their own religious liberties against the assaults of the pope and of the clergy. The ecclesiastics were forbidden to have recourse to any foreign jurisdiction. The "Letter of the Priests" (*Trafenbrief*, 1370) was a strong protest of Swiss independence against the abuses and power of the clergy. Zurich was distinguished among all the states by its courageous resistance to the claims of Rome. Geneva, at the other extremity of Switzerland, was contending with its bishop. These two cities distinguished themselves above all the others in the great struggle that we have undertaken to describe.

But if the Helvetic towns, accessible to every amelioration, were to be drawn into the reform movement, it was not to be the case with the inhabitants of the mountains. Knowledge had not yet reached them. These cantons, the founders of Swiss liberty, proud of the part they had taken in the great struggle for independence, were not easily disposed to imitate their younger brothers of the plain. Why should they change that faith under which they had expelled the Austrian, and which had consecrated by

¹ The *jolage* was a customary duty levied upon wine sold by retail.

² Amos iv. 7.

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altars all the scenes of their triumphs? Their priests were the only enlightened guides to whom they could have recourse: their worship and their festivals relieved the monotony of their tranquil hours, and agreeably disturbed the silence of their peaceful homes. They remained steadfast against all religious innovations.

Passing the Alps, we find ourselves in that Italy which was in the eyes of the majority the holy land of Christendom. Whence could Europe have looked for the good of the Church if not from Italy—if not from Rome? Might not that power which raised successively so many different characters to the pontifical chair, some day place in it a pontiff who would become an instrument of blessing to the heritage of the Lord? If even there was no hope in the pontiffs, were there not bishops and councils that might reform the Church? Nothing good can come out of Nazareth: but from Jerusalem,—from Rome! ... Such might have been the ideas of men; but "God's thoughts are not as their thoughts." He said, "He that is filthy let him be filthy still;"¹ and abandoned Italy to her unrighteousness. That land of ancient renown was by turns the victim of intestine war and of foreign invasion. The stratagems of policy, the violence of factions, the strife of arms, seemed alone destined to prevail there, and to banish for a long season the peace of the Gospel.

Italy, broken to pieces, dismembered, and without unity, appeared but little suited to receive one general impulse. Each frontier was a new barrier where the truth would be stopped.

And if the truth was destined to come from the North, how could the Italians, with so refined a taste, and with social habits so delicate in their own eyes, condescend to receive any thing from the barbarous Germans? Were the men who bestowed more admiration on the regular cadence of a sonnet than on the majesty and simplicity of the Scriptures, a proper soil for the seed of the word of God? A false civilisation is, of all the various conditions of a nation, that which is most repugnant to the Gospel.

Finally, whatever might be the state of affairs, Rome was always Rome to Italy. The temporal power of the popes not only led the different Italian states to court their alliance and their favour at any cost, but the universal dominion of Rome offered more than one inducement to the avarice and vanity of the ultra-montane states. As soon as it became a question of emancipating the rest of the world from Rome, Italy would become Italy again; domestic quarrels would not prevail to the advantage of a foreign system; and attacks aimed against the chief of the peninsular family would be sufficient to awaken common interests and affections from their long slumber.

¹ Revelation xxii. 11.

The Reformation had thus little prospect of success on that side of the Alps. Nevertheless, there were found beyond these mountains souls prepared to receive the light of the Gospel, and Italy was not at that time entirely disinherited.

Spain possessed what Italy did not—serious, noble-minded, and religiously disposed population. In every age this people has reckoned pious and learned men among the members of its clergy; and it was sufficiently remote from Rome to be able to throw off its yoke without difficulty. There a few nations in which we might have more reasonably hoped for a revival of that primitive Christianity which Spain had received perhaps from the hands of St. Paul himself. And yet Spain did not rise up among the nations. She was to fulfil this prophecy: Divine wisdom: *The first shall be last.* Various circumstances led to this mournful result.

Spain, considering its isolated position at a distance from Germany, would be affected only in a slight degree by the shocks of the great earthquake which so violently agitated the empire. It was occupied, besides, with very different treasures from the which the word of God was then offering to the nations. The new world eclipsed the eternal world. A virgin soil, which seemed to consist of gold and silver, inflamed the imaginations of all. An eager thirst for wealth left no room in the Spanish heart for nobler thoughts. A powerful clergy, having scaffolds and treasures at its disposal, ruled in the peninsula. Spain willingly rendered a servile obedience to her priests, which, releasing her from every spiritual anxiety, left her free to give way to her passions, to go in pursuit of riches, discoveries, a new continent. Victorious over the Moors she had, at the cost of her noblest blood, torn the crescent from the walls of Granada, a many other cities, and planted the cross of Christ in its place. This great zeal for Christianity, which appeared destined to afford the liveliest expectations, turned against the truth. How could Catholic Spain, which had crushed infidelity, fail to oppose heresy? How could those who had driven Mahomet from their beautiful country allow Luther to penetrate into it? The kings did even more: they equipped fleets against the Reformation, and went to Holland and England in search of it, that they might subdue it. But these attacks elevated the nations assailed; and ere long Spain was crushed by their united power. Thus, consequence of the Reformation, did this Catholic country lose that temporal prosperity which had made it at first reject the spiritual liberty of the Gospel. Nevertheless the dwellers beyond the Pyrenees were brave and generous race. Many of its no children, with the same ardour, but with more knowledge than those whose blood it

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slashed the Moorish swords, came and laid down their lives as a sacrifice on the burning piles of the Inquisition.

The case was nearly the same in Portugal as in Spain. Emanuel the Fortunate gave it a "golden age," which unfitted it for the self-denial required by the Gospel. The Portuguese thronged the newly discovered roads to the East Indies and Brazil, and turned their backs on Europe and the Reformation.

Few countries seemed better disposed for the reception of the evangelical doctrines than France. In that country almost all the intellectual and spiritual life of the Middle Ages had been concentrated. One might have been led to say, that paths had been opened in every direction for a great manifestation of the truth. Men of the most opposite characters, and whose influence had been most extensive over the French nation, were found to have some affinity with the Reformation. St. Bernard had given an example of that faith of the heart, of that inward piety, which is the noblest feature of the Reformation. Abelard had carried into the study of theology that rational principle, which, incapable of building up what is true, is powerful to destroy what is false. Numerous pretended heretics had rekindled the flames of the word of God in the provinces. The university of Paris had stood up against the Church, and had not feared to oppose it. At the commencement of the fifteenth century the Clemangis and the Gersons had spoken out with boldness. The Pragmatic Sanction had been a great act of independence, and seemed destined to be the palladium of the Gallican liberties. The French nobles, so numerous and so jealous of their pre-eminence, and who at this period had seen their privileges gradually taken away to augment the kingly power, must have been favourably disposed to a religious revolution that might have restored some portion of the independence they had lost. The people, quick, intelligent, and susceptible of generous emotions, were as accessible to the truth as any other. If not more so. The Reformation in this country seemed likely to crown the long travail of many centuries. But the chamot of France, which appeared for so many generations to be hastening onwards in the same direction, suddenly turned aside at the epoch of the Reformation, and took quite a contrary course. Such is the will of Him who is the guide of nations and of their rulers. The prince who was then seated in the chariot and held the reins, and who, as a patron of literature, seemed of all the chiefs of Roman-catholicism likely to be the foremost in promoting the Reformation, threw his subjects into another path. The symptoms of many centuries proved fallacious, and the impulse given to France was unavailing against the ambition and fanaticism of her kings. The house of

Valois deprived her of that which should have belonged to her. Perhaps had she received the Gospel, she would have become too powerful. It was God's will to select weaker nations—nations just rising into existence, to be the depositories of his truth. France, after having been almost entirely reformed, found herself Roman-catholic in the end. The sword of her princes thrown into the balance made it incline towards Rome. Alas! another sword—that of the Reformers themselves—completed the destruction of the Reformation. Hands that had been used to wield the sword, ceased to be raised to heaven in prayer. It is by the blood of its confessors, and not of its adversaries, that the Gospel triumphs.

At the era of the Reformation the Netherlands was one of the most flourishing countries of Europe. Its people were industrious, enlightened in consequence of the numerous relations they maintained with the different parts of the world, full of courage, and enthusiastic in the cause of their independence, privileges, and liberties. Situated at the very gates of Germany, it would be one of the first to hear the report of the Reformation. Two very distinct parties composed its population. The more southern portion, that overflowed with wealth, gave way. How could all these manufactures carried to the highest degree of perfection—this immense commerce by land and sea—Bruges, that great mart of the northern trade—Antwerp, the queen of merchant cities—how could all these resign themselves to a long and bloody struggle about questions of faith? On the contrary, the northern provinces, defended by their sand-hills, the sea, and their canals, and still more by the simplicity of their manners, and their determination to lose every thing rather than the Gospel, not only preserved their freedom, their privileges, and their faith, but even achieved their independence and a glorious nationality.

England gave but little promise of what she afterwards became. Driven out of the Continent, where she had long and obstinately attempted the conquest of France, she began to turn her eyes towards the sea, as to a kingdom destined to be the real object of her conquests, and whose inheritance was reserved for her. Twice converted to Christianity—once under the ancient Britons, and again under the Anglo-Saxons—she paid with great devotion the annual tribute of St. Peter's pence. Yet high destinies were in reserve for her. Mistress of the ocean, and touching at once upon all quarters of the globe, she was to become one day, with the nation to which she should give birth, the hand of God to scatter the seeds of life in the most distant islands and over the widest continents. Already there were a few circumstances foreboding her mighty destiny: great learning had shone in the British islands, and some glimmerings of it still remained. A

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crowd of foreigners—artists, merchants, and artisans—coming from the Low Countries, Germany, and other places, filled their cities and their havens. The new religious ideas would thus easily be carried thither. Finally, England had then for king an eccentric prince, who, endowed with some information and great courage, changed his projects and his ideas every hour, and turned from one side to the other according to the direction in which his violent passions drove him. It was possible that one of the Eighth Henry's caprices might some day be favourable to the Reformation.

Scotland was at this time distracted by factions. A king of five years old, a queen-regent, ambitious nobles, and an influential clergy, harassed this courageous people in every direction. They were destined, however, ere long to shine in the first rank among those who should receive the Reformation.

The three kingdoms of the North—Denmark, Sweden, and Norway—were united under a common sceptre. These rude and warlike people seemed to have little connexion with the doctrine of love and peace. Yet by their very energy they were perhaps better disposed than the nations of the South to receive the power of the Gospel. But these sons of warriors and of pirates brought, methinks, too warlike a character into that protestant cause, which their swords in later times so heroically defended.

Russia, driven into the extremity of Europe, had but few relations with the other states. Besides, she belonged to the Greek communion; and the Reformation effected in the Western, exerted little or no influence on the Eastern church.

Poland seemed well prepared for a reform. The neighbourhood of the Bohemian and Moravian Christians had disposed it to receive the evangelical impulse, which by its vicinity to Germany was likely to be promptly communicated. As early as 1500 the nobility of Great Poland had demanded that the cup should be given to the laity, by appealing to the customs of the primitive Church. The liberty enjoyed in its cities, the independence of its nobles, made it a secure asylum for all Christians who had been persecuted in their own country. The truth they carried with them was joyfully received by a great number of the inhabitants. Yet it is one of the countries which, in our days, possesses the fewest confessors.

The flame of the Reformation, which had long burnt brightly in Bohemia, had been nearly extinguished in blood. Nevertheless, some precious remnants, escaped from the slaughter, were still alive to see the day which Huss had foretold.

Hungary had been torn in pieces by intestine wars under the government of princes without ability or experience, and who had eventually bound the fate of their subjects

to Austria, by enrolling this powerful family among the heirs to their crown.

Such was the state of Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century, which was destined to produce so great a transformation in christian society.

CHAPTER VI.

Roman Theology—Remains of Life—Justification by Faith—Witnesses to the Truth—Clausius—The Mystics—The Waldenses—Valdo—Wickliffe—Huss—Prediction—Protestantism before the Reformation—Anselm—Arnold—Utenhelm—Martin—New Witnesses in the Church—Thomas Conecte—The Cardinal of Crayn—Inatioris—Savonarola—Justification by Faith—John Vittrarius—John Lailler—John of Wesalia—John of Goch—John Wessel—Protestantism before the Reformation—The Bohemian Brethren—Prophecy of Proles—Prophecy of the Eisenach Franciscan.

HAVING described the condition of the nations and princes of Europe, we now proceed to the preparations for the great Reform which existed in theology and in the Church.

The singular system of theology that was established in the Church, was destined to contribute powerfully to open the eyes of the new generation. Formed for an age of darkness, as if that age would last for ever, that system was to be left behind, and to be rent in every direction, so soon as the age grew in understanding. This was the result. The popes had added now this and now that to the Christian doctrines. They had neither changed nor removed anything except it would not square with their hierarchical system; what was not contrary to their plans might remain until further orders. It contained certain true doctrines, such as Redemption and the power of the Holy Ghost, of which a skilful divine, if there was one to be found at that time, might have availed himself to combat and overthrow all the others. The pure gold mingled with the base alloy in the treasures of the Vatican, might have easily led to the discovery of the fraud. It is true, that if any courageous adversary turned his attention towards it, the winnowing-fan of Rome immediately swept away this pure grain. But these very condemnations only served to augment the confusion.

This confusion was immense, and the pretended unity was but one wide disorder. At Rome there were the doctrines of the court and the doctrines of the church. The faith of the metropolis differed from that of the provinces. In the latter, too, this diversity was infinite. There was the faith of the princes, of the people, and of the religious orders. There was a distinction between the opinions of this convent and of that district, of this doctor and of that monk.

In order that the truth might exist peaceably in the ages when Rome would have

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had her with its iron sceptre, she had had the example of the insect that was a chrysalis of its threads in which to rest itself during the inclement season. Strange to say, the instruments employed by divine truth to this end were the scholastic schoolmen. These industrious artisans of thought had unravelled the theological idea, and of all their threads woven a web, under which it would be difficult for more skilful persons than their contemporaries to recognise the truth in its pristine purity. We may regret the insect, so full of life, and glowing with the brightest colours, should enclose itself in all appearance dead, in its dark cell; this covering is its safety. The case was the same with truth. If the interested suspicious policy of Rome, in the day of her fall, had seen her unveiled, it would have rushed her, or at least endeavoured so to do. Disguised as she was by the theologies of the time, under endless subtleties and distinctions, the popes did not recognise her; they saw that in this condition she could not save them. They took the work and the craftsmen under their protection. But soon might come in which this hidden truth could raise her head, and throw off the shroud that had covered her. Having gained strength in her apparent tomb, she was seen in the day of her resurrection; the victory over Rome and its errors, in the spring-time arrived. At the very moment when these absurd coverings of the truth were falling one after another under the skilful attacks and the smelters of a new generation, the truth issued from its hiding-place, blooming in youth and beauty. It was not alone from the writings of the fathers that this powerful testimony was to be found to the truth. Christianity had every where mingled something of its own life with the life of the people. The Church of Christ, dilapidated building; but in digging out the ruins, a portion of the living rock on which it had been originally built was discovered among its foundations. Numerous testimonies dating from the pure ages of the Church still existed, and could not fail to revive in many souls evangelical sentiments opposed to the prevailing superstition. In the monasteries, the old doctors of the Church, whose writings were deposited in various libraries, raised here and there a solitary voice. We may hope that it was listened to by many an attentive ear. Let us doubt that the Christians—and how many is the thought!—had many brethren in those monasteries, where we daily discover little else than hypocrisy and enticement.

The Church had fallen, because the great principle of justification by faith in the Gospel had been taken away from her. It was necessary, therefore, before she could be raised again, that this doctrine should be

restored to her. As soon as this fundamental truth should be re-established in Christendom, all the errors and observances that had taken its place—all that multitude of saints, of works, penances, masses, indulgences, &c., would disappear. As soon as the one only Mediator and his only sacrifice were acknowledged, all other mediators and sacrifices would vanish. "This article of justification," says a man whom we may consider enlightened on the matter,¹ "is what creates the Church, nourishes it, edifies it, preserves and defends it: no one can teach worthily in the Church, or oppose an adversary with success, if he does not adhere to this truth. This," adds the writer whom we quote, in allusion to the earliest prophecy, "is the heel that shall bruise the head of the serpent."

God, who was preparing his work, raised up during the course of ages a long line of witnesses to the truth. But of this truth to which these generous men bore witness, they had not a sufficiently clear knowledge, or at least were not able to set it forth with adequate distinctness. Unable to accomplish this task, they were all that they should have been to prepare the way for it. Let us add, however, that if they were not ready for the work, the work was not ready for them. The measure was not yet full: the ages had not yet accomplished their prescribed course; the need of the true remedy was not as yet generally felt.

Scarcely had Rome usurped her power, before a strong opposition was formed against her, which was continued during the Middle Ages.

Archbishop Claudius of Turin, in the ninth century; Pierre de Bruys, his disciple Henry, and Arnold of Brescia, in the twelfth century, in France and in Italy, laboured to re-establish the worship of God in spirit and in truth; but for the most part they looked for this worship too much in the absence of images and of outward observances.

The Mystics, who have existed in almost every age, seeking in silence for holiness of heart, righteousness of life, and tranquil communion with God, beheld with sorrow and affright the abominations of the Church. They carefully abstained from the quarrels of the schools and from the useless discussions under which real piety had been buried. They endeavoured to withdraw men from the vain formality of external worship, from the noise and pomp of ceremonies, to lead them to that inward repose of a soul which looks to God for all its happiness. They could not do this without coming into collision on every side with the received opinions, and without laying bare the wounds of the Church. But at the same time they had not a clear notion of the doctrine of justification by faith.

The Waldenses, far superior to the Mystics

¹ Luther to Bucer.

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in purity of doctrine, compose a long line of witnesses to the truth. Men more unfettered than the rest of the Church seem from the most distant times to have inhabited the summits of the Piedmontese Alps; their number was augmented and their doctrine purified by the disciples of Valdo. From their mountain-heights the Waldenses protested during a long series of ages against the superstitions of Rome.¹ "They contend for the lively hope which they have in God through Christ—for the regeneration and interior revival by faith, hope, and charity—for the merits of Jesus Christ, and the all-sufficiency of his grace and righteousness."²

Yet this primal truth of the justification of sinners,—this main doctrine, that should have risen from the midst of all the rest like Mont Blanc from the bosom of the Alps, was not sufficiently prominent in their system. Its summit was not yet raised high enough.

Pierre Vaud or Valdo, a rich merchant of Lyons (1170), sold all his goods and gave them to the poor. He and his friends appear to have aimed at re-establishing the perfection of primitive Christianity in the common affairs of life. He therefore began also with the branches and not with the roots. Nevertheless his preaching was powerful because he appealed to Scripture, and it shook the Roman hierarchy to its very foundations.

Wickliffe arose in England in 1360, and appealed from the pope to the word of God: but the real internal wound in the body of the Church was in his eyes only one of the numerous symptoms of the disease.

John Huss preached in Bohemia a century before Luther preached in Saxony. He seems to have penetrated deeper than his predecessors into the essence of christian truth. He prayed to Christ for grace to glory only in his cross and in the inestimable humiliation of his sufferings. But his attacks were directed less against the errors of the Romish church than the scandalous lives of the clergy. Yet he was, if we may be allowed the expression, the John-Baptist of the Reformation. The flames of his pile kindled a fire in the Church that cast a brilliant light into the surrounding darkness, and whose glimmerings were not to be so readily extinguished.

John Huss did more: prophetic words issued from the depths of his dungeon. He foresaw that a real reformation of the Church was at hand. When driven out of Prague and compelled to wander through the fields of Bohemia, where an immense crowd followed his steps and hung upon his words, he had cried out: "The wicked have begun by preparing a treacherous snare for the goose."³ But if even the goose, which is only a

domestic bird, a peaceful animal, flight is not very high in the air, the less broken through their birds, soaring more boldly toward will break through them with force. Instead of a feeble goose will send forth eagles and kites."¹ This prediction was fulfilled by reformers.

When the venerable priest summoned by Sigismund's order before the council of Constance, and had been thrown into prison, the chapel of Bethlehem had proclaimed the Gospel, a triumph of Christ, occupied more than his own defence. "The holy martyr saw in imaginative depths of his dungeon, the picture that he had had painted on the oratory, effaced by the pope and his cardinals. This vision distressed him: but one day he saw many painters occupying these figures in greater and brighter colours. As soon as they ended, the painters, who were an immense crowd, exclaimed, 'The popes and bishops come! they will efface them more!' And many rejoiced in Bethlehem, and I wrote to John Huss.—"Busy yourself with your defence rather than with your dear faithful friend, the knight of Châlons, he had communicated this vision to no dreamer," replied Huss, "but this for certain, that the image never be effaced. They have destroyed it, but it shall be painted hearts by much better preachers. The nation that loves Christ will preserve this. And I, awaking from my sleep and rising, so to speak, from my leap with great joy."²

A century passed away; and the Gospel, lighted up anew by the illumination of indeed many nations, rejoiced in its brightness.

But it was not only among the church of Rome looks upon series that the word of life was these ages. Catholicism itself for our consolation—counts necessities to the truth within its primitive building had been as a generous fire smouldered beneath and from time to time sent forth brilliant sparks.

It is an error to believe that did not exist before the Reformation under the Roman-catholic form was not till then that a section assumed the form of Protestantism.

Among the doctors who flourished in the sixteenth century, a great doubt had a leaning towards

¹ Noble Leyton.

² Treatise on Antichrist, a work contemporary with the Noble Leyton.

³ Huss in the Bohemian language signifies goose.

¹ Epist. J. Huss, tempore anathematis.

² Huss, Epist. sub. temp. concilii sori.

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ich the Council of Trent put forth in 1547; but many also inclined towards the strins professed at Augsburg by the Protestants in 1530; and the majority perhaps divided between these two poles.

Anselm of Canterbury laid down, as the essence of Christianity, the doctrines of the incarnation and atonement; and in a work, in which he teaches us how to die, he says to the departing soul: "Look only to the merits of Jesus Christ." St. Bernard exclaimed with a powerful voice the mysteries of Redemption. "If my sin cometh from another," says he, "why should not my righteousness be granted me in the same manner? Assuredly it is better for me that should be given me, than that it should be taken."¹ Many schoolmen, and in later times the Chancellor Gerson, vigorously attacked the errors and abuses of the Church. But let us reflect above all on the thousands of souls, obscure and unknown to the world, who have nevertheless been partakers of the life of Christ.

A monk named Arnoldi every day offered this fervent prayer in his quiet cell: "O Lord Jesus Christ! I believe that thou alone art my redemption and my righteousness."² Christopher of Utenheim, a pious bishop of Basle, had his name inscribed on a picture painted on glass, which is still in that city, and surrounded it with this motto, which he directed to have continually before his eyes: My hope is in the cross of Christ; I seek grace and not works."³

A poor Carthusian friar, named Martin, made a touching confession, in which he says: "O most merciful God! I know that I cannot be saved and satisfy thy righteousness otherwise than by the merits, by the innocent passion, and by the death of thy dearly beloved Son.....Holy Jesus! all my salvation is in thy hands. Thou canst turn away from me the hands of thy love, which they have created me, formed me, and redeemed me. Thou hast written my name with an iron pen, in great mercy and in an adorable manner, on thy side, on thy hands, and on thy feet," &c. &c. Then the good Carthusian placed his confession in a wooden box, and enclosed it in a hole he made in the wall of his cell.⁴

The piety of brother Martin would never have been known, if the box had not been discovered on the 21st December 1776, as some workmen were pulling down an old building that had formed part of the Carthusian convent at Basle. How many convents may not have concealed such treasures!

But these holy men possessed this touching faith for themselves alone, and knew not how to communicate it to others. Living in retirement, they could say more or less what brother Martin confided to his box: "And if I cannot confess these things with my mouth, I confess them at least with my pen and with my heart."¹ The word of truth was in the sanctuary of a few pious souls; but, to use the language of the Gospel, it had not "free course" in the world.

However, if they did not always confess aloud the doctrine of salvation, they were not afraid at least to protest openly, even in the bosom of the Church of Rome, against the abuses that disgraced it.

Scarcely had the Councils of Constance and Basle, in which Huss and his disciples had been condemned, terminated their sittings, when this noble line of witnesses against Rome, which we have pointed out, recommenced with greater brilliancy. Men of generous dispositions, shocked at the abominations of the papacy, arose like the Old-Testament prophets, whose fate they also shared, and uttered like them their denunciations in a voice of thunder. Their blood stained the scaffolds, and their ashes were scattered to the winds.

Thomas Conecte, a Carmelite friar, appeared in Flanders. He declared that "the grossest abominations were practised at Rome, that the Church required a reform, and that so long as we served God, we should not fear the pope's excommunications."² All the country listened with enthusiasm; Rome condemned him to the stake in 1432, and his contemporaries declared that he had been translated to heaven.³

Cardinal Andrew, archbishop of Crayn, being sent to Rome as the emperor's ambassador, was struck with dismay at discovering that the papal sanctity, in which he had devoutly believed, was a mere fiction; and in his simplicity he addressed Sixtus IV. in the language of evangelical remonstrance. Mockery and persecution were his only answer. Upon this he endeavoured in 1482 to assemble a new council at Basle. "The whole Church," said he, "is shaken by divisions, heresies, sins, vices, unrighteousness, errors, and countless evils, so as to be nigh swallowed up by the devouring abyss of damnation."⁴ For this reason we proclaim a general council for the reformation of the Catholic faith and the purification of morals." The archbishop was thrown into prison at Basle, where he died. The inquisitor, Henry Institoris, who was the first to oppose him, uttered these remarkable words: "All the world cries out and demands a council; but

¹ *Cor Deus homo?*
² *In meo mihi tuique donata quam innata. De Erroribus Alberti, cap. 4.*

³ *Credo quod in mi Domine Jesu Christo, solus es mea spes et redemptio. Leibnitz, script. Brunsw. III. 304.*

⁴ *Sper mea cruc Christi, gratiam, non opera quæro.*
⁵ *Scire posse me aliter non salvari, et tibi satisfacere non per meritum, &c. For these and similar quotations, see Flacius, Catal. Test. Veritatis; Wolfii Lect. Memorabilia; Müller's Reliquien, &c.*

¹ *Et si hæc predicta confiteri non possum lingua, confiteor tamen corde et scripto.*

² Bertrand d'Argentré, Histoire de Bretagne, p. 708. Paris, 1618.

³ *Ile summo virit Olympo. Baptista Mantuanus, De Reale vita, in fine.*

⁴ *A sorbente gurgite damnationis subtrahit. J. H. Hottingeri Hist. Eccl. Bascul., xv. 347.*

there is no human power that can reform the Church by a council. The Most High will find other means, which are at present unknown to us, although they may be at our very doors, to bring back the Church to its pristine condition.¹ This remarkable prophecy, delivered by an inquisitor, at the very period of Luther's birth, is the best apology for the Reformation.

Jerome Savonarola shortly after entering the Dominican order at Bologna in 1475, devoted himself to continual prayers, fasting, and mortification, and cried, "Thou, O God, art good, and in thy goodness teach me thy righteousness."² He preached with energy in Florence, to which city he had removed in 1489. His voice carried conviction; his countenance was lit up with enthusiasm; and his action possessed enchanting grace. "We must regenerate the Church," said he; and he professed the great principle that alone could effect this regeneration. "God," he exclaimed, "remits the sins of men, and justifies them by his mercy. There are as many compassions in heaven as there are justified men upon earth; for none are saved by their own works. No man can boast of himself; and if, in the presence of God, we could ask all these justified sinners—Have you been saved by your own strength?—all would reply as with one voice, 'Not unto us, O Lord! not unto us; but to thy name be the glory!'" Therefore, O God, do I seek thy mercy, and I bring not unto thee my own righteousness; but when by thy grace thou justifiest me, then thy righteousness belongs unto me; for grace is the righteousness of God.—So long, O man, so long as thou believest not, thou art, because of thy sin, destitute of grace.—O God, save me by thy righteousness, that is to say, in thy Son, who alone among men was found without sin!³ Thus did the grand and holy doctrine of justification by faith gladden Savonarola's heart. In vain did the presidents of the Churches oppose him;⁴ he knew that the oracles of God were far above the visible Church, and that he must proclaim these oracles with the aid of the Church, without it, or even in spite of it. "Fly," cried he, "fly far from Babylon!" and it was Rome that he thus designated, and Rome ere long replied in her usual manner. In 1497, the infamous Alexander VI. issued a brief against him; and in 1498, torture and the stake terminated this reformer's life.

John Vitarius, a Franciscan monk of Tournay, whose monastic spirit does not appear to have been of a very lofty range,

vigorously attacked the corruptions of the Church. "It is better to cut a child's throat (he said) than to place him in a religious order that is not reformed.—If thy curate, or any other priest, detains a woman in his house, you should go and drag the woman by force, or otherwise, out of the house.—There are some who repeat certain prayers to the Virgin Mary, that they may see her at the hour of death. But thou shalt see the devil, and not the virgin." A recantation was required, and the monk gave way in 1498.

John Lallier, doctor of the Sorbonne, stood forth in 1484 against the tyrannical dominion of the hierarchy. "All the clergy," said he, "have received equal power from Christ.—The Roman Church is not the head of other Churches.—You should keep the commandments of God and of the apostles: and as for the commandments of bishops and all the other lords of the Church.....they are but straw! They have ruined the Church by their crafty devices.² The priests of the Eastern Church sin not by marrying, and I believe that in the Western Church we should not sin were we also to marry.—Since the time of Sylvester, the Romish Church is no longer the Church of Christ, but a state-church—a money-getting church.—We are not bound to believe in the legends of the saints, any more than in the Chronicles of France."

John of Wesalia, doctor of divinity at Erfurth, a man distinguished for his energy and talents, attacked the errors on which the hierarchy was founded, and proclaimed the Holy Scriptures as the only source of faith. "It is not religion (by which he meant a monastic life) that saves us," said he to the monks; "it is the grace of God.—God from all eternity has established a book in which he has written the names of all his elect. Whoever is not inscribed therein, will never be so; and whoever is therein inscribed, will never see his name blotted out.—It is by the grace of God alone that the elect are saved. He whom God is willing to save by the gift of his grace, will be saved, though all the priests in the world should wish to condemn and excommunicate him. And he whom God will condemn, though all should wish to save him, will nevertheless be condemned.³—By what audacity do the successors of the apostles enjoin, not what Christ has prescribed in his holy books, but what they themselves have devised, carried away, as they are, by thirst for gold and by the desire of ruling?—I despise the Pope, the Church and the Councils, and I give Christ the glory." Wesalia, having arrived gradually at these convictions, pro-

¹ *Altum modum Altissimus procurabit, nobis quidem pro nunc incognitum, licet huius praeioribus existat, ut ad pristinum statum ecclesiae redeat.* T. H. Hotting. Hist. Eccl. Sæc. xv. p. 413.

² *Bonus es tu, et in bonitate tua, doce me justificationes tuas.* Balesius, Vitæ Selectorum Virorum, p. 112. Lond. 1691.

³ *Meditationes in Psalmos: Prediche sopra il Salmo: Quare bonus Israël, &c.* Sermones supra Archam Noë, &c.

⁴ *Inter omnes vero persecutores, potissimum Ecclesie præsidet.* Balesius, p. 114.

¹ P'Argentré, Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus, II. 340.

² Ibidem.

³ Et quem Deus vult damnare, si omnes velient hunc salvare, adhuc late damnaretur. Paradoxa Damna, &c., 1728. Moguntia.

sel them, boldly from the pulpit, and entered into communication with the delegates of the Linsites. Each, and bending under the weight of years, a prey to sickness, leaning upon his staff, this courageous man appeared with tottering steps before a legation, and perished in its dungeons 1482.

John of Goch, prior of Malines, about the year 1500, extolled christian liberty as the source of every virtue. He charged the swelling doctrines with Pelagianism, and nominated Thomas Aquinas "the prince of error." "The canonical scriptures alone," he said, "are entitled to a sure confidence, I have an undeniable authority. The writings of the ancient Fathers have no authority, but so far as they are conformable with canonical truth." The common saying says truly: *Satan would be esteemed vain, if that a monk dares contradict.*"

But the most remarkable of these forerunners of the Reformation was undoubtedly Jan Wessel, surnamed "the Light of the world," a man full of courage and of love for the truth, who was doctor in divinity successively at Cologne, Louvain, Paris, Heilbrunn, and Groningen, and of whom Luther says: "Had I read his works sooner, heresies might have thought I had said every thing from Wessel, so much was of one mind."—"St. Paul and St. Peter," says Wessel, "preach different but contrary doctrines. Both maintain that we must first live by faith; but by a faith living by charity. He who, at the call of the Gospel, believes, desires, hopes, acts in the good things, and loves Him who justifies, and blesses him, forthwith justifies himself up entirely to Him whom he loves, and attributes no merit to himself."

He knows that of himself he has nothing.—The sheep must discern the things which are good, and avoid a corrupted nature, even when presented by the shepherd himself. The people should follow the shepherd into the pastures; but when he goes to lead them into the pastures, he is no longer a shepherd, and then, since he cannot fulfil his duty, the flock is not to follow him. Nothing is more effective than the destruction of the Church than a corrupt clergy. All Christians, even the humblest and most simple, are bound to resist those who are destroying the truth. We must obey the precepts of Jesus, and of prelates only according to the measure laid down by St. Paul (1 Thess. v.

21); that is to say, so far as, 'sitting in Moses' seat,' they teach according to Moses. We are God's servants, and not the pope's, as it is said: *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve.* The Holy Spirit has reserved to himself the duty of renewing, vivifying, preserving, and increasing the unity of the Church, and has not abandoned it to the Roman pontiff, who frequently cares nothing about it.—Even her sex does not prevent a woman if she is faithful and prudent, and if she has charity shed abroad in her heart, from being able to feel, judge, approve, and decide by a judgment that God will ratify."

Thus, in proportion as the Reformation drew nigh, were the voices multiplied that proclaimed the truth. We might be led to say that the Church intended showing by these means that the Reformation existed before Luther. Protestantism arose in the Church on the very day in which the germs of Popery showed themselves; as in the political world conservative principles have existed from the very moment when the despotism of nobles or the disorders of factions have raised their heads. Protestantism was sometimes even stronger than the Papacy in the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation. What could Rome oppose to all the witnesses we have just heard, at the time when their voices re-echoed through the earth?—A few monks without either learning or piety.

To this we may add, that the Reformation had taken root, not only among the doctors of the Church, but also among the people. The opinions of Wickliffe, issuing from Oxford, had spread over all Christendom, and had found adherents in Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia, and Prussia. In Bohemia, from the very bosom of discord and of war, had come forth at last a peaceful and christian community, reminding the world of the primitive Church, and giving powerful testimony to the grand principle of Gospel opposition, that "Christ, and not Peter and his successors, is the rock on which the Church is founded." Belonging equally to the German and Slavonic races, these simple christians had sent forth missionaries into the midst of the various nations who spoke their language, noiselessly to gain over followers to their opinions. Nicholas Kuss, who was twice visited by them at Rostock, began in 1511 to preach openly against the pope.¹

It is important to notice this state of affairs. When the Wisdom from on high shall utter his lessons in a still louder voice, there will be minds and hearts everywhere to listen to them. When the Husbandman, who has been continually traversing his Church, shall go forth to a new and to a greater sowing, the soil will be prepared to receive the grain. When the trumpet of the

¹ *Quia cum patrum scripta tantum habent auctoritatem, non ad veritatem sunt conformia. Epist. Apologetica.*
² *Adversus doctrinam concordat. Farrago Wesseli, in qua tractat de eo et proponens in eum quem amat, a quo se non separavit, sed diffinitur, nihil sibi ipse irrogare, sed se habere ex eo. Jo. Magnit. Passionis, cap. 1. et 2.*
³ *Quia etiam de eam destruit, quam corruptus clerus, non potest de eam omnes christiani tenentur recte et sincere habere. Oppo. p. 159.*

¹ Wolff Lect. Memorab. II. p. 27.

Angel of the covenant, that has never ceased to be heard in the world, shall send forth a louder peal, numbers will gird themselves to the battle.

The Church already had a presentiment that the hour of combat was approaching. If more than one philosopher announced in some measure, during the last century, the revolution in which it closed, shall we be astonished that many doctors at the end of the fifteenth century had foreseen the approaching change that would regenerate the Church?

Andrew Proles, provincial of the Augustines, who for nearly half a century presided over that congregation, and who, with unshaken firmness, maintained in his order the doctrines of St. Augustine, being assembled with his brethren in the convent of Himmelspforte, near Wernigerode, used often to stop them while reading the word of God, and say: "My brethren! ye hear the testimony of the Holy Scriptures! They declare that by grace we are what we are, and that by it alone we hold all that we possess. Whence then proceed so much darkness and such horrible superstitions?.....Oh, my brethren! Christianity needs a bold and a great reform, and methinks I see it already approaching." Then would the monks cry out, "Why do you not begin this reform yourself, and oppose such a cloud of errors?"—"You see, my brethren," replied the aged provincial, "that I am bent with the weight of years, and weak in body, and that I have not the learning, ability, and eloquence, that so great an undertaking requires. But God will raise up a hero, who by his age, strength, talents, learning, genius, and eloquence, shall hold the foremost place. He will begin the Reformation; he will oppose error, and God will give him boldness to resist the mighty ones of the earth."¹ An old monk of Himmelspforte, who had often heard these words, communicated them to Flacius. It was in the very order of which Proles was provincial that the Christian hero he foretold was to appear.

A monk named John Hilten was an inmate of the Franciscan convent at Eisenach in Thuringia. The prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John were his especial study. He even wrote a commentary on these works, and censured the most flagrant abuses of the monastic life. The exasperated monks threw him into prison. His advanced age and the filthiness of his dungeon brought on a dangerous illness: he asked for the superior, and the latter had scarcely arrived before he burst into a violent passion, and without listening to the prisoner's complaints, bitterly abused his doctrine, that was opposed, adds the chronicle, to the monk's kitchen. The Franciscan, forgetting his malady, and groaning heavily, replied: "I

bear your insults calmly for the Christ; for I have said nothing that tinges the monastic state: I have only its most crying abuses. But," he (according to what Melancthon in his *Apology for the Augsburg Confession of Faith*), "*another man will arise of our Lord 1516: he will destroy ye, ye shall not be able to resist him.*"² John who had prophesied that the end would come in 1651, was less than pointing out the year when the former would appear. Not long was born in a small village at a little from the monk's dungeon: in this of Eisenach he commenced his at only one year later than the impiety had stated, he publicly entered upon formation.

CHAPTER VII.

Third Preparation—Letters—Revival—Recollections of Italy—Influence of the Humanity of Dante—Valla—Infidelity in Italy—Pico della Mirandola—Commencement of Learning in Germany—Printing—Characteristics of the Century—The Learned and the Schoolmen—A Reuchlin—Reuchlin in Italy—His Labours in Germany—Mysticism—Contest with the

Thus princes and people, living in the Church and theologians, were each in their sphere to prepare which the sixteenth century was to plish. But the Reformation was to find another auxiliary in learning human mind was gaining strength circumstance alone would have emancipation. Let but a small near a time-eaten wall, and as the up, the wall will be overthrown.

The Roman pontiff had constituted the guardian of the people, and his intelligence rendered this an easy a long time he had kept them in pupilage, but now they were breaking on every side. This venerable guardian which derived its origin from the of eternal life and civilisation that communicated to the barbarous nations no longer be exercised without a formidable antagonist had taken position against it, in order to The natural tendency of the human expand, to examine, to learn, had given to this new power. Men's eyes were they demanded a reason for each by this long-venerated guide, and direction they had walked in silence as their eyes were closed. The modern Europe had passed the age

¹ *Erectabit Dominus heros, state, viribus. Flacii Catal. Suetonii Veritatis, p. 262.*

² *Alius quidam venit... Apologia Conf. Votis Monasticis.*

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their manhood was beginning. Their artless and credulous simplicity had given way to an inquiring spirit,—to a reason impatient to fathom things to the very bottom. They asked what had been God's object in making a revelation to the world, and whether men had a right to set themselves up as mediators between God and their brethren.

One thing only could have saved the Church: this was to elevate itself still higher than the people. To be on a level with them was not sufficient. But men soon found, on the contrary, that she was much below them. She began to take a downward course, at the very time that they were ascending. When men began to soar towards the regions of intelligence, the priesthood was found engrossed in earthly pursuits and human interests. It is a phenomenon that has often been renewed in history. The eagle's wings had grown; and there was no man whose hand could reach it and stay its flight.

It was in Italy that the human mind first began to soar above the earth.

The doctrines of the schoolmen and romantic poetry had never reigned undisturbed in that peninsula. Some faint recollections of antiquity had always remained in Italy,—recollections that were revived in great strength towards the end of the Middle Ages, and which ere long communicated a fresh impulse to the human mind.

Already in the fourteenth century had Dante and Petrarch revived the credit of the ancient Roman poets; at the same time the former placed the mightiest popes in his "Inferno," and the second called with boldness for the primitive constitution of the Church. At the beginning of the fifteenth century John of Ravenna taught the Latin literature with great renown at Padua and Florence; and Chrysoloras interpreted the masterpieces of Greece at Florence and at Pavia.

While learning was thus issuing from the prisons in which it had been held captive in Europe, the East imparted fresh light to the West. The standard of Mahomet, planted on the walls of Constantinople in 1453, had driven its learned men into exile. They had carried the learning of Greece with them into Italy. The torch of the ancients rekindled the minds that had been for ages quenched in darkness. George of Trebizond, Argyropoulos, Bessarion, Lascaris, Chalcondylas, and many others, inspired the West with their own love for Greece and its noble works of genius. The patriotism of the Italians was awakened; and there arose in Italy a great number of learned men, among whom shone Gasparino, Aurispa, Aricino, Poggio, and Valla, who endeavoured in like manner to restore the writers of ancient Rome to the honour they merited. There was at that period a great burst of light, and Rome was doomed to suffer by it.

This passion for antiquity which took possession of the *humanists*, shook in the most elevated minds their attachment to the Church, for "no man can serve two masters." At the same time the studies to which they devoted themselves, placed at the disposition of these learned men a method entirely new and unknown to the schoolmen, of examining and judging the teaching of the Church. Finding in the Bible, much more than in the works of theologians, the beauties that charmed them in the classic authors, the *humanists* were fully inclined to place the Bible above the doctors. They reformed the taste, and thus prepared the way for the Reformation of the faith.

These scholars, it is true, loudly protested that their studies did not strike at the faith of the Church; yet they attacked the schoolmen long before the Reformers did, and turned into ridicule those barbarians, those "Teutons," who had existed but not lived.¹ Some even proclaimed the doctrines of the Gospel, and laid hands on what Rome held most dear. Dante, although adhering to many Romish doctrines, had already proclaimed the power of faith, as did the reformers. "It is true faith that renders us citizens of heaven," said he.² "Faith according to the Gospel is the principle of life; it is the spark that, spreading daily more and more, becomes a living flame, and shines on us, like a star in heaven. Without faith there is no good work, nor upright life, that can avail us. However great be the sin, the arms of Divine grace are wider still, and embrace all who turn to God."³ The soul is not lost through the anathemas of the pontiff; and eternal love can still reach it, so long as hope retains her verdant blossom.⁴ From God, from God alone, cometh our righteousness by faith." And speaking of the Church, Dante exclaims: "O my bark, how deeply art thou laden! O Constantine, what mischief has been engendered, I will not say by thy conversion, but by that offering which the wealthy father then received from thee!"

Somewhat later, Laurentius Valla applied the study of antiquity to the opinions of the Church: he denied the authenticity of the correspondence between Christ and King Abgar; he rejected the tradition of the drawing up of the Apostles' Creed; and sapped the foundation on which reposed the pretended donation of Constantine.⁵

Still this great light which the study of antiquity threw out in the fifteenth century was calculated only to destroy: it could not build up. Neither Homer nor Virgil could

¹ Qui ne viventes quidem vivebant. Politiani Epp. ix. 2.

² Parad. xxiv. 44.

³ Orribil furon li peccati miei;

Ma la bontà infinita ha al gran braccio,

Che prende ciò che si rivolte a lei. Purgator. III. 131-132.

⁴ Per lor maledizion si non si perdo,

Che non possa tornar l'eterno amore,

Mentre che la speranza ha fior del verde. Ibid. 134-135.

⁵ De eremita Constantini donatione declamatio ad Papam. Opp. Basil. 1643.

build up. Neither Homer nor Virgil could save the Church. The revival of learning, sciences, and arts, was not the principle of the Reformation. The paganism of the poets, as it reappeared in Italy, rather confirmed the paganism of the heart. The scepticism of the followers of Aristotle, and the contempt for every thing that did not appertain to philology, took possession of many literary men, and engendered an incredulity which, even while affecting submission to the Church, attacked the most important truths of religion. Peter Pomponatius, the most distinguished representative of this impious tendency, publicly taught at Bologna and Padua that the immortality of the soul and the doctrine of providence were mere philosophical problems.¹ John Francis Pico, nephew of Pico of Mirandola, speaks of one pope who did not believe in God;² and of another who, having acknowledged to a friend his disbelief in the immortality of the soul, appeared to him one night after death, and said: "Alas! the eternal fire that is now consuming me makes me feel but too sensibly the immortality of that soul which I had thought would die with the body!" This may remind us of those remarkable words spoken, it is asserted, by Leo. X. to his secretary Bembo: "Every age knows how useful this fable of Christ has been to us and ours"³.....Contemptible superstitions were attacked, but incredulity with its disdainful and mocking sneer was set up in their place. To laugh at every thing, even at what was most holy, was the fashion and the badge of a freethinker. Religion was considered only as a means of governing the world. "I fear," said Erasmus in 1516, "that with the study of ancient literature, the olden paganism will reappear."

It is true that then, as after the ridicule of the Augustan age, and as even in our days after the sneers of the last century, a new Platonism arose and attacked this rash scepticism, and sought, like the philosophy of the present times, to inspire a certain degree of respect for Christianity, and to rekindle a religious feeling in the heart. The Medici at Florence encouraged these efforts of the Platonists. But no merely philosophical religion can ever regenerate the Church or the world. It may lose its strength in a kind of mystical enthusiasm; but as it is supercilious, and despises the preaching of the cross of Christ, pretending to see in the Gospel doctrines little else but figures and symbols, incomprehensible to the majority of mankind, it will ever be powerless to reform and save.

What then would have been the result, had real Christianity not reappeared in the

world, and if faith had not once all hearts with its own strength? The Reformation preserved religion and society. If the Church had had God's glory and the we people at heart, she would have the Reformation with joy. But this to a Leo the Tenth?

And yet a torch could not burn Italy without its rays shining Alps. The affairs of the church continual intercourse between them and the other parts of Christendom barbarians felt ere long the superciliousness of the Italians, to be ashamed of their defects and of style. A few young nobles as Dalberg, Langen, and Spiegel, and the desire of knowledge Italy, and brought back to Germany imparted to their friends the grammar, and the classic authors much desired.¹ Soon there appeared of distinguished talents, Rodolph whose learning and genius won great veneration as if he had lived of Augustus or of Pericles. To his mind and the fatigues of the him out in a few years; but in the of private life he had trained principles, who carried their master all Germany. Often when assembled him had they deplored the dark Church, and asked why St. Paul's repeats that men are justified not by works.².....At the feet of teachers was soon gathered a rude band of scholars, living studying without books; and v into societies of priests of Baccalliers, and others, passed in disorder from town to town, and from school No matter; these strange companies the beginning of a literary gradually the masterpieces of antiquity from the German presses and schoolmen; and the art of printing at Mentz in 1440, multiplied that boldly remonstrated against tions of the Church, and the powerful, which invited the heart into new paths of inquiry.

The study of ancient literature very different effects in Germany which followed it in Italy and it was there combined with faith. It immediately looked for the advantage might accrue to religion from literary pursuits. What had Italian minds little more than a barren refinement of the undervalued the whole being of the warmed their hearts, and prepared

¹ De Immortalitate Animæ, De Prædestinatione et Providentiâ, &c.

² Qui nullum Deum credens. J. F. Pici de Fide, Opp. II. lib. 1.

³ Fa de Christo fabula. Mornal Hist. Papatus, p. 630.

¹ Hamelmann, Relatio Hist. This first erroneously ascribed to Thomas à Kempis G. Groote, p. 270.

² Fide Justos esse. Melanct. Decl. I. 602.

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brighter light. The first restorers of learning in Italy and in France were remarkable for their levity, and frequently also for their immorality. Their successors in Germany, animated by a serious feeling, zealously went in search of truth. Italy, offering up her sceptre to literature and profane learning, beheld the rise of a sceptical opposition. Germany, occupied with deep theological questions, and thrown back upon herself, saw the rise of an opposition based on faith. In the one country the foundations of the Church were undermined; in the other they were re-established on their true basis. A remarkable society was formed in the empire, composed of liberal, generous-minded, and earnest men, who counted princes among their number, and who endeavoured to make learning profitable to religion. Some brought their studies to the humble faith of children; others, an enlightened and penetrating intellect, inclined perhaps to overstep the bounds of legitimate freedom and criticism: yet both attributed to clear the entrance of the temple from the superstitious that had encumbered it.

The monkish theologians perceived their danger, and began to clamour against these new studies which they had tolerated in Italy and France, because they had there no hand in hand with frivolity and profligacy. A conspiracy was formed amongst them against literature and science, for beyond their faith was seen advancing. A monk, cautioning a person against the heresies of Erasmus, was asked in what they consisted. He acknowledged that he had read the work of which he was speaking. He could only say that "it was written in pure Latinity."

The disciples of learning and the scholastic system soon came to open war. The latter did with alarm the movement that was taking place in the realm of intellect, and thought that immobility and darkness would be the surest guardians of the Church. It was to save Rome that they opposed the revival of letters; but in this they contrived to its fall. Rome herself had a great role in producing this result. Momentarily arrayed under the pontificate of Leo X., deserted her old friends, and clasped her arms round her adversaries in her arms. Popery and learning formed an alliance that seemed likely to dissolve the union between the monasteries and the hierarchy. The popes did not at the first glance perceive that what they were taking for a plaything was in reality a sword that might cause their death. In like manner, during the last century, princes were seen welcoming to their courts political and philosophical principles which had they been applied to all their influences, would have overturned their thrones. Such an alliance was not of long duration. Learning went forward, without a care as to what might anger the power of its patron. The monks

and schoolmen were well aware that to desert the pope would be to abandon themselves: and the pope, notwithstanding the brief patronage he accorded to the fine arts, was not less active, when he saw the danger, in taking measures the most contrary to the spirit of the times.

The universities defended themselves, as best they could, against the intrusion of this new light. Rhagius was expelled from Cologne, Celtes from Leipsic, and Hermann von dem Busch from Rostock. Still the new doctors, and the ancient classics with them, gradually established themselves, and frequently with the aid of the ruling princes, in these superior academies. In despite of the schoolmen, societies of grammarians and of poets were soon formed in them. Every thing was to be converted into Greek and Latin, even to their very names. How could the admirers of Sophocles and of Virgil be known by such barbarous appellations as *Krachenberger* or *Schwarzerd*? At the same time a spirit of independence spread through the universities. The students were no longer seen in seminarist fashion, with their books under their arms, walking demurely, respectfully, and with downcast eyes, behind their masters. The petulance of Martial and of Ovid had passed into these new disciples of the Muses. They hailed with transport the ridicule heaped on the dialectic theologians; and the heads of the literary movement were sometimes accused of favouring, and even of exciting the disorderly proceedings of the scholars.

Thus a new world, sprung out of antiquity, had arisen in the midst of the world of the Middle Ages. The two parties could not avoid coming to blows: a struggle was at hand. It was the mildest champion of literature, an old man drawing near the close of his peaceful career, who was to begin the conflict.

In order that the truth might prove triumphant, it was necessary first that the weapons by which she was to conquer should be brought forth from the arsenals where they had lain buried for ages. These weapons were the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. It was necessary to revive in Christendom the love and the study of sacred Greek and Hebrew learning. The man whom the providence of God selected for this task was named John Reuchlin.

The sweet voice of a child had been remarked in the choir of the church at Pforzheim, and had attracted the notice of the Margrave of Baden. It was that of John Reuchlin, a boy of agreeable manners and lively disposition, the son of a worthy burgess of that town. The margrave soon showed him especial favour, and made choice of him in 1473 to accompany his son Frederick to the university of Paris.

The son of the usher of Pforzheim, in transports of joy, arrived with the prince at

this school, then the most celebrated of the West. Here he found the Spartan Hermynios and John Wessel, *the light of the world*; and had now an opportunity of studying Greek and Hebrew under able masters, of which languages there was at that time no professor in Germany, and of which he was one day to be the restorer in the home of the Reformation. The young and indigent German transcribed for richer students the rhapsodies of Homer and the orations of Isocrates, gaining thus the means of prosecuting his own studies and of purchasing books.

But he heard other things from the mouth of Wessel, that made a deep impression on his mind. "The popes may err. All human satisfactions are blasphemy against Christ, who has reconciled and completely justified the human race. To God alone belongs the power of giving plenary absolution. It is not necessary to confess our sins to the priest. There is no purgatory unless it be God himself, who is a devouring fire, and who cleanseth from all impurity."

Reuchlin had barely attained the age of twenty years, when he taught philosophy and Greek and Latin at Basle; and—what then passed for a miracle—a German was heard speaking Greek.

The partisans of Rome began to feel uneasy, when they saw these generous spirits searching into the ancient treasures. "The Romans make wry faces," said Reuchlin, "and cry out, pretending that all these literary pursuits are contrary to the Romish piety, because the Greeks are schismatics. Oh! what toil and suffering must be undergone to restore wisdom and learning to Germany!"

Not long after, Eberhard of Wurtemberg invited Reuchlin to Tubingen to adorn that rising university. In 1483, he took him with him into Italy. Chalcondylas, Aurispa, and John Pico of Mirandola, were his friends and companions at Florence. At Rome, when Eberhard had a solemn audience of the pope, surrounded by his cardinals, Reuchlin delivered an address in such pure and elegant Latinity, that the assembly, who expected nothing of the kind from a barbarous German, was filled with astonishment, and the pontiff exclaimed: "This man certainly deserves to rank with the best orators of France and Italy."

Ten years later Reuchlin was compelled to take refuge at Heidelberg, at the court of the Elector Philip, to escape the vengeance of Eberhard's successor. Philip, in conjunction with John of Dalberg, bishop of Worms, his friend and chancellor, endeavoured to diffuse the light that was beginning to dawn in every part of Germany. Dalberg had founded a library, which was open to all the learned. On this new stage Reuchlin made great efforts to destroy the barbarism of his countrymen.

Having been sent by the elector in 1498 on an important mission to Rome, he employed all the time and money he could spare, either in improving himself in the Hebrew language under the learned Israelite, Abdias Sphorna, or in purchasing all the Greek and Hebrew manuscripts he could find, with a view of employing them as so many torches to increase in his own country the light which was already beginning to appear.

Argyropolos, an illustrious Greek, was then at Rome explaining to a numerous auditory the ancient marvels of his national literature. The learned ambassador proceeded with his attendants to the hall where this doctor was lecturing, and on his entrance saluted the master, and deplored the misfortunes of Greece, then expiring under the blows of the Ottomans. The astonished scholar asked his visitor, "Where do you come from, and do you understand Greek?" Reuchlin answered, "I am a German, and I am not entirely ignorant of your language." At the request of Argyropolos, he read and explained a passage from Thucydides, which the professor happened to have before him. Upon this Argyropolos, struck with astonishment and grief, exclaimed, "Alas! alas! the fugitive and exiled Greece has gone to hide herself beyond the Alps!"

It was thus that the sons of barbarous Germany and of ancient and learned Greece met in the palaces of Rome; thus the East and the West embraced in this resort of the world, and the one poured into the lap of the other those intellectual treasures which it had snatched from the barbarism of the Ottomans. God, whenever his plans require it, brings together in an instant, by some great catastrophe, the things which seemed destined to remain for ever separated.

Reuchlin, on his return to Germany, was able to take up his residence again at Wurtemberg. It was at this time he accomplished those labours that were so useful to Luther and to the Reformation. This man, who, as Count Palatine, occupied a distinguished place in the empire, and who, as philosopher, contributed to lower Aristotle and exalt Plato, drew up a Latin dictionary which superseded those of the schoolmen; wrote a Greek grammar which greatly facilitated the study of that language; translated and explained the Penitential Psalms; corrected the Vulgate; and—which is his chief merit and glory—was the first to publish in Germany a Hebrew grammar and dictionary. Reuchlin by this labour reopened the long-sealed books of the old covenant, and thus raised, as he says himself, "a monument more durable than brass."

But Reuchlin endeavoured to promote the cause of truth as much by his life as by his writings. By his lofty stature, his commanding person, and his engaging address, he immediately gained the confidence of all with whom he had to deal. His thirst for

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knowledge was only equalled by his zeal in communicating what he had learnt. He spared neither money nor labour to introduce into Germany the editions of the classic writers as they issued from the Italian presses; and thus the usher's son did more to enlighten his fellow-countrymen than rich corporations or mighty princes. His influence over youth was very extensive; and who can estimate all that the Reformation owes to him in that respect? We will mention only one instance. His cousin, a young man, the son of a skilful and celebrated armourer named *Schwarzerd*, came to reside with his sister Elisabeth, in order to study under his direction. Reuchlin, delighted at beholding the genius and industry of his youthful scholar, adopted him as his son. (Good advice, presents of books, example,—nothing was spared to make his relative useful to the Church and to his country. He was charmed at seeing the work prosper under his eyes; and finding the German name of *Schwarzerd* too harsh, he translated it into Greek, according to the fashion of the times, and named the young student *Melancthon*. This was the illustrious friend of Luther.

But grammatical studies could not satisfy Reuchlin. Imitating his Jewish teachers, he began to study the mystic meaning of the Word. "God is a spirit," said he, "the Word is a breath, man breathes, God is the Word. The names which He has given to Himself are an echo of eternity."¹ He thought with the Cabalists that man can ascend from symbol to symbol, and from form to form to the last and purest of all forms,—to that which regulates the kingdom of the spirit.²

While Reuchlin was bewildering himself in these peaceful and abstract researches, the hostility of the schoolmen, suddenly and very much against his will, forced him into a violent contest that was one of the preludes to the Reformation.

There dwelt at Cologne one Pfefferkorn, a baptized rabbi, and intimately connected with the inquisitor Hochstraten. This man and the Dominicans solicited and obtained from the Emperor Maximilian—perhaps with very good intentions—an order by virtue of which the Jews were to bring all their Hebrew books (the Bible only excepted) to the town-hall of the place in which they resided. Here these writings were to be burnt. The motive put forward was, that they were full of blasphemies against Jesus Christ. It must be acknowledged they were at least full of absurdities, and that the Jews themselves would have been no great losers by the proposed measure.

The emperor invited Reuchlin to give his opinion upon these works. The learned doctor particularly singled out the books written against Christianity, leaving them

to their destined fate; but he endeavoured to save the rest. "The best way to convert the Israelites," added he, "would be to establish two professors of the Hebrew language in each university, who should teach the theologians to read the Bible in Hebrew, and thus to refute the Jewish doctors." In consequence of this advice the Jews had their books restored to them.

The proselyte and the inquisitor, like hungry ravens who see their prey escaping them, raised a furious clamour. They picked out different passages from Reuchlin's work, perverted their meaning, declared the author a heretic, accused him of a secret inclination to Judaism, and threatened him with the dungeons of the Inquisition. Reuchlin at first gave way to alarm; but as these men became daily more insolent, and prescribed disgraceful conditions, he published in 1513 a "Defence against his Cologne Slanderers," in which he described the whole party in the liveliest colours.

The Dominicans swore to be avenged, and hoped, by a stroke of authority, to uphold their tottering power. Hochstraten held a tribunal formed at Mentz against Reuchlin, and the writings of this learned man were committed to the flames. Then the innovators, the masters and disciples of the new school, feeling themselves all attacked in the person of Reuchlin, rose up like one man. The times were changed: Germany and literature were not Spain and the Inquisition. This great literary movement had called a public opinion into existence. Even the superior clergy were almost entirely gained over to it. Reuchlin appealed to Leo X. This pope, who was no friend to the ignorant and fanatical monks, referred the whole matter to the Bishop of Spire, who declared Reuchlin innocent, and condemned the monks to pay the expenses of the investigation. The Dominicans, those staunch supporters of the Papacy, had recourse in their exasperation to the infallible decrees of Rome; and Leo X., not knowing how to act between these two hostile powers, issued a mandate *de supersedendo*.

This union of learning with faith is one of the features of the Reformation, and distinguishes it both from the establishment of Christianity and from the religious revivals of the present day. The Christians contemporary with the Apostles had against them all the refinement of their age; and, with very few exceptions, it is the same with those of our times. The majority of learned men were with the reformers. Even public opinion was favourable to them. The work thus gained in extent; but perhaps it lost in depth.

Luther, acknowledging all that Reuchlin had done, wrote to him shortly after his victory over the Dominicans: "The Lord has been at work in you, that the light of Holy Scripture might begin to shine in that

¹ De Verbo Mirifico.

² De Arte Cabalistica.

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Germany where for so many ages, alas! it was not only stilled but entirely extinct."¹

CHAPTER VIII.

Erasmus—Erasmus a Canon—At Paris—His Genius—His Reputation—His Influence—Popular Attack—Praise of Folly—Hises—Churchmen—Saints—Folly and the Pope—Attack on Schools—Principles—Greek New Testament—His Profession of Faith—His Labours and Influence—His Failings—Two Parties—Reform without Violence—Was such possible?—A reformed Church—His Timidity—His Indecision—Erasmus loses his influence with all Parties.

ONE man—the great writer of the opposition at the beginning of the sixteenth century—had already appeared, who considered it as the grand affair of his life to attack the doctrines of the schools and of the convents.

Reuchlin was not twelve years old when this great genius of the age was born. A man of no small vivacity and wit, named Gerard, a native of Gouda in the Low Countries, loved a physician's daughter. The principles of Christianity did not govern his life, or at least his passions silenced them. His parents and his nine brothers urged him to embrace a monastic life. He fled from his home, leaving the object of his affections on the point of becoming a mother, and repaired to Rome. The frail Margaret gave birth to a son. Gerard was not informed of it; and some time after he received from his parents the intelligence that she whom he had loved was no more. Overwhelmed with grief, he entered the priesthood, and devoted himself entirely to the service of God. He returned to Holland; Margaret was still living! She would not marry another, and Gerard remained faithful to his sacerdotal vows. Their affection was concentrated on their son. His mother had taken the tenderest care of him: the father, after his return, sent him to school, although he was only four years old. He was not yet thirteen, when his teacher, Sinthemijs of Deventer, one day embraced him with rapture, exclaiming, "This child will attain the highest pinnacle of learning!" It was Erasmus of Rotterdam.

About this time his mother died, and not long after his broken hearted father followed her to the grave.

The youthful Erasmus² was now alone. He entertained the greatest dislike for a monastic life, which his guardians urged him to embrace, but to which, from his very birth, we might say, he had been opposed. At last, he was persuaded to enter a convent of canons regular, and scarcely had he done so when he felt himself oppressed by the weight of his vows. He recovered a little

liberty, and we soon find him at the court of the Archbishop of Cambray, and somewhat later at the university of Paris. He there pursued his studies in extreme poverty, but with the most indefatigable industry. As soon as he could procure any money, he employed it in purchasing—first, Greek works, and then clothes. Frequently did the indigent Hollander solicit in vain the generosity of his protectors; and hence, in after-life, it was his greatest delight to furnish the means of support to youthful but poor students. Engaged without intermission in the pursuit of truth and of knowledge, he reluctantly assisted in the scholastic disputes, and shrank from the study of theology, lest he should discover any errors in it, and be in consequence denounced as a heretic.

It was at this period that Erasmus became conscious of his powers. In the study of the ancients he acquired a correctness and elegance of style, that placed him far above the most eminent scholars of Paris. He began to teach; and thus gained powerful friends. He published some writings, and was rewarded by admiration and applause. He knew the public taste, and shaking off the last ties of the schools and of the cloister, he devoted himself entirely to literature, displaying in all his writings those shrewd observations, that clear, lively, and enlightened wit which at once amuse and instruct.

The habit of application, which he contracted at this period, clung to him all his life: even in his journeys, which were usually on horseback, he was not idle. He used to compose on the road, while riding across the country, and as soon as he reached the inn, committed his thoughts to writing. It was thus he composed his celebrated *Praise of Folly*, in a journey from Italy to England.³

Erasmus early acquired a great reputation among the learned: but the exasperated monks vowed deadly vengeance against him. Courtied by princes, he was inexhaustible in finding excuses to escape from their invitations. He preferred gaining his living with the printer Frobenius by correcting books, to living surrounded with luxury and favours in the splendid courts of Charles V., Henry VIII., or Francis I., or to encircling his head with the cardinal's hat that was offered him.⁴

Henry the Eighth having ascended the throne in 1509, Lord Mountjoy invited Erasmus, who had already been in England, to come and cultivate literature under the sceptre of their *Oetarius*. In 1510 he lectured at Cambridge, maintaining with Archbishop Warham, John Colet, and Sir Thomas More, those friendly relations which continued until their death. In 1516 he visited Basle, where he took up his abode in 1521.

¹ *Mal Vita* J. Reuchlin. Francf. 1607.—Mayerhoff, J. Reuchlin und seine Zeit. Berl. 1850.

² His name was properly Gerard, like his father's. His fifth name he translated into Latin (*Desiderius*, Well-beloved), and into Greek (*Erasmus*).

³ *Ἑρμηνεία ἀνίας*. Seven editions of this work were sold in a few months.

⁴ A principle of self-interest conferred fortune, *nil nisi minimum dulcis esset libertas*. Epist. ad Eriek.

What was his influence on the Reformation?

It has been overrated by one party, and underrated by another. Erasmus never was, and never could have been, a reformer; he prepared the way for others. Not only did he diffuse over his age a love of learning, and a spirit of inquiry and examination that led others much farther than he went himself;—but still more, under the action of great prelates and powerful princes, he was able to unveil and combat the abuses of the Church by the most cutting ideas.

Erasmus, in fact, attacked the monks and prevailing abuses in two ways. He first adopted a popular method. This fair little man, whose half-closed blue eyes keenly observed all that was passing,—on whose face was ever a slight sarcastic smile,—in the same manner was timid and embarrassed, and whom it seemed, that a puff of wind would blow down,—scattered in every direction his elegant and biting sarcasms against the theology and devotion of his age. His usual character and the events of his life rendered this disposition habitual. Even those writings where we should have least expected it, his sarcastic humour suddenly breaks out, and he inculcates, as with needles, into those schoolmen and those ignorant monks against whom he had declared war. There are many points of resemblance between Voltaire and Erasmus. Preceding hours had already popularized the idea of the element of folly which has crept into the opinions and actions of human life. Erasmus seized upon it, and introduced it, in her own person, *Moria*, daughter of his, born in the Fortunate Isles, fed on recklessness and impertinence, and queen of the powerful empire. She gives a description of the state she depicts successively all the states of the world that belong to her, but she is particularly on the churchmen, who do not acknowledge her benefits, though she leads them with her favours. She overflows with her gibes and sarcasms that richness of dialectics in which the theologians had bewildered themselves, and those arrogant syllogisms, by which they pretended to support the Church. She unveils disorders, ignorance, filthy habits, and crimes of the monks.

"They all belong to me," says she, "those whose greatest pleasure is in relating tales, or listening to marvellous lies, and to make use of them in an especial manner to beguile the gullibility of others, and to their own purses (I speak particularly of poets and preachers)! In the same category are those who enjoy the foolish but not the persuasion that if they chance to see a piece of wood or a picture representing Jephthah or Christopher, they will not that day....."

"Alas! what follies," continues *Moria*;

"I am almost ashamed of them myself! Do we not see every country claiming its peculiar saint? Each trouble has its saint, and every saint his candle. This cures the toothach; that assists women in childbirth; a third restores what a thief has stolen; a fourth preserves you in shipwreck; and a fifth protects your flocks. There are some who have many virtues at once, and especially the Virgin-mother of God, in whom the people place more confidence than in her Son!.....If in the midst of all these numeries some wise man should rise and give utterance to these harsh truths:—You shall not perish miserably if you live like Christians;—you shall redeem your sins, if to your sins you add repentance, tears, watchings, prayer, fasting, and a complete change in your way of life;—this saint will protect you, if you imitate his conduct;—If, I say, some wise man should charitably utter these things in their ears, oh! of what happiness would he not rob their souls, and into what trouble, what distress would he not plunge them!.....The mind of man is so constituted that imposture has more hold upon it than truth.¹ If there is one saint more apocryphal than another—a St. George, St. Christopher, or St. Barbara—you will see him worshipped with greater fervency than St. Peter, St. Paul, or even than Christ himself."²

But *Moria* does not stop here: she attacks the bishops "who run more after gold than after souls, and who think they have done enough for Jesus Christ, when they take their seats complacently and with theatrical pomp, like Holy Fathers to whom adoration belongs, and utter blessings or anathemas." The daughter of the Fortunate Isles even ventures to attack the Court of Rome and the pope himself, who, passing his time in amusements, leaves the duties of his ministry to St. Peter and St. Paul. "Can there be any greater enemies to the Church than these unholy pontiffs, who by their silence allow Jesus Christ to be forgotten; who bind him by their mercenary regulations; who falsify his doctrine by forced interpretations; and crucify him a second time by their scandalous lives?"³

Holbein added the most grotesque illustrations to the *Praise of Folly*, in which the pope figured with his triple crown. Perhaps no work has ever been so thoroughly adapted to the wants of the age. It is impossible to describe the impression this little book produced throughout Christendom. Twenty-seven editions appeared in the life-time of

¹ Precipue Delphina Virgo, cui vulgus hominum plus prece tribuit quam Filio. *Encomium Morie*, Opp. iv. 111.

² Non male peritiss, si bene viveris. *Ibid.*

³ Sic sculptus est hominis animus, ut longe magis facili quam verbi capiatur. *Ibid.* 120.

⁴ Aut ipsum Christum. *Ibid.*

⁵ Quasi sint illi hostes ecclesie perniciosiores quam impii pontifices, qui et silentio Christum sinunt aboleri, et questuarius legibus alligant, et sanctis interpretationibus adulterant, et pestilente vita jugulant. *Enc. Morie*, *Ibid.*

Erasmus: it was translated into every European language, and contributed more than any other to confirm the anti-sacerdotal tendency of the age.

But to the popular attack of sarcasm Erasmus united science and learning. The study of Greek and Latin literature had opened a new prospect to the modern genius that was beginning to awaken from its slumber in Europe. Erasmus eagerly embraced the idea of the Italians that the sciences ought to be studied in the schools of the ancients, and that, laying aside the inadequate and absurd works that had hitherto been in use, men should study geography in Strabo, medicine in Hippocrates, philosophy in Plato, mythology in Ovid, and natural history in Pliny. But he went a step further, and it was the step of a giant, and must necessarily have led to the discovery of a new world of greater importance to the interests of humanity than that which Columbus had recently added to the old. Erasmus, following out his principle, required that men should no longer study theology in Scotus and Aquinas, but go and learn it in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and above all in the New Testament. He showed that they must not even rest contented with the Vulgate, which swarmed with errors; and he rendered an incalculable service to truth by publishing his critical edition of the Greek text of the New Testament—a text as little known in the West as if it had never existed. This work appeared at Basle in 1516, one year before the Reformation. Erasmus thus did for the New Testament what Reuchlin had done for the Old. Henceforward divines were able to read the Word of God in the original languages, and at a later period to recognise the purity of the Reformed doctrines.

"It is my desire," said Erasmus, on publishing his New Testament, "to lead back that cold disputer of words, styled theology, to its real fountain. Would to God that this work may bear as much fruit to Christianity as it has cost me toil and application!" This wish was realized. In vain did the monks cry out, "He presumes to correct the Holy Ghost!" The New Testament of Erasmus gave out a bright flash of light. His paraphrases on the Epistles, and on the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John; his editions of Cyprian and Jerome; his translations of Origen, Athanasius, and Chrysostom; his *Principles of True Theology*,¹ his *Preacher*,² and his Commentaries on various Psalms, contributed powerfully to diffuse a taste for the Word of God and for pure theology. The result of his labours even went beyond his intentions. Reuchlin and Erasmus gave the Bible to the learned; Luther, to the people.

Erasmus did still more: by his restoration

of the New Testament, he restored revelation taught. "The most e in the revival of philosophical stu he, "will be to obtain a knowle pure and simple Christianity of 1 A noble sentiment! and would t the organs of our modern philoso stood their mission as well as he am firmly resolved," said he agai in the study of the Scriptures; i all my joy and all my peace."¹ of all christian philosophy," said other occasion, "amounts to this all our hopes in God alone, who grace, without any merit of our us every thing through Christ know that we are redeemed by t his Son; to be dead to worldly lu walk in conformity with his do example, not only injuring no man good to all; to support our trial in the hope of a future reward; s to claim no merit to ourselves on our virtues, but to give thanks to our strength and for all our work; what should be instilled into ma becomes a second nature."²

Then raising his voice against of church-regulations about dres feast-days, vows, marriage, and which oppressed the people and ex priests, Erasmus exclaims: "In they scarcely ever think of expl Gospel."³ The greater part of the must be drawn up to please the co of indulgences. The most holy Christ must be suppressed or pe their profit. There is no longer a cure, unless Christ himself shoul hearts of rulers and of pontiffs, them to seek for real piety."

The writings of Erasmus follow other in rapid succession. He la cessingly, and his works were re they came from his pen. This is native energy, this intellect s so delicate, so witty and so bold, poured without any reserve in s streams upon his contemporaries, and enchanted the immense publi voured the works of the philosop terdam. He soon became the mo tial man in Christendom, and c pensions were showered upon every side.

If we cast our eyes on the great that somewhat later renewed the C cannot help acknowledging that served as a bridge to many minds. who would have been alarmed by gelical truths presented in all thei and purity, allowed themselves to

¹ *Ad Servatium.*

² *Ad Joh. Slechtam, 1519. Hec sunt ankt inculcanda, sicut ut velut in naturam transeant.*

³ *In templis vix vocat Evangelium interprete ad Matth. xi. 30. Juxta meum morem.*

¹ *Ratio Vera Theologia.*

² *Revelaciones, seu de Ratione Condemnati.*

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along by him, and ultimately became the most zealous partisans of the Reformation.

But the very circumstances that fitted him for the work of preparation, disqualified him for its accomplishment. "Erasmus is very capable of exposing error," said Luther, "but he knows not how to teach the truth." The Gospel of Christ was not the fire at which he kindled and sustained his energy,—the centre whence his activity radiated. He was in an eminent degree a man of learning, and only in consequence of that was he a Christian. He was too much the slave of vanity to acquire a decided influence over his age. He anxiously calculated the result that each step he took might have upon his reputation. There was nothing he liked better than to talk about himself and his fame. "The pope," wrote he with childish vanity to an intimate friend, at the period when he declared himself the opponent of Luther, "the pope has sent me a diploma full of kindness and honourable testimonials. His secretary declares that this is an unprecedented honour, and that the pope dictated every word himself."

Erasmus and Luther, viewed in connexion with the Reformation, are the representatives of two great ideas,—of two great parties in their age, and indeed in every age. The one is composed of men of timid prudence; the other, of men of resolution and courage. These two parties were in existence at that epoch, and they are personified in their illustrious chiefs. The men of prudence thought that the study of theological science would gradually bring about a reformation of the Church, and that, too, without violence. The men of action thought that the diffusion of more correct ideas among the learned would not put an end to the superstitions of the people, and that the correction of this or of that abuse, so long as the whole life of the Church was not renewed, would be of little effect.

"A disadvantageous peace," Erasmus used to say, "is better than the most righteous war."¹ He thought—and how many Erasmuses have lived since, and are living even in our own days! he thought that a reformation which might shake the Church would endanger its overthrow; he witnessed with alarm men's passions aroused into activity; evil every where mixed up with the little good that might be effected; existing institutions destroyed without the possibility of others being set up in their place; and the vessel of the Church, leaking on every side, at last swallowed up by the tempest. "Those who bring the sea into new beds," said he, "often attempt a work that deceives their expectations; for the terrible element, once let in, does not go where they would wish it, but rushes whithersoever it

pleases, and causes great devastation."¹ "Be that as it may," added he, "let troubles be every where avoided! It is better to put up with ungodly princes, than to increase the evil by any change."²

But the courageous portion of his contemporaries were prepared with an answer. History had sufficiently proved that a free exposition of the truth and a decided struggle against falsehood could alone ensure the victory. If they had temporized, the artifices of policy and the wiles of the papal court would have extinguished the truth in its first glimmerings. Had not conciliatory measures been employed for ages? Had not council after council been convoked to reform the Church? All had been unavailing. Why now pretend to repeat an experiment that had so often failed?

Undoubtedly a thorough reform could not be accomplished without violence. But when has anything good or great ever appeared among men without causing some agitation? Would not this fear of seeing evil mingled with good, even had it been reasonable, have checked the noblest and the holiest undertakings? We must not fear the evil that may arise out of a great agitation, but we must take courage to resist and to overcome it.

Is there not besides an essential difference between the commotion originating in human passions, and that which emanates from the Spirit of God? One shakes society, the other strengthens it. What an error to imagine with Erasmus that in the then existing state of Christendom,—with that mixture of contrary elements, of truth and falsehood, life and death—a violent collision could be prevented! As well strive to close the crater of Vesuvius when the angry elements are already warring in its bosom! The Middle Ages had seen more than one violent commotion, when the sky was less threatening with storms than at the time of the Reformation. Men had not then to think of checking and of repressing, but of directing and guiding.

Who can tell what frightful ruin might not have occurred if the Reformation had not burst forth? Society, the prey of a thousand elements of destruction, destitute of any regenerating or conservative qualities, would have been terribly convulsed. Certainly this would have really been a reform in Erasmus's fashion, and such as many moderate but timid men of our days still dream of, which would have overturned christian society. The people, wanting that knowledge and that piety which the Reformation brought down even to the lowest ranks, abandoned to their violent passions, and to a restless spirit of revolt, would have been let loose, like a

¹ *Mile hunc, quælibet est, rerum humanarum statum quem novis modis temetipso, said he on another occasion. Ep. l. 92.*

¹ *Semel admittitur non ea fertur, qua destinaret admittitur. Ep. l. 93.*

² *Præstat ferro principes impios, quam novale rebus gravius malum accersere.... Ad Matth. xi. 30.*

furious and exasperated wild beast, whose rage no chains can any longer control.

The Reformation was no other than an interposition of the Spirit of God among men,—a regulating principle that God sent upon earth. It is true that it might stir up the fermenting elements hidden in the heart of man; but God overruled them. The evangelical doctrines, the truth of God, penetrating the masses of the people, destroyed what was destined to perish, but every where strengthened what ought to be maintained. The effect of the Reformation on society was to reconstruct; prejudice alone could say that it was an instrument of destruction. It has been said with reason, with reference to the work of reform, that “the ploughshare might as well think that it injures the earth it breaks up, while it is only fertilizing it.”

The leading principle of Erasmus was: “Give light, and the darkness will disappear of itself.” This principle is good, and Luther acted upon it. But when the enemies of the light endeavour to extinguish it, or to wrest the torch from the hand of him who bears it, must we (for the sake of peace) allow him to do so? must we not resist the wicked?

Erasmus was deficient in courage. Now, that quality is as indispensable to effect a reformation as to take a town. There was much timidity in his character. From his early youth he trembled at the name of death. He took the most extraordinary care of his health. He spared no sacrifice to remove from a place in which a contagious malady was reigning. The desire of enjoying the comforts of life exceeded even his vanity, and this was his motive for rejecting more than one brilliant offer.

He had, therefore, no claims to the character of a reformer. “If the corrupted morals of the court of Rome call for a prompt and vigorous remedy, that is no business of mine,” said he, “nor of those who are like me.”¹ He had not that strength of faith which animated Luther. While the latter was ever prepared to lay down his life for the truth, Erasmus candidly observed, “Let others aspire to martyrdom: as for me, I do not think myself worthy of such an honour.”² I fear that if any disturbance were to arise, I should imitate Peter in his fall.”

By his conversation and by his writings Erasmus had prepared the way for the Reformation more than any other man; and yet he trembled when he saw the approach of that very tempest which he himself had raised. He would have given anything to restore the calm of former times, even with all its dense vapours. But it was too late: the dike was broken. It was no longer in man's power to arrest the flood that was at once to cleanse and fertilize the world. Erasmus

was powerful as God's instrument; when he ceased to be that, he was nothing.

Ultimately Erasmus knew not what part to adopt. None pleased him, and he fears all. “It is dangerous to speak,” said he “and it is dangerous to be silent.” In ever, great religious movement there will be found these wavering characters,—respectable on many accounts, but injurious to the truth and who, from their unwillingness to displease any, offend all.

What would have become of the Truth had not God raised up more courageous champions than Erasmus? Listen to the advice he gives Viglius Zuichem, who was afterwards president of the supreme court at Brussels, as to the manner in which he should behave towards the sectarians—for thus he had already begun to denigrate the Reformers: “My friendship for you leads me to desire that you will keep aloof from the contagion of the sects, and that you will give them no opportunity of saying, Zuichem become one of us. If you approve of the teaching, you should at least dissemble, and above all, avoid discussions with them. A lawyer should finesse with these people, the dying man did with the devil, who ask him, What do you believe? The poor man fearful of being caught in some heresy, if should make a confession of his faith, reply: What the Church believes. The devil commanded, And what does the Church believe?—What I believe.—Once more he was questioned, What do you believe?—and the dying man answered once more, What the Church believes!”¹ Thus Duke George of Saxony, Luther's mortal enemy, having received an equivocal answer to a question he had put to Erasmus, said to him, “My dear Erasmus, wash me the fur without wetting it!” Secundus Curio, in one of his works describes two heavens—the papal and the christian. He found Erasmus in neither but discovered him revolving between both in never-ending orbits.

Such was Erasmus. He needed that inward emancipation which alone gives perfect liberty. How different would he have been had he abandoned self, and sacrificed all to truth! But after having endeavoured to effect certain reforms with the approbation of the heads of the Church; after having deserted the Reformation for Rome, when he saw that these two things could not go hand in hand;—he lost ground with all parties. On the one side, his recantations could not repress the anger of the fanatical parties of the papacy: they felt all the evil he had done them, and would not pardon him. Furious monks loaded him with abuse from the pulpits: they called him a second Lucifer—a fox that had laid waste the Lord's vineyard. A doctor of Constance had hung the portrait of Erasmus in his study, that

¹ Ingens aliquot et pressens remedium, certe meum non est. *Re. Epp.* 1. 653.

² Ego me non arbitror hoc honore dignum. *Ibid.*

¹ *Erasm. Epp.* 274. *Append. Edit. Lugd. Bat.*

might be able at any moment to spit in his face.—But, on the other hand, Erasmus, dowering the standard of the Gospel, lost the adoration and esteem of the noblest men of the age in which he lived, and was forced to renounce, there can be little doubt, those heavenly consolations which God sheds in the heart of those who act as good soldiers of Christ. This at least seems to be indicated by those bitter tears, those painful vigils, that broken sleep, that tasteless food, that bathing of the study of the Muses, (formerly his only consolation), those sad countenances, that pale face, those sorrowful and downcast eyes, that hatred of existence which he calls "a cruel life," and those longings after death, which he describes to his friends.¹ Unhappy Erasmus!

The enemies of Erasmus went, in my opinion, a little beyond the truth, when they exclaimed on Luther's appearance: "Erasmus hid the egg, and Luther hatched it."²

CHAPTER IX.

De Velle—Different Motives—Hütten—Literary League—Luther—Hütten at Brussels—His Letters—Sickinghen—His Death—Cromberg—Hans Sachs—General Ferment.

THE same symptoms of regeneration that we have seen among princes, bishops, and learned men, were also found among men of the world,—among nobles, knights, and warriors. The German nobility played an important part in the Reformation. Several of the most illustrious sons of Germany formed close alliance with the men of letters, and inflamed by an ardent, frequently by an excessive zeal, they strove to deliver their country from the Roman yoke.

Various causes contributed to raise up friends to the Reformation among the ranks of the nobles. Some having frequented the universities, had there received into their bosoms the fire with which the learned were animated. Others, brought up in generous sentiments, had hearts predisposed to receive the glorious lessons of the Gospel. Many discovered in the Reformation a certain chivalrous character that fascinated them and carried them along with it. And others, we must freely acknowledge, were offended with the clergy, who, in the reign of Maximilian,

had powerfully contributed to deprive them of their ancient independence, and bring them under subjection to their princes. They were full of enthusiasm, and looked upon the Reformation as the prelude to a great political renovation; they saw in imagination the empire emerging with new splendour from this crisis, and hailed a better state, brilliant with the purest glory, that was on the eve of being established in the world, not less by the swords of the knights than by the Word of God.³

Ulrich of Hütten, who has been called the German Demosthenes, on account of his philippics against the Papacy, forms, as it were, the link that unites the knights with the men of letters. He distinguished himself by his writings not less than by his sword. Descended from an ancient Franconian family, he was sent at the age of eleven years to the convent of Foulke, in which he was to become a monk. But Ulrich, who felt no inclination for this profession, ran away from the convent at sixteen, and repaired to the university of Cologne, where he devoted himself to the study of languages and poetry. Somewhat later he led a wandering life, and was present, as a common soldier, at the siege of Padua in 1513, beheld Rome and all her scandalous abuses, and there sharpened those arrows which he afterwards discharged against her.

On his return to Germany, Hütten composed a treatise against Rome, entitled "The Roman Trinity." In this work he unveils the disorders of the papal court, and points out the necessity of putting an end to her tyranny by force. "There are three things," says a traveller named Vadiscus, who figures in the treatise,— "there are three things that are usually brought away from Rome: a bad conscience, a disordered stomach, and an empty purse. There are three things in which Rome does not believe: the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the dead, and hell. There are three things in which Rome traffics: the grace of Christ, ecclesiastical dignities, and women." The publication of this work compelled Hütten to leave the court of the Archbishop of Mentz, where he had composed it.

Reuchlin's affair with the Dominicans was the signal that brought together all the men of letters, magistrates, and nobles, who were opposed to the monks. The defeat of the inquisitors, who, it was said, had escaped a definite and absolute condemnation only by means of bribery and intrigue, had emboldened their adversaries. Counsellors of the empire; patricians of the most considerable cities,—Pickheimer of Nuremberg, Pentinger of Augsburg, and Stuss of Cologne; distinguished preachers, such as Capito and Geolampadius;

¹ *Vagus moleste, somnus irrequietus, cibum insipidum, aere, ipsum quoque studium..... ipsa frontis me impetitia, ruitus pallor, oculorum subtristis defectio.* *Erasm. Kpp. i. 175.*

² The works of Erasmus were published by John Le Clerc, at Lausanne, in ten vols. folio. For his life, consult Buzelin, *Vie d'Erasmus*, Paris, 1767; A. Müller, *Leben des Erasmus*, Halle, 1771; and the Biography inserted by Le Clerc in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*. See also the beautiful and impartial essay of M. Nisard (*Revue des Deux Mondes*), which seems to me, however, to be mistaken in his estimate of Erasmus and Luther.

³ *Animus ingens et ferax, viribus pollens.—Nam si ex colla et conatu Hütteni non defecissent, quasi nervi corporum atque potentis, jam mutatio omnium rerum exstiteret, et quasi orbis status publici fasset conversus.* *Camer. Vita Melancthon.*

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doctors of medicine and historians; all the literary men, orators, and poets, at whose head shone Ulrich of Hütten, composed that army of *Reuchlinists*, of which a list was even published.¹ The most remarkable production of this learned league was the famous popular satire entitled—*The Letters of Obscure Men*. The principal authors of this work were Hütten, and Crotus Robianus, one of his college friends; but it is hard to say which of them first conceived the idea, even if it did not originate with the learned printer Angst, and if Hütten took any share in the first part of the work. Several humanists, assembled in the fortress of Ebernburg, appear to have contributed to the second. It is a bold sketch, a caricature often too rudely coloured, but full of truth and strength, of striking resemblance, and in characters of fire. Its effect was prodigious. The monks, the adversaries of Reuchlin, the supposed writers of these letters, discuss the affairs of the day and theological matters after their own fashion and in barbarous latinity. They addressed the silliest and most useless questions to their correspondent Ortuin Gratius, professor at Cologne, and a friend of Pfefferkorn. With the most artless simplicity they betray their gross ignorance, incredulity, and superstition; their low and vulgar spirit; the coarse gluttony by which they make a god of their bellies; and at the same time their pride, and fanatical, persecuting zeal. They relate many of their droll adventures, of their excesses and profligacy, with various scandalous incidents in the lives of Hochstraten, Pfefferkorn, and other chiefs of their party. The tone of these letters—at one time hypocritical, at another quite childish—gives them a very comic effect: and yet the whole is so natural, that the English Dominicans and Franciscans received the work with the greatest approbation, and thought it really composed on the principles and in the defence of their orders. A certain prior of Brabant, in his credulous simplicity, even purchased a great number of copies, and sent them as presents to the most distinguished of the Dominicans. The monks, more and more exasperated, applied to the pope for a severe bull against all who should dare to read these letters; but Leo X. would not grant their request. They were forced to bear with the general ridicule, and to smother their anger. No work ever inflicted a more terrible blow on these supporters of the Papacy. But it was not by satire and by jests that the Gospel was to triumph. Had men continued walking in this path; had the Reformation had recourse to the jeering spirit of the world, instead of attacking error with the arms of God, its cause would have been lost. Luther boldly condemned these satires. One of his friends having sent him *The Tenour of Pasquin's Supplication*,

he replied, "The nonsense you have forwarded me seems to have been composed an ill-regulated mind. I have communicated it to a circle of friends, and all have come to the same conclusion."² And speaking the same work, he writes to another correspondent: "This *Supplication* appears to have been written by the author of *Letters of Obscure Men*. I approve of design, but not of his work, since he can refrain from insults and abuse."³ This judgment is severe, but it shows Luther's disapprobation, and how superior he was to his contemporaries. We must add, however, that he did not always follow such wise maxims.

Ulrich having been compelled to resign the protection of the Archbishop of Mentz, sought that of Charles V., who was then at Brussels, where the emperor was holding his court. But far from obtaining anything, he learnt that the pope had called upon Charles to send him bound hand and foot to Rome. The inquisitor Hochstraten, Reuchlin's persecutor, was one of those whom Leo X. had charged to bring him to trial. Ulrich quitted Brabant in indignation at such a request having been made to the emperor. He had scarcely left Brussels when he met Hochstraten on the highway. The terrified inquisitor fell on his knees, and commended his soul to God and the saint. "No!" said the knight, "I will not soil my weapon with thy blood!" He gave him a few strokes with the flat of his sword, and allowed him to proceed in peace.

Hütten took refuge in the castle of Ebernburg, where Francis of Sickingen offered asylum to all who were persecuted by the ultra-montanists. It was here that his burning zeal for the emancipation of his country dictated those remarkable letters which he addressed to Charles V., to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, to Albert, archbishop of Mentz, and to the princes and nobles, letters that place him in the foremost rank of authorship. Here, too, he composed all the works intended to be read and understood by the people, and which inspired all the brave men with horror of Rome, and with the love of liberty. Ardently devoted to the cause of the Reformation, his design was to lead the nobles to take up arms in favour of the Gospel, and to fall with the sword upon that Rome which Luther aimed at destroying solely by the Word of God, and by the invincible power of the truth.

Yet amidst all this warlike enthusiasm we are charmed at finding in Hütten's simple and delicate sentiments. On the death of his parents, he made over to his brothers all his family property, although he was the eldest son, and even begged them not to write him or send him any money, lest, notwithstanding their innocence, they should

¹ *Errores Reuchlinianorum*, at the head of the collection of letters addressed to Reuchlin on this subject.

² Luth. Epp. l. 27.

³ *Ibid.* m.

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used to suffer by the malice of his enemies, and fall with him into the pit.

Truth cannot acknowledge Hütten as one of her children, for her walk is ever with peace of life and charity of heart, she will not accord him honourable mention as one of the most formidable antagonists of *et*.¹

The same may be said of Francis of Sickingen, his illustrious friend and protector. A noble knight, whom many of his contemporaries judged worthy of the imperial crown, shines in the first rank among those warriors who were the adversaries of Rome. Enough delighting in the uproar of battle, he was filled with an ardent love of learning with veneration for its professors. When the head of an army that menaced Württemberg, he gave orders that, in case Stuttgart should be taken by assault, the house and property of that great scholar, John Schilling, should be spared. Sickingen afterwards invited him to his camp, and embracing him, offered to support him in his quarrel with the monks of Cologne. For a long chivalry had prided itself on despising literature. The epoch whose history we are reading presents to us a new spectacle. For the weighty cuirasses of the Hütten and Sickingens we perceive that intellectual element which was beginning to make itself felt in every quarter. The first fruits of the Reformation gave to the world were those that were the friends of the peace-
 1. *et*.

Sickingen, who on his return from Brussels taken refuge in the castle of Sickingen, and the worthy knight to study the evangelical doctrines, and explained to him the objections on which they rest. "And is there any man," asked he in astonishment, "dare attempt to overthrow such an edifice? ... Who could do it?"

Many individuals, who were afterwards treated as reformers, found an asylum in the castle; among others, Martin Bucer, Ulrich Schwebel, and Œcolampadius, so Hütten with justice used to call Ebernburg: "the resting-place of the righteous." It was the duty of Œcolampadius to preach in the castle. The warriors who were assembled at last grew weary of hearing such talk about the meek virtues of Christianity: the sermons appeared to them too; however brief Œcolampadius endeavoured to be. They required, it is true, for every day to the church, but it was little else than to hear the benediction to repeat a short prayer, so that Œcolampadius used to exclaim: "Alas! the will of God is sown here upon stony ground!"

Long Sickingen, wishing to serve the cause of truth after his own fashion, declared against the Archbishop of Treves, "in

order," as he said, "to open a door for the Gospel." In vain did Luther, who had already appeared, strive to dissuade him from it: he attacked Treves with 5000 horse and 1000 foot. The courageous archbishop, with the aid of the Elector Palatine and the Landgrave of Hesse, compelled him to retire. In the following spring the allied princes attacked him in his castle of Landstein. After a bloody assault, Sickingen was obliged to surrender: he had been mortally wounded. The three princes entered the fortress, and after searching through it, discovered the stout-hearted knight in a vault, lying on his bed of death. He stretched out his hand to the Elector Palatine, without seeming to notice the princes who accompanied him; but these overwhelmed him with questions and reproaches: "Leave me in repose," said he, "for I must now prepare to answer a more powerful lord than you!" When Luther heard of his death, he exclaimed: "The Lord is righteous and greatly to be praised! It is not by the sword that he will have his Gospel propagated."

Such was the melancholy end of a warrior, who, as elector or emperor, might perhaps have raised Germany to a high degree of glory; but who, confined within a narrow circle, wasted the great powers with which he had been endowed. But it was not in the tumultuous bosoms of these warriors that the divine truth, coming down from heaven, was to take up her abode. It was not by their arms that she was to prevail; and God, by bringing to nought Sickingen's mad projects, confirmed anew the testimony of St. Paul: *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God* (2 Cor. x. 4).

Another knight, Harmut of Cronberg, a friend of Hütten and Sickingen, appears to have had more wisdom and a deeper knowledge of the truth. He wrote with great modesty to Leo X., exhorting him to restore his temporal power to its rightful owner, namely, the emperor. Addressing his subjects as a father, he endeavoured to explain to them the doctrines of the Gospel, and exhorted them to faith, obedience, and trust in Jesus Christ, "who is the Lord of all," added he. He resigned into the Emperor's hand a pension of 200 ducats, "because he would no longer serve one who lent his ear to the enemies of the truth." We find an expression of his recorded that seems to place him far above Hütten and Sickingen: "Our heavenly doctor, the Holy Ghost, can, whenever he pleases, teach in one hour more of the faith that is in Christ Jesus, than could be learnt at the university of Paris in ten years."

Those who look for the friends of the Reformation only on the steps of thrones,¹ or in cathedrals and in colleges, and who maintain that it had no friends among the

¹ Hütten's Works were published at Berlin by München, 2 vols. 8vo.

¹ See Châteaubriand's *Études Historiques*.

people, are greatly mistaken. God, who was preparing the hearts of the wise and the powerful, was also preparing in the homes of the people many simple and humble-minded men, who were one day to become the ministers of his Word. The history of the period shows the ferment then agitating the lower orders. The tendency of popular literature before the Reformation was in direct opposition to the prevailing spirit of the Church. In the *Fahnspiegel*, a celebrated popular poem of the times, there is a perpetual current of ridicule against brutal and gluttonous priests, who were fond of pretty housekeepers, fine horses, and a well filled larder. In the *Regard Reineke*, the priests' houses with their families of little children are a prominent feature; another popular writer thunders with all his might against those ministers of Christ who ride spirited horses, but who will not fight against the infidels; and John Rosenblut, in one of his carnival plays, introduces the Grand Turk in person to deliver a seasonable address to the states of Christendom.

It was in reality in the bosoms of the people that the revolution so soon to break forth was violently fermenting. Not only do we see youths issuing from their ranks and seizing upon the highest stations in the Church; but there are those who remained all their lives engaged in the humblest occupations, and yet powerfully contributing to the great revival of Christendom. We proceed to recall a few features in the life of one of these individuals.

Hans Sachs, son of a tailor of Nuremberg, was born on the 5th November 1494. He was named Hans (John) after his father, and had made some little progress in learning, when a severe malady compelled him to renounce his studies and take up the business of a shoemaker. Young Hans profited by the liberty which this humble trade allowed to his mind, to penetrate into that higher world in which his soul delighted. The songs that had ceased to be heard in the castles of the nobles, sought and found an asylum among the inhabitants of the merry towns of Germany. A singing school was held in the church of Nuremberg. These exercises, in which Hans used to join, opened his heart to religious impressions, and helped to awaken in him a taste for poetry and music. But the young man's genius could not long remain confined within the walls of his workshop. He wished to see with his own eyes that world of which he had read so much in books,—of which his comrades related so many stories,—and which his imagination peopled with wonders. In 1511, with a small bundle of necessities, he sets out and directs his steps towards the south. Erelong the youthful traveller, who had met with jovial companions, students roaming from town to town, and with many dangerous temptations, feels a terrible struggle beginning within him.

The lusts of life and his holy r contending for the mastery. The result, he takes flight and in the small town of Wels in 2 where he lived in retirement, c self to the cultivation of the fi Emperor Maximilian chanced to this town with a brilliant reti young poet allowed himself away by the splendour of the prince placed him in his hunti in the noisy halls of the palace Hans again forgot all his reser his conscience once more cries immediately the young huntsma his brilliant livery, quits the c pairs to Schwatz, and afterwar It was in the latter town that, twenty years (1514), he comp hymn "in honour of God" to air. He was covered with appl his travels he had had many of observing the numerous and proofs of the abuses under w was buried.

On his return to Nuremberg, married, and became a father: Reformation broke out, he her ear. He clung to the Holy Scri were already dear to him as a which he no longer sought men and songs, but for the light o this truth erelong he conscer and from an humble worksh gates of the imperial city of issued tones that re-echoed th many, preparing men's minds; and every where endearing to t mighty revolution that was g The spiritual songs of Hans; Bible in verse were a powerfu great work. It would, perhap decide who did the most for t elector of Saxony, administrat pire, or the Nuremberg shoema

Thus, then, was there in something that announced the Warnings appeared on every sid were hastening on which thre stroy the work of ages of darl "make all things new." The form, which the efforts of un had stamped upon the world, and its fall was nigh. The li been just discovered spread a new ideas through every cou conceivable rapidity. In eve society a new life was in moti an age!" exclaimed Hütten; "rish—minds are awakening; it i to be alive!" Minds that had for so many generations, seem redeeming by their activity th had lost. To leave them uwer without food, or to present th such as had long supported thei

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man, would have betrayed ignorance of its nature. Already did the human mind deeply perceive what was and what should be, and surveyed with a daring glance the same gulf which separated these two sides. Great princes filled the thrones; the worn colossus of Rome was tottering in its own weight; the ancient spirit of Italy was dead, and its place supplied by a spirit which breathed at once from the studies of learning and from the homes of Italy. The printed Word had taken its place, carried it, as the wind wafts the seed, even to the most distant places. Discovery of the two Indies extended boundaries of the world. Everything seemed a great revolution. Whence is to proceed the blow that threw down the ancient building, and a new one from its ruins? No one knew. Who possessed greater wisdom than

Frederick, greater learning than Reuchlin, greater talents than Erasmus, more wit and energy than Hütten, more valour than Sickingen, or was more virtuous than Cronberg? And yet it was not from Frederick, or Reuchlin, or Erasmus, or Hütten, or Sickingen, or Cronberg!..... Learned men, princes, warriors, nay the Church itself—all had undermined some of the foundations; but there they had stopped. In no direction could be seen the powerful hand that was to be the instrument of God.

And yet all men had a presentiment that it would soon appear. Some pretended to have discovered in the stars unerring indications of its approach. Some, as they looked upon the miserable state of religion, foretold the near coming of Antichrist. Others, on the contrary predicted a reformation to be close at hand. The world waited in expectation. Luther appeared.

BOOK II.

THE YOUTH, CONVERSION, AND EARLY LABOURS OF LUTHER.—1483-1517.

CHAPTER I.

His Parents—His Birth—His Poverty—His Name—Severely—First Knowledge—School of Learning—Hardships—Eisenach—The Shunamite—The Cottage—Artis—Recollections of these Times—His Education—The University.

As ready. God who prepares his work for ages, accomplishes it by the weakest means, when His time is come. To great results by the smallest means—is the law of God. This law, which is every where in nature, is found also in history. God selected the reformers of each from the same class whence he chose the apostles. He chose them from that lower rank, which, although not meanest, does not reach the level of the higher classes. Everything was thus intended to manifest to the world that the work was not of man but of God. The reformation emerged from an Alpine hut; Melancthon, the theologian, from an armourer's shop; Luther from the cottage of a poor miner. The first period in man's life—that in which he is formed and moulded under the influence of God—is always important. It is especially so in the career of Luther. The work of the Reformation is included in it. Several phases of this work succeeded each other in the soul of him who was to be the instrument for effecting it, before they

were accomplished in the world. The knowledge of the change that took place in Luther's heart can alone furnish the key to the reformation of the Church. It is only by studying the particulars that we can understand the general work. Those who neglect the former will be ignorant of the latter except in its outward appearance. They may acquire a knowledge of certain events and certain results, but they will never comprehend the intrinsic nature of that revival, because the principle of life, that was its very soul, remains unknown to them. Let us therefore study the Reformation in Luther himself, before we proceed to the events that changed the face of Christendom.

In the village of Mora, near the Thuringian forests, and not far from the spot where Boniface, the apostle of Germany, began to proclaim the Gospel, had dwelt, doubtless for many centuries, an ancient and numerous family of the name of Luther.¹ As was customary with the Thuringian peasants, the eldest son always inherited the dwelling and the paternal fields, while the other children departed elsewhere in quest of a livelihood. One of these, by name John Luther, married Margaret Lindemann, the daughter of an inhabitant of Neustadt, in the see of Wurzburg. The married pair quitted the plain.

¹ *Veins familiae est et late propagata meliorum hominum. Melancthon. Vita Luth.*

of Eisenach, and went to settle in the little town of Eisleben in Saxony, to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows.

Seckendorf relates, on the testimony of Rebhan, superintendent at Eisenach in 1601, that Luther's mother, thinking her time still distant, had gone to the fair of Eisleben, and that contrary to her expectation she there gave birth to a son. Notwithstanding the credit that is due to Seckendorf, this account does not appear to be correct: in fact, none of the oldest of Luther's historians mention it; and besides, it is about twenty-four leagues from Mora to Eisleben, and in the condition of Luther's mother at that time, people do not readily make up their minds to travel such a distance to see a fair; and, lastly, the evidence of Luther himself appears in direct opposition to this assertion.¹

John Luther was an upright man, diligent in business, frank, and carrying the firmness of his character even to obstinacy. With a more cultivated mind than that of most men of his class, he used to read much. Books were then rare; but John omitted no opportunity of procuring them. They formed his relaxation in the intervals of repose, snatched from his severe and constant labours. Margaret possessed all the virtues that can adorn a good and pious woman. Her modesty, her fear of God, and her prayerful spirit, were particularly remarked. She was looked upon by the matrons of the neighbourhood as a model whom they should strive to imitate.²

It is not precisely known how long the married pair had been living at Eisleben, when, on the 10th November, one hour before midnight, Margaret gave birth to a son. Melancthon often questioned his friend's mother as to the period of his birth. "I well remember the day and the hour," replied she, "but I am not certain about the year." But Luther's brother James, an honest and upright man, has recorded, that in the opinion of the whole family the future reformer was born on St. Martin's eve, 10th November 1483.³ And Luther himself wrote on a Hebrew Psalter which is still in existence: "I was born in the year 1483."⁴ The first thought of his pious parents was to dedicate to God by the holy rite of baptism the child that he had given them. On the morrow, which happened to be Tuesday, the father with gratitude and joy carried his son to St. Peter's church, and there he received the seal of his consecration to the Lord. They called him Martin in commemoration of the day.

The child was not six months old, when his parents quitted Eisleben to repair to Mansfeldt, which is only five leagues distant.

The mines of that neighbourhood were very celebrated. John Luther, a hard-working man, feeling that he would be called upon to bring up a family, hoped to gain a better livelihood himself and his children in that place. It was here that the understanding and of young Luther received their first training; here his activity began to develop itself, and here his character was defined by his words and in his actions. The Mansfeldt, the banks of the Wipper, the theatre of his first sports with the children of the neighbourhood.

The first period of their abode at Mansfeldt was full of difficulty to the wife and her husband. At first they lived in poverty. "My parents," said the latter, "were very poor. My father was a wood-cutter, and my mother has often wood upon her back, that she might have the means of bringing up her children. I endured the severest labour for our support. The example of the parents whom I saw, the habits they inspired in me, accustomed Luther to labour and frugality many times, doubtless, he accompanied his mother to the wood, there to gather little faggots!"

There are promises of blessing in the labour of the righteous, and John Luther experienced their realization. Having somewhat easier circumstances, he established two smelting furnaces at Mansfeldt. Beside these furnaces little Martin strengthened, and with the produce of his father afterwards provided for his family. "It was from a miner's family," said good Mathesius, "that the spirit of Christendom was to go forth: as what God would do in purifying the Levi through him, and refining the gold in his furnaces." Respected for his integrity, for his spotless life, for his sense, John Luther was made count of Mansfeldt, capital of the earldom of Saxe. Excessive misery might have broken the child's spirit: the competence of his paternal home expanded his heart and his character.

John took advantage of his new position to court the society which he preferred. He had a great esteem for learned men, and often invited to his table the schoolmasters of the place. His father had a picture of those social meetings of fellow-citizens, which did honour to the town at the commencement of the sixteenth century. It was a mirror in which were reflected the numerous images that followed another on the agitated scene of the world. The child profited by them. No sight of these men, to whom so much was shown in his father's house more than once in little Martin's

¹ Ego natus sum in Eisleben, baptizatusque apud Sanctum Petrum ibidem. Parentes mei de prope Eisenach illic migraverunt. Luth. Epist. l. 20.

² Intubaturque in eam octavo honeste muliere, ut in exemplar virtutum. Melancthon. Vita Lutheri.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Anno 1483, natus ego. Psalter in the Danstete Library.

¹ Drumb wurde dieser geistliche Schmelzer. Historien, 1561, p. 2.

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ambitious desire of becoming himself one day a schoolmaster or a learned man.

As soon as he was old enough to receive instruction, his parents endeavoured to impart to him the knowledge of God, to train him up in His fear, and to mould him to christian virtues. They exerted all their care in this earliest domestic education.¹ The father would often kneel at the child's bedside, and fervently pray aloud, begging the Lord that his son might remember His name and one day contribute to the propagation of the truth.² The parent's prayer was most graciously listened to. And yet his tender solicitude was not confined to this.

His father, anxious to see him acquire the elements of that learning for which he himself had so much esteem, invoked God's blessing upon him, and sent him to school. Martin was still very young. His father, or Nicholas Emler, a young man of Mansfeldt, often carried him in their arms to the house of George Emilius, and afterwards returned to fetch him home. Emler in after-years married one of Luther's sisters.

His parents' piety, their activity and austere virtue, gave the boy a happy impulse, and formed in him an attentive and serious disposition. The system of education which then prevailed made use of chastisement and fear as the principal incentives to study. Margaret, although sometimes approving the too great severity of her husband, frequently opened her maternal arms to her son to console him in his tears. Yet even she herself overstept the limits of that wise precept: *He that loveth his son, chasteneth him* *betimes*. Martin's impetuous character gave frequent occasion for punishment and reprimand. "My parents," said Luther in after-life, "treated me harshly, so that I became very timid. My mother one day chastised me so severely about a nut, that the blood came. They seriously thought that they were doing right; but they could not distinguish character, which however is very necessary in order to know when, or where, or how chastisement should be inflicted. It is necessary to punish; but the apple should be placed beside the rod."³

At school the poor-child met with treatment no less severe. His master flogged him fifteen times successively in one morning. "We must," said Luther, when relating this circumstance—"we must whip children, but we must at the same time love them." With such an education Luther learnt early to despise the charms of a merely sensual life. "What is to become great, should begin small," justly observes one of his oldest biographers; "and if children are brought up too delicately and with too much

kindness from their youth, they are injured for life."⁴

Martin learnt something at school. He was taught the heads of his Catechism, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, some hymns, some forms of prayer, and a Latin grammar written in the fourth century by Donatus, who was St. Jerome's master, and which, improved in the eleventh century by one Remigius, a French monk, was long held in great repute in every school. He further studied the calendar of Cicio Janus, a very singular work, composed in the tenth or eleventh century: in fine, he learnt all that could be taught in the Latin school of Mansfeldt.

But the child's thoughts do not appear to have been there directed to God. The only religious sentiment that could then be discovered in him was fear. Every time he heard Jesus Christ spoken of, he turned pale with affright; for the Saviour had only been represented to him as an offended judge. This servile fear—so alien to true religion—may perhaps have prepared him for the glad tidings of the Gospel, and for that joy which he afterwards felt, when he learnt to know Him who is meek and lowly in heart.

John Luther wished to make his son a scholar. The day that was every where beginning to dawn, had penetrated even into the house of the Mansfeldt miner, and there awakened ambitious thoughts. The remarkable disposition, the persevering application of his son, made John conceive the liveliest expectations. Accordingly, in 1497, when Martin had attained the age of fourteen years, his father resolved to part with him, and send him to the Franciscan school at Magdeburg. His mother was forced to consent, and Martin prepared to quit the paternal roof.

Magdeburg was like a new world to Martin. In the midst of numerous privations, for he scarcely had enough to live upon, he inquired—he listened. Andrew Proles, provincial of the Augustine order, was at that time warmly advocating the necessity of reforming religion and the Church. It was not he, however, who deposited in the young man's heart the first germ of the ideas that were afterwards developed there.

This was a rude apprenticeship for Luther. Thrown upon the world at the age of fourteen, without friends or protectors, he trembled in the presence of his masters, and in the hours of recreation he painfully begged his bread in company with children poorer than himself. "I used to beg with my companions for a little food," said he, "that we might have the means of providing for our wants. One day, at the time the Church celebrates the festival of Christ's nativity, we were wandering together through the neighbouring villages, going from house to

¹ Aufzucht des kleinen Dei... domestic institutions
des christlichen Eltern. Melanct. Vita Luth.
² David Schenckling, Orat. de Vita et Morte Lutheri.
³ Ich bin zu frühzeitig durchsorgig erzogen, nachdem man
nicht temperando corripit. A. Opp. W. 224. p. 176.

⁴ Was gross sei worden, muss klein ansetzen. Melanct.
Hist. p. 2.

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house, and singing in four parts the usual carols on the infant Jesus, born at Bethlehem. We stopped before a peasant's house that stood by itself at the extremity of the village. The farmer, hearing us sing our Christmas hymns, came out with some victuals which he intended to give us, and called out in a high voice and with a harsh tone, Boys, where are you? Frightened at these words, we ran off as fast as our legs would carry us. We had no reason to be alarmed, for the farmer offered us assistance with great kindness; but our hearts, no doubt, were rendered timorous by the menaces and tyranny with which the teachers were then accustomed to rule over their pupils, so that a sudden panic had seized us. At last, however, as the farmer continued calling after us, we stopped, forgot our fears, ran back to him, and received from his hands the food intended for us. It is thus," adds Luther, "that we are accustomed to tremble and flee, when our conscience is guilty and alarmed. In such a case we are afraid even of the assistance that is offered us, and of those who are our friends, and who would willingly do us every good."¹

A year had scarcely passed away, when John and Margaret, hearing what difficulty their son found in supporting himself at Magdeburg, sent him to Eisenach, where there was a celebrated school, and in which town they had many relatives.² They had other children; and although their means had increased, they could not maintain their son in a place where he was unknown. The furnaces and the industry of John Luther did little more than provide for the support of his family. He hoped that when Martin arrived at Eisenach, he would more easily find the means of subsistence; but he was not more fortunate in this town. His relations who dwelt there took no care about him, or perhaps, being very poor themselves, they could not give him any assistance.

When the young scholar was pinched by hunger, he was compelled, as at Magdeburg, to join with his schoolfellows in singing from door to door to obtain a morsel of bread. This custom of Luther's days is still preserved in many German cities: sometimes the voices of the youths form an harmonious concert. Often, instead of food, the poor and modest Martin received nothing but harsh words. Then, overwhelmed with sorrow, he shed many tears in secret, and thought with anxiety of the future.

One day, in particular, he had already been repulsed from three houses, and was preparing to return fasting to his lodgings, when, having reached the square of St. George, he stopped motionless, plunged in melancholy reflections, before the house of a worthy citizen. Must he for want of bread renounce

his studies, and return to labour father in the mines of Mansfeldt, deny a door opens—a woman appears at the threshold: it is Ursula, the wife Cotta, and daughter of the burgo-master of Eisenach.¹ The Eisenach chronicles "the pious Shunamite," in remembrance of her who so earnestly constrained the prophet Elisha to stay and eat bread. The Christian Shunamite had already more than once remarked the youthful assemblies of the faithful; she, affected by the sweetness of his voice, his devotion.² She had heard words that had been addressed to scholars, and seeing him stand thus before her door, she came to his aid, him to enter, and gave him food to satisfy his hunger.

Conrad approved of his wife's benevolence; he even found so much pleasure in society, that a few days after he left to live entirely with him. Hence his studies were secured. He is now to return to the mines of Mansfeldt, the talents that God has intrusted to him. At a time when he knew not what would become of him, God opened the door to the house of a Christian family. He disposed his soul to that confidence in which the severest trials could only be made to shake.

Luther passed in Cotta's house a different kind of life from that which he had hitherto known. His existence grew calmly, exempt from want and anxiety. His mind became more serene, his heart more cheerful, and his heart more open. His faculties awoke at the milk of charity, and he began to exult with and happiness. His prayers were fervent, his thirst for knowledge grew, his progress in study more rapid.

To literature and science he added the charms of the fine arts; for they were advancing in Germany. The music which God destines to act upon their hearts, are themselves at first influenced, carried away by all the tendencies of the age in which they live. Luther played on the flute and on the lute; this latter instrument he used often in company with his fine alto voice, and thus he found relief in the hours of sadness. He delighted in testifying by his melody his gratitude towards his adoptive mother, who was passionately fond of music. He loved the art even to old age, and the words and airs of some of the hymns that Germany possesses. These even passed into our language.

These were happy times for young Luther; he could never think of them with regret. One of Conrad's sons came

¹ Lutheri Opera (Walch.) II. 207.
² *Quoniam enim pater totam parvam hanc habet.*
Apoc. I. 20.

¹ Lingk's Reisebesch. Luth.
² *Die Welt ist um seines Singen und harfen spielen.* Mathias. p. 2.

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years after to study at Wittenberg, when the poor scholar of Eisenach had become the first doctor of the age, was received with joy at his table and under his roof. He wished to make some return to the son for the kindness he had received from the parents. It was in remembrance of this christian woman who had fed him when all the world repulsed him, that he gave utterance to this beautiful thought: "There is nothing sweeter on earth than the heart of a woman in which piety dwells."

Luther was never ashamed of these days in which, oppressed by hunger, he used in sadness to beg the bread necessary for his studies and his livelihood. Far from that, he used to reflect with gratitude on the extreme poverty of his youth. He looked upon it as one of the means that God had employed to make him what he afterwards became, and he accordingly thanked him for it. The poor children who were obliged to follow the same kind of life, touched his heart. "Do not despise," said he, "the boys who go singing through the streets, begging a little bread for the love of God (*propter Deum*): I also have done the same. It is true that somewhat later my father supported me with much love and kindness at the university of Erfurth, maintaining me by the sweat of his brow; yet I have been a poor beggar. And now, by means of my pen, I have risen so high, that I would not change lots with the Grand Turk himself. Nay more, should all the riches of the earth be heaped one upon another, I would not take them in exchange for what I possess. And yet I should not be where I am, if I had not gone to school—if I had not learnt to write."—Thus did this great man see in these his first humble beginnings the origin of all his glory. He had not to recall to mind that the voice whose accents thrilled the empire and the world, once used to beg for a morsel of bread in the streets of a small town. The Christian finds a pleasure in such recollections, because they remind him that it is in God alone he should glory.

The strength of his understanding, the vividness of his imagination, the excellence of his memory, soon carried him beyond all his schoolfellows.¹ He made rapid progress especially in Latin, in eloquence, and in poetry. He wrote speeches and composed verses. As he was cheerful, obliging, and had what is called "a good heart," he was beloved by his masters and by his schoolfellows.

Among the professors he attached himself particularly to John Trebonius, a learned man, of an agreeable address, and who had all that regard for youth which is so well calculated to encourage them.

Martin had noticed that whenever Trebonius entered the schoolroom, he raised his cap to salute the pupils. A great condescension in those pedantic times! This had delighted the young man. He saw that he was something. The respect of the master had elevated the scholar in his own estimation. The colleagues of Trebonius, who did not adopt the same custom, having one day expressed their astonishment at his extreme condescension, he replied (and his answer did not the less strike the youthful Luther): "There are among these boys men of whom God will one day make burgomasters, chancellors, doctors, and magistrates. Although you do not yet see them with the badges of their dignity, it is right that you should treat them with respect." Doubtless the young scholar listened with pleasure to these words, and perhaps imagined himself already with the doctor's cap upon his head!

CHAPTER II.

The University—Scholastic Divinity and the Classics—Luther's Piety—Discovery of the Bible—Illness—Luther admitted M.A.—Conscience—Death of Alexis—The Thunder-Storm—Providence—Farewell—Luther enters a Convent.

LUTHER had now reached his eighteenth year. He had tasted the sweets of literature; he burnt with a desire of knowledge; he sighed for a university education, and wished to repair to one of those fountains of learning where he could slake his thirst for letters. His father required him to study the law. Full of hope in the talents of his son, he wished that he should cultivate them and make them generally known. He already pictured him discharging the most honourable functions among his fellow-citizens, gaining the favour of princes, and shining on the theatre of the world. It was determined that the young man should go to Erfurth.

Luther arrived at this university in 1501. Jodocus, surnamed the Doctor of Eisenach, was teaching there the scholastic philosophy with great success. Melancthon regrets that at that time nothing was taught at Erfurth but a system of dialectics bristling with difficulties. He thinks that if Luther had met with other professors, if they had taught him the milder and calmer discipline of true philosophy, the violence of his nature might have been moderated and softened.² The new disciple applied himself to study the philosophy of the Middle Ages in the works of Occam, Scotus, Bonaventure, and Thomas

¹ *Ornatus est vis ingenui acerrime erudit, et imprimis ad philosophiam, collector equitatis ante propriam. Mel. Vita Luth.*

² *Dignitate igitur litterarum dulcedine, natura sagax cupiditate discendi appetit condonam. Mel. Vita Luth. et in sermone ad adolescentem reuerentem naturam uttingit, studio rerum philosophia. Mel. Vita Luth.*

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Aquinas. In later times all this scholastic divinity was his aversion. He trembled with indignation whenever Aristotle's name was pronounced in his presence, and he went so far as to say that if Aristotle had not been a man, he should not have hesitated to take him for the devil. But a mind so eager for learning as his required other aliments; he began to study the masterpieces of antiquity, the writings of Cicero, Virgil, and other classic authors. He was not content, like the majority of students, with learning their productions by heart: he endeavoured to fathom their thoughts, to imbibe the spirit which animated them, to appropriate their wisdom to himself, to comprehend the object of their writings, and to enrich his mind with their pregnant sentences and brilliant images. He often addressed questions to his professors, and soon outstripped all his fellow-students.¹ Blessed with a retentive memory and a strong imagination, all that he read or heard remained constantly present to his mind; it was as if he had seen it himself. "Thus shone Luther in his early years. The whole university," says Melancthon, "admired his genius."²

But even at this period the young man of eighteen did not study merely to cultivate his intellect: he had those serious thoughts, that heart directed heavenwards, which God gives to those of whom he resolves to make his most zealous ministers. Luther was sensible of his entire dependence upon God,—simple and powerful conviction, which is at once the cause of deep humility and of great actions! He fervently invoked the divine blessing upon his labours. Every morning he began the day with prayer; he then went to church, and afterwards applied to his studies, losing not a moment in the whole course of the day. "To pray well," he was in the habit of saying, "is the better half of study."³

The young student passed in the university library all the time he could snatch from his academical pursuits. Books were as yet rare, and it was a great privilege for him to profit by the treasures brought together in this vast collection. One day—he had then been two years at Erfurth, and was twenty years old—he opens many books in the library one after another, to learn their writers' names. One volume that he comes to attracts his attention. He has never until this hour seen its like. He reads the title—it is a Bible! a rare book, unknown in those times.⁴ His interest is greatly excited: he is filled with astonishment at finding other matters than those fragments of the gospels and epistles that the Church has

selected to be read to the people during public worship every Sunday throughout year. Until this day he had imagined they composed the whole Word of God now he sees so many pages, so many chapters, so many books of which he had had no idea. His heart beats as he holds the divinely inspired volume in his hand. With eagerness and with indescribable emotion he turns these leaves from God. The first passage which he fixes his attention on is the story of Hannah and of the young Samuel. He reads—and his soul can hardly contain the joy it feels. This child, whom his parents lend to the Lord as long as he lives, the song of Hannah, in which she declares that Jehovah "raiseth up the poor out of dust, and lifteth the beggar from the hill, to set them among princes;" this child who grew up in the temple in the presence of the Lord; those sacrificers, the sons of men who are wicked men, who live in debauchery and "make the Lord's people to transgress"—all this history, all this revelation that has just discovered, excites feelings till unknown. He returns home with a new heart. "Oh! that God would give me a book for myself," thought he.¹ I was as yet ignorant both of Greek and of Hebrew. It is scarcely probable that he studied these languages during the first or three years of his residence at the university. The Bible that had filled him with such transports was in Latin. He returned to the library to pore over his treasure. He read it again and again, and then, with astonishment and joy, he returned to his studies once more. The first glimmerings of truth were then beginning to dawn upon his mind.

Thus had God led him to the discovery of his Word—of that book of which he was to give his fellow-countrymen the admirable translation in which Germany for three centuries perused the oracles of God. Perhaps for the first time this precious volume has now been taken down from the place it occupied in the library of Erfurth. This book, deposited upon the unshelves of a gloomy hall, is about to be the book of life to a whole nation. In the Bible the Reformation lay hid.

It was in the same year that Luther received his first academical degree—that of bachelor.

The excessive labour to which he had devoted himself in order to pass his examination occasioned a dangerous illness. Death was approaching him: serious reflections pressed upon his mind. He thought that his existence was drawing to an end. The young man excited general interest. "A pity," they thought, "to see so many expectations so early blighted." Many came to visit him on his bed of sickness. Among their number was a venerable

¹ *Et quidam inter primos, ut ingenio studioque multos copulatum antecederet.* Cochimus, *Acta Lutheri*, p. 1.

² *Et igitur in juventute eminebat, ut toti academice Lutheri ingenium admirationi esset.* Vita Lutheri.

³ *Friedrich Gebel, ist über die Heiligt studirt.* Mathen. 2.
⁴ *Auf die Zeit, wie er die Bücher des nacheinander beschauet....* *Kommt er über die lateinische Bibel.* Mathen. 2.

¹ *Avide percurrit, cupitque optare ut olim talium et ipse nunciari posset.* M. Adams Vita Lutheri, p. 18.

god priest, who had watched with interest the student of Mansfeldt in his labours and in his academic career. Luther could not conceal the thoughts that occupied his mind. "Soon," said he, "I shall be called away from this world." But the old man kindly replied, "My dear bachelor, take courage; you will not die of this illness. Our God will yet make of you a man who, in turn, shall console many.¹ For God layeth his cross upon those whom he loveth, and they who bear it patiently acquire much wisdom." These words struck the young invalid. It was when he was so near death that he heard the voice of a priest remind him that God, as Samuel's mother said, raiseth up the miserable. The old man had poured sweet consolation into his heart, had revived his spirits; never will he forget it. "This was the first prediction that the worthy doctor heard," says Mathesius, Luther's friend, who records the fact, "and he often used to call it to mind." We may easily comprehend in what sense Mathesius calls these words a prediction.

When Luther recovered, there was a great change in him. The Bible, his illness, the words of the aged priest, seem to have made a new appeal to him: but as yet there was nothing decided in his mind. Another circumstance awakened serious thoughts within him. It was the festival of Easter, probably in the year 1503. Luther was going to pass a short time with his family, and wore a sword according to the custom of the age. He struck against it with his foot, the blade fell out, and cut one of the principal arteries. Luther, whose only companion had run off in haste to seek for assistance, finding himself alone, and seeing the blood flowing copiously without being able to check it, lay down on his back, and put his finger on the wound; but the blood escaped in despite of his exertions, and Luther, feeling the approach of death, cried out, "O Mary, help me!" At last a surgeon arrived from Erfurth, who bound up the cut. The wound opened in the night, and Luther fainted, again calling loudly upon the Virgin. "At that time," said he in after-years, "I should have died relying upon Mary." Ere long he abandoned that superstition, and invoked a more powerful Saviour. He continued his studies. In 1505 he was admitted M.A. and doctor of philosophy. The university of Erfurth was then the most celebrated in all Germany. The others were but inferior schools in comparison with it. The ceremony was conducted, as usual, with great pomp. A procession by torchlight came to pay honour to Luther.² The festival was magnificent. It was a general rejoicing. Luther, encouraged perhaps by these honours,

felt disposed to apply himself entirely to the law, in conformity with his father's wishes.

But the will of God was different. While Luther was occupied with various studies, and beginning to teach the physics and ethics of Aristotle, with other branches of philosophy, his heart ceased not from crying to him that religion was the one thing needful, and that above all things he should secure his salvation. He knew the displeasure that God manifests against sin; he called to mind the penalties that his Word denounces against the sinner; and he asked himself, with apprehension, whether he was sure of possessing the divine favour. His conscience answered, No! His character was prompt and decided: he resolved to do all that might ensure him a firm hope of immortality. Two events occurred, one after the other, to disturb his soul, and to hasten his resolution.

Among his university friends was one named Alexis, with whom he lived in the closest intimacy. One morning a report was spread in Erfurth that Alexis had been assassinated. Luther hastens to ascertain the truth of this rumour. This sudden loss of his friend agitated him, and the question he asked himself, What would become of me, if I were thus called away without warning? fills his mind with the keenest terrors.³

It was in the summer of the year 1505 that Luther, whom the ordinary university vacations left at liberty, resolved to go to Mansfeldt, to revisit the dear scenes of his childhood and to embrace his parents. Perhaps also he wished to open his heart to his father, to sound him on the plan that he was forming in his mind, and obtain his permission to engage in another profession. He foresaw all the difficulties that awaited him. The idle life of the majority of priests was displeasing to the active miner of Mansfeldt. Besides, the ecclesiastics were but little esteemed in the world; for the most part their revenues were scanty; and the father, who had made great sacrifices to maintain his son at the university, and who now saw him teaching publicly in a celebrated school, although only in his twentieth year, was not likely to renounce the proud hopes he had cherished.

We are ignorant of what passed during Luther's stay at Mansfeldt. Perhaps the decided wish of his father made him fear to open his heart to him. He again quitted his father's house to take his seat on the benches of the academy. He was already within a short distance of Erfurth, when he was overtaken by a violent storm, such as often occurs in these mountains. The lightning flashed—the bolt fell at his feet. Luther threw himself upon his knees. His hour, perhaps, is come. Death, the judgment, and eternity summon him with all their terrors,

¹ *Deus in vitam fugiet et alios multos horum consolabitur.*
² *Mathesius, Vita Lutheri, p. 100.*
³ *Ibid. Op. V. lib. 2. p. 222.*

² *Interitio sodalis et contristatio. Cœlius, l.*

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and he hears a voice that he can no longer resist. "Encompassed with the anguish and terror of death," as he says himself,¹ he makes a vow, if the Lord delivers him from this danger, to abandon the world, and devote himself entirely to God. After rising from the ground, having still present to him that death which must one day overtake him, he examines himself seriously, and asks what he ought to do.² The thoughts that once agitated him now return with greater force. He has endeavoured, it is true, to fulfil all his duties, but what is the state of his soul? Can he appear before the tribunal of a terrible God with an impure heart? He must become holy. He has now as great a thirst for holiness, as he had formerly for knowledge. But where can he find it, or how can he attain it? The university provided him with the means of satisfying his first desires. Who shall calm that anguish—who shall quench the fire that now consumes him? To what school of holiness shall he direct his steps? He will enter a cloister: the monastic life will save him. Oftentimes has he heard speak of its power to transform the heart, to sanctify the sinner, to make man perfect! He will enter a monastic order. He will there become holy: thus will he secure eternal life.³

Such was the event that changed the calling, the whole destiny of Luther. In this we perceive the finger of God. It was his powerful hand that on the highway cast down the young master of arts, the candidate for the bar, the future lawyer, to give an entirely new direction to his life. Rubianus, one of Luther's friends at the university of Erfurth, wrote thus to him in after-life: "Divine Providence looked at what you were one day to become, when on your return from your parents, the fire from heaven threw you to the ground, like another Paul, near the city of Erfurth, and withdrawing you from our society, drove you into the Augustine order." Analogous circumstances have marked the conversion of the two greatest instruments that Divine Providence has made use of in the two greatest revolutions that have been effected upon the earth: Saint Paul and Luther.⁴

Luther re-enters Erfurth. His resolution is unalterable. Still it is not without a pang that he prepares to break the ties so dear to him. He communicates his intention to no one. But one evening he invites his university friends to a cheerful but frugal supper. Music once more enlivens their social meet-

ing. It is Luther's farewell to the world. Henceforth, instead of these amiable companions of his pleasures and his studies, he will have monks; instead of this gay and witty conversation—the silence of the cloister; and for these merry songs—the solemn strains of the quiet chapel. God calls him, and he must sacrifice everything. Still, for the last time, let him share in the joys of his youth! The repast excites his friends: Luther himself is the soul of the party. But at the very moment that they are giving way without restraint to their gaiety, the young man can no longer control the serious thoughts that fill his mind. He speaks—he makes known his intention to his astonished friends. They endeavour to shake it, but in vain. And that very night Luther, fearful perhaps of their importunate solicitations, quits his lodgings. He leaves behind him all his clothes and books, taking with him only Virgil and Plautus; he had no Bible as yet. Virgil and Plautus! an epic poem and comedies! striking picture of Luther's mind! There had in effect taken place in him a whole epic—a beautiful, grand, and sublime poem; but as he had a disposition inclined to gaiety, wit, and humour, he combined more than one familiar feature with the serious and stately groundwork of his life.

Provided with these two books, he repairs alone, in the darkness of night, to the convent of the hermits of St. Augustine. He asks admittance. The gate opens and closes again. Behold him separated for ever from his parents, from the companions of his studies, and from the world! It was the 17th August 1505: Luther was then twenty-one years and nine months old.

CHAPTER III.

His Father's Anger—Pardon—Humiliations—The Seek and the Cell—Endurance—Luther's Studies—St. Augustine—Peter d'Ailly—Ocean—Gerson—The chained Bible—Lore—Hebrew and Greek—Daily Prayers—Asceticism—Mental Struggles—Luther during Mass—Useless Observances—Luther in a Painting-St.

LUTHER was with God at last. His soul was in safety. He was now about to find that holiness which he so much desired. The monks were astonished at the sight of the youthful doctor, and extolled his courage and his contempt of the world.¹ He did not, however, forget his friends. He wrote to them, bidding farewell to them and to the world; and on the next day he sent these letters, with the clothes he had worn till then, and returned to the university his ring of master of arts, that nothing might remind him of the world he had renounced.

¹ Mit Erschrecken und Angst des Todes umgeben. *L. Epp. ii. 101.*

² Cum esset in campo, fulminis ictu territus. *Cochimus, l.*

³ Occasione autem fuit ingrediendi illud vite genus, quod pietati et studiis doctrinæ de Deo, existimavit esse convenientius. *Mel. Vit. Luth.*

⁴ Some historians record that Alexis was killed by the thunderbolt that alarmed Luther; but two of his contemporaries, Mathæus (p. 4), and Seimceer (in *Orat. de Luth.*), distinguish between these two events; we may even add the testimony of Melancthon to theirs: he says—"Sodalem mæculo quo casu interfecit." *Vit. Luth.*

¹ Hujus mundi contemptum, ingressum est seipsum, nullis admirationibus, monitionibus. *Cochimus, l.*

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His friends at Erfurth were struck with astonishment. Must so eminent a genius go and hide himself in that monastic state, which is a partial death? Filled with the liveliest sorrow, they hastily repair to the convent, in the hope of inducing Luther to retrace so afflicting a step: but all was useless. For two whole days they surrounded the convent and almost besieged it, in the hope of seeing Luther come forth. But the gates remained closely shut and barred. A month elapsed without any one being able to see or speak to the new monk.

Luther had also hastened to communicate to his parents the great change that had taken place in his life. His father was amazed. He trembled for his son, as Luther himself tells us in the dedication of his work on monastic vows addressed to his father. His weakness, his youth, the violence of his passions, all led John Luther to fear that when the first moment of enthusiasm was over, the idle habits of the cloister would make the young man fall either into despair or into some great sin. He knew that this kind of life had already been the destruction of many. Besides, the councillor-miner of Mansfeldt had formed very different plans for his son. He had hoped that he would contract a rich and honourable marriage. And now all his ambitious projects are overthrown in one night by this imprudent step.

John wrote a very angry letter to his son, in which he spoke to him in a contemptuous tone, as Luther informs us, while he had addressed him always in a friendly manner after he had taken his master-of-arts degree. He withdrew all his favour, and declared him disinherited from his paternal affection. In vain did his father's friends, and doubtless his wife, endeavour to soften him; in vain did they say: "If you would offer a sacrifice to God, let it be what you hold best and dearest,—even your son, your Isaac." The inexorable councillor of Mansfeldt would listen to nothing.

Not long after, however (as Luther tells us in a sermon preached at Wittemberg, 20th January 1544), the plague appeared, and deprived John Luther of two of his sons. About this time some one came and told the bereaved father, the monk of Erfurth is dead also!.....His friends seized the opportunity of reconciling the father to the young novice. "If it should be a false alarm," said they to him, "at least sanctify your affliction by cordially consenting to your son's becoming a monk!"—"Well! so be it!" replied John Luther, with a heart bruised, yet still half rebellious, "and God grant he may prosper!" Some time after this, when Luther, who had been reconciled to his father, related to him the event that had induced him to enter a monastery, "God grant," replied the worthy minister, "that you may not have

taken for a sign from heaven what was merely a delusion of the devil."¹

There was not then in Luther that which was afterwards to make him the reformer of the Church. Of this his entrance into the convent is a strong proof. It was a proceeding in conformity with the tendencies of the age from which he was soon to contribute his endeavours to liberate the Church. He who was destined to become the great teacher of the world, was as yet its slavish imitator. A new stone had been added to the edifice of superstition by the very man who was ere long to destroy it. Luther looked to himself for salvation, to human works and observances. He knew not that salvation cometh wholly from God. He sought after his own glory and righteousness, unmindful of the righteousness and glory of the Lord. But what he was ignorant of as yet, he learnt soon after. It was in the cloister of Erfurth that this immense transformation was brought about, which substituted in his heart God and his wisdom for the world and its traditions, and that prepared the mighty revolution of which he was to be the most illustrious instrument.

When Martin Luther entered the convent, he changed his name, and assumed that of Augustine.

The monks had received him with joy. It was no slight gratification to their vanity to see one of the most esteemed doctors of the age abandon the university for a house belonging to their order. Nevertheless they treated him harshly, and imposed on him the meanest occupations. They wished to humble the doctor of philosophy, and to teach him that his learning did not raise him above his brethren. They imagined, besides, by this means to prevent him from devoting himself so much to his studies, from which the convent could reap no advantage. The former master of arts had to perform the offices of porter, to open and shut the gates, to wind up the clock, to sweep the church, and to clean out the cells.² Then, when the poor monk, who was at once doorkeeper, sexton, and menial servant of the cloister, had finished his work: *Cum sacco per civitatem!* Away with your wallet through the town! cried the friars; and laden with his bread-bag, he wandered through all the streets of Erfurth, begging from house to house, obliged perhaps to present himself at the doors of those who had once been his friends or his inferiors. On his return, he had either to shut himself up in a low and narrow cell, whence he could see nothing but a small garden a few feet square, or recommence his humble tasks. But he put up with all. Naturally disposed to devote himself entirely to whatever he undertook, he

¹ Gott gab das es nicht ein Betrug und teuflich Gespenst sey! L. Ep. ii. 101.

² *Loco commendæ purgare coactus est.* M. Adam Vita Luth. p. 22.

had become a monk with all his soul. Besides, how could he have a thought of sparing his body, or have had any regard for what might please the flesh? It was not thus that he could acquire the humility, the sanctity which he had come to seek within the walls of the cloister.

The poor monk, oppressed with toil, hastened to employ in study all the moments that he could steal from these mean occupations. He voluntarily withdrew from the society of the brethren to give himself up to his beloved pursuits; but they soon found it out, and surrounding him with murmurs, tore him from his books, exclaiming, "Come, come! It is not by studying, but by begging bread, corn, eggs, fish, meat, and money that a monk renders himself useful to the cloister."¹ Luther submitted: he laid aside his books, and took up his bag again. Far from repenting at having taken upon himself such a yoke, he is willing to go through with his task. It was then that the inflexible perseverance with which he always carried out the resolutions he had once formed, began to be developed in his mind. The resistance he made to these rude assaults gave a stronger temper to his will. God tried him in small things, that he might learn to remain unshaken in great ones. Besides, to be able to deliver his age from the miserable superstitions under which it groaned, it was necessary for him first to feel their weight. To drain the cup, he must drink it to the very dregs.

This severe apprenticeship did not, however, last so long as Luther might have feared. The prior of the convent, at the intercession of the university to which Luther belonged, freed him from the humiliating duties that had been laid upon him. The youthful monk then returned to his studies with new zeal. The works of the Fathers of the Church, especially of St. Augustine, attracted his attention. The exposition of the Psalms by this illustrious doctor, and his book *On the Letter and the Spirit*, were his favourite study. Nothing struck him more than the sentiments of this Father on the corruption of man's will and on Divine Grace. He felt by his own experience the reality of that corruption and the necessity for that grace. The words of St. Augustine corresponded with the sentiments of his heart. If he could have belonged to any other school than that of Jesus Christ, it would undoubtedly have been to that of the doctor of Hippo. He almost knew by rote the works of Peter d'Ailly and of Gabriel Biel. He was much taken with a saying of the former, that, if the Church had not decided to the contrary, it would have been preferable to concede that the bread and wine were really taken in the Lord's supper, and not mere accidents.

He also carefully studied the thomism of Occam and Gerson, who both expressed themselves so freely on the authority of Aristotle. To this course of reading he added exercises. He was heard in the public discussions unravelling the most complicated reasoning, and extricating himself from the labyrinth whence none but he could find an outlet. All his auditors were with astonishment.²

But he had not entered the cloister to acquire the reputation of a great scholar; he was to seek food for his piety.³ He therefore regarded these labours as mere diversions.

He loved above all things to draw from the pure source of the Word. He found in the convent a Bible fastened to a chain, and to this chained Bible continually returning. He had a deep understanding of the Word, yet was most pleasing study. It sometimes happened that he passed a whole day upon a single passage. At other times he learned fragments of the Prophets. He especially desired to acquire the writings of the Prophets and of the apostles, a perfect knowledge of God's will; up in greater fear of His name; and to enrich his faith by the sure testimony of the Word.⁴

It would appear that about this time he began to study the Scriptures in the original languages, and to lay the foundation of the most perfect and most useful of his labours, the translation of the Bible. He was at the time of Reuchlin's Hebrew Lexicon, that appeared. John Lange, one of the scholars of the convent, a man skilled in Hebrew, and with whom he always was closely connected, probably was his instructor.⁵ He also made much use of the learned commentaries of Nicholas Lyra, who died in 1340. It was from this circle that Pfing, afterwards bishop of Naumburg, said: *Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus tasset.*⁶

The young monk studied with such industry and zeal that it often happened that he did not repeat the daily prayers for four weeks together. But he was so alarmed at the thought that he had transgressed the rules of his order. He turned himself up to repair his negligence, and began to repeat conscientiously all that he had omitted, without a thought of eating or drinking. Once even, for four weeks together, he scarcely closed his eyes in sleep.

Burning with desire to attain that

¹ In disputationibus publicis labyrinthos aliosque, diserte multis admirantibus explicabat. Vita Luth.

² In eo vita genere non famam ingenii, sed pietatis querebat. Ibid.

³ Et firmis testimoniis aletur timorem et fidem.

⁴ Gesch. d. deutsch. Bibelübersetzung.

⁵ If Lyra had not touched his lyre, Luther danced.

in quest of which he had entered the cloister, Luther gave way to all the rigour of an ascetic life. He endeavoured to crucify the flesh by fastings, mortifications, and watchings.¹ Shut up in his cell, as in a prison, he struggled unceasingly against the deceitful thoughts and the evil inclinations of his heart. A little bread and a small herring were often his only food. Besides, he was naturally of very abstemious habits. Thus he was frequently seen by his friends, long after he had ceased to think of purchasing heaven by his abstinence, content himself with the poorest viands, and remain even four days in succession without eating or drinking.² This we have on the testimony of Melancthon, a witness in every respect worthy of credit. We may judge from this circumstance of the little value we ought to attach to the fables that ignorance and prejudice have circulated as to Luther's temperance. At the period of which we are speaking, nothing was too great a sacrifice that might enable him to become a saint—to acquire heaven. Never did the Romish church possess a more pious monk. Never did cloister witness more severe or indefatigable exertions to purchase eternal happiness.³ When Luther had become a reformer, and had declared that heaven was not to be obtained by such means as these, he knew very well what he was saying. "I was indeed a pious monk," wrote he to Duke George of Saxony, "and followed the rules of my order more strictly than I can express. If ever monk could obtain heaven by his monkish works, I should certainly have been entitled to it. Of this all the friars who have known me can testify. If it had continued much longer, I should have carried my mortifications even to death, by means of my watchings, prayers, reading, and other labours."⁴

We are approaching the epoch which made Luther a new man, and which, by revealing to him the infinity of God's love, put him in a condition to declare it to the world.

Luther did not find in the tranquillity of the cloister and in monkish perfection that peace of mind which he had looked for there. He wished to have the assurance of his salvation: this was the great want of his soul. Without it, there was no repose for him. But the fears that had agitated him in the world pursue him, to his cell. Nay, they were increased. The faintest cry of his heart re-echoed loud beneath the silent arches of the cloister. God had led him thither, that he might learn to know himself, and to despair of his own strength and virtue. His conscience, enlightened by the Divine Word,

told him what it was to be holy; but he was filled with terror at finding, neither in his heart nor in his life, that image of holiness which he had contemplated with admiration in the Word of God. A sad discovery, and one that is made by every sincere man! No righteousness within, no righteousness without! all was omission, sin, impurity!..... The more ardent the character of Luther, the stronger was that secret and constant resistance which man's nature opposes to good; and it plunged him into despair.

The monks and divines of the day encouraged him to satisfy the divine righteousness by meritorious works. But what works, thought he, can come from a heart like mine? How can I stand before the holiness of my judge with works polluted in their very source? "I saw that I was a great sinner in the eyes of God," said he, "and I did not think it possible for me to propitiate him by my own merits."

He was agitated and yet dejected, avoiding the trifling and stupid conversation of the monks. The latter, unable to comprehend the storms that tossed his soul, looked upon him with surprise,¹ and reproached him for his silence and his gloomy air. One day, Cochleus tells us, as they were saying mass in the chapel, Luther had carried thither all his anxiety, and was in the choir in the midst of the brethren, sad and heart-stricken. Already the priest had prostrated himself, the incense had been burnt before the altar, the *Gloria* sung, and they were reading the Gospel, when the poor monk, unable any longer to repress his anguish, cried out in a mournful tone, as he fell on his knees, "It is not I—it is not I."² All were thunder-struck: and the ceremony was interrupted for a moment. Perhaps Luther thought he heard some reproach of which he knew himself innocent; perhaps he declared his unworthiness of being one of those to whom Christ's death had brought the gift of eternal life. Cochleus says, they were then reading the story of the dumb man from whom Christ expelled a devil. It is possible that this cry of Luther, if the account be true, had reference to this circumstance, and that, although speechless like the dumb man, he protested by such an exclamation, that his silence came from other causes than demoniacal possession. Indeed, Cochleus tells us that the monks sometimes attributed the sufferings of their brother to a secret intercourse with the devil, and this writer himself entertained that opinion.³

A tender conscience inclined Luther to regard the slightest fault as a great sin. He had hardly discovered it, before he endeavoured to expiate it by the severest mortifications, which only served to point out to

¹ *Summa disciplina severitate ac ipse regit, et omnibus monachis lectissimum, discretissimum, iuniorum, precum, regum longe superat.* Melanct. VII. Luth.

² *Præ oculis natura, valde medici cibi et potus; vidi con- stituta gustare cibum, cum quidem recte valeret, prosum- ptum cibum non habuisset.* Ibid.

³ *Strenuus in studio ac exercitiis spiritualibus, militavit in fine anni quatuor.* Cochleus, I.

⁴ L. Opp. (W.) lib. 288.

¹ *Vixit et fratribus non nihil singularitatis habere.* Cochleus, I.

² *Cum.....repente occiderit vociferans, "Non sum I non sum I."* Ibid.

³ *Ex occultis aliquo cum dæmone commercio.* Ibid.

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him the inutility of all human remedies. "I tortured myself almost to death," said he, "in order to procure peace with God for my troubled heart and agitated conscience; but surrounded with thick darkness, I found peace nowhere."

The practices of monastic holiness, which had lulled so many consciences to sleep, and to which Luther himself had had recourse in his distress, soon appeared to him the un-availing remedies of an empirical and deceptive religion. "While I was yet a monk, I no sooner felt assailed by any temptation than I cried out—I am lost! Immediately I had recourse to a thousand methods to stifle the cries of my conscience. I went every day to confession, but that was of no use to me. Then bowed down by sorrow, I tortured myself by the multitude of my thoughts.—Look, exclaimed I, thou art still envious, impatient, passionate!...It profiteth thee nothing, O wretched man, to have entered this sacred order."

And yet Luther, imbued with the prejudices of his time, had from early youth considered the observances, whose worthlessness he had now discovered, as a certain remedy for diseased souls. What can he think of the strange discovery he has just made in the solitude of the cloister? It is possible, then, to dwell within the sanctuary, and yet bear in one's bosom a man of sin!.....He has received another garment, but not another heart. His expectations are disappointed. Where can he stop? Can all these rules and observances be mere human inventions? Such a supposition appears to him, at one time, a temptation of the devil, and at another, an irresistible truth. By turns contending with the holy voice that spake to his heart, and with the venerable institutions that time had sanctioned, Luther passed his life in a continual struggle. The young monk crept like a shadow through the long galleries of the cloister, that re-echoed with his sorrowful moanings. His body wasted away; his strength began to fail him; it sometimes happened that he remained like one dead.¹

On one occasion, overwhelmed with sorrow, he shut himself up in his cell, and for several days and nights allowed no one to approach him. One of his friends, Lucas Edemberger, feeling anxious about the unhappy monk, and having a presentiment of the condition in which he was, took with him some boys who were in the habit of singing in the choirs, and knocked at the door of the cell. No one opens—no one answers. The good Edemberger, still more alarmed, breaks open the door. Luther lies insensible upon the floor, and giving no signs of life. His friend strives in vain to recall him to his senses: he is still motionless.

Then the choristers begin to sing a hymn. Their clear voices act like a ray on the poor monk, to whom music was one of his greatest pleasures: gradually he recovers his strength, his consciousness of life.² But if music could restore him for a few moments, he requires another stronger remedy to heal him: then he needs that mild and subtle sound: the Gospel, which is the voice of God! He knew it well. And therefore his tears and his terrors led him to study with zeal the writings of the prophets and apostles.³

CHAPTER IV.

Pious Monks—Staupitz—His Piety—Visitation—The Grace of Christ—Repentance—The Sweetness of Repentance—Election—Provides Bible—The aged Monk—Forgiveness of Sins—The Dinner—Festival of Corpus Christi—Luther Professor at Wittenberg.

LUTHER was not the first monk who had undergone such trials. The gloom of the cloisters often concealed the abominable vices, that would have every upright mind shudder, had they been revealed; but often, also, they hid the virtues that expanded there in silence, which, had they been exposed to the world, would have excited universal admiration. The possessors of these virtues living only with themselves and withdrawn from all attention, and were of known to the modest convent in which they were enclosed: their lives were known to God. Sometimes these humble souls fell into that mystic theology,—sad of the noblest minds! which in earlier times had been the delight of the first monks on the banks of the Nile, and which usually consumes the souls of those who are its victims.

Yet if one of these men was called to a high station, he there displayed the salutary influence which was so widely felt. The candle was set on the candlestick, and it illumined the whole. Many were awakened by this light, from generation to generation were pious souls propagated; they were shining like isolated torches at times when the cloisters were often other than impure receptacles of the darkness.

A young man had been thus distinguished in one of the German convents. He was John Staupitz, and he was descended from a noble Misnian family. From

¹ *Hope cum cogitantem attentione de ira Dei, aut de mirandis peccatorum exemplis, subito tanti terrore concutitur, ut pene insensibilis fiat. Melanct. Vita Luth.*

² *Seeckend, p. 62.*

³ *King's xix.*

³ *Hope stadium ut magis exasperetur, illis studiis de peccatis morebatur. Melanct. Vita Luth.*

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youth he had had a taste for know-
a love of virtue.¹ He felt the
tirement to devote himself to let-
soon discovered that philosophy
udy of nature could not do much
eternal salvation. He therefore
learn divinity; but especially en-
to unite practice with knowledge.
ays one of his biographers, "it is
at we assume the name of divine,
not confirm that noble title by our
The study of the Bible and of the
e theology, the knowledge of him-
battles that he, like Luther, had
ght against the deceits and lusts
urt, led him to the Redeemer. He
ce to his soul in faith in Christ.
ine of election by grace had taken
ld of his mind. The integrity of
e extent of his knowledge, the elo-
his speech, not less than a strik-
ior and dignified manners,² recom-
m to his contemporaries. Frede-
Wise, elector of Saxony, made him
l, employed him in various embas-
founded the university of Wittem-
er his direction. This disciple of
and St. Augustine was the first
e theological faculty of that school
he light was one day to issue to
the schools and churches of so many

He was present at the Lateran
a proxy of the Archbishop of Saltz-
ame provincial of his order in Thu-
Saxony, and afterwards vicar-gene-
Augustines for all Germany.

z was grieved at the corruption of
d the errors of doctrine that were
ag the Church. His writings on
of God, on christian faith, and on
y with the death of Christ, and the
of Luther, confirm this. But he
d the former evil of more import-
the latter. Besides the mildness
cision of his character, his desire
o beyond the sphere of action he
assigned to him, made him fitter to
torer of a convent than the reformer
urch. He would have wished to
e but distinguished men to import-
s; but not finding them, he sub-
employ others. "We must plough,"
' with such horses as we can find;
oxen, if there are no horses."³
re witnessed the anguish and the
struggles to which Luther was a
the convent of Erfarth. At this
visitation of the vicar-general was
d. In fact Staupitz came to make
inspection. This friend of Frede-
founder of the university of Wit-
and chief of the Augustines, exhi-

bited much kindness to those monks who
were under his authority. One of these
brothers soon attracted his attention. He
was a young man of middle height, whom
study, fasting, and prolonged vigils had so
wasted away that all his bones might be
counted.¹ His eyes, that in after-years
were compared to a falcon's, were sunken;
his manner was dejected; his countenance
betrayed an agitated mind, the prey of a
thousand struggles, but yet strong and
resolute. His whole appearance was grave,
melancholy, and solemn: Staupitz, whose
discernment had been exercised by long ex-
perience, easily discovered what was passing
in his mind, and distinguished the youthful
monk above all who surrounded him. He
felt drawn towards him, had a presentiment
of his great destiny, and entertained quite a
paternal interest for his inferior. He had
had to struggle, like Luther, and therefore
he could understand him. Above all, he
could point out to him the road to peace,
which he himself had found. What he learnt
of the circumstances that had brought the
young Augustine into the convent, still more
increased his sympathy. He requested the
prior to treat him with greater mildness,
and took advantage of the opportunities
afforded by his station to win the confidence
of the youthful brother. Approaching him
with affection, he endeavoured by every means
to dispel his timidity, which was increased
by the respect and fear that a man of such
exalted rank as Staupitz must necessarily
inspire.

Luther's heart, which harsh treatment had
closed till then, opened at last and expanded
under the mild beams of charity. "As in
water face answereth to face, so the heart
of man to man."² Luther's heart found an
echo in that of Staupitz. The vicar-general
understood him, and the monk felt a con-
fidence towards him, that he had as yet
experienced for none. He unbosomed to
him the cause of his dejection, described the
horrible thoughts that perplexed him, and
then began in the cloister of Erfurth those
conversations so full of wisdom and of in-
struction. Up to this time no one had under-
stood Luther. One day, when at table in
the refectory, the young monk, dejected and
silent, scarcely touched his food. Staupitz,
who looked earnestly at him, said at last,
"Why are you so sad, brother Martin?"—
"Ah!" replied he, with a deep sigh, "I do
not know what will become of me!"—
"These temptations," resumed Staupitz,
"are more necessary to you than eating and
drinking." These two men did not stop
there; and ere long in the silence of the
cloister took place that intimate intercourse,
which powerfully contributed to lead forth
the future reformer from his state of dark-
ness.

¹ *ingenuitas, generoso animi impetu, ad virtutem doctrinam contendit.* Melch. Adam. Vita

² *Forma stans stabili conspectus.* Cochleus, 2. (W.) 7. 222.

³ *P. Mosaicum Regit.*

² *Proverbs xxvii. 19.*

"It is in vain," said Luther despondingly to Staupitz, "that I make promises to God: sin is ever the strongest."

"O my friend!" replied the vicar-general, looking back on his own experience; "more than a thousand times have I sworn to our holy God to live piously, and I have never kept my vows. Now I swear no longer, for I know I cannot keep my solemn promises. If God will not be merciful towards me for the love of Christ, and grant me a happy departure, when I must quit this world, I shall never, with the aid of all my vows and all my good works, stand before him. I must perish."¹

The young monk is terrified at the thought of divine justice. He lays open all his fears to the vicar-general. He is alarmed at the unspeakable holiness of God and his sovereign majesty. "Who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth?" (Mal. iii. 2.)

Staupitz resumes: he knows where he had found peace, and he will point it out to the young man. "Why," said he, "do you torment yourself with all these speculations and these high thoughts?.....Look at the wounds of Jesus Christ, to the blood that he has shed for you: it is there that the grace of God will appear to you. Instead of torturing yourself on account of your sins, throw yourself into the Redeemer's arms. Trust in him—in the righteousness of his life—in the atonement of his death. Do not shrink back; God is not angry with you, it is you who are angry with God. Listen to the Son of God. He became man to give you the assurance of divine favour. He says to you, You are my sheep; you hear my voice; no man shall pluck you out of my hand."²

But Luther does not find in himself the repentance which he thinks necessary for salvation, and replies he, it is the usual answer of distressed and timid minds: "How can I dare believe in the favour of God, so long as there is no real conversion in me? I must be changed, before he will accept me."

His venerable guide shows him that there can be no real conversion, so long as man fears God as a severe judge. "What will you say then," asks Luther, "to so many consciences to which a thousand insupportable tasks are prescribed in order that they may gain heaven?"

Then he hears this reply of the vicar-general, or rather he does not believe that it comes from man: it seems to him like a voice from heaven.³ "There is no real repentance except that which begins with the love of God and of righteousness.⁴ What others imagine to be the end and accomplishment of repentance, is on the contrary only

its beginning. In order that I may be filled with the love of what is good, I must first be filled with love for (I desire to be converted, do not torment me about all these mortifications and tortures. Love him who first

Luther listens—he listens and his consolations fill him with joy known, and impart new light. Christ," thinks he in his heart Jesus Christ himself who so consoles me by these sweet words."⁵

These words, indeed, penetrate to the bottom of the young monk's heart, the sharp arrow of a strong man. I repent, we must love God. A new light, he begins to comprehend. He looks out all the treat of repentance and conversion, till then so dreaded, to him, seem now to run to his part,—to smile and sport around him.

"Hitherto," exclaims he, "I have carefully dissembled the state before God, and endeavoured to make him a love which was strait and a fiction, there was in Scripture so bitter to me as penitence. But now there is no more acceptable."⁶ Oh! he is all God's precepts when we not only in books, but also in precious wounds!"⁷

Although Luther had been Staupitz' words, he nevertheless times into despondency. Sin in his timid conscience, and the vicious despair banished the joy "O my sin! my sin! my sin young monk one day in the presence of the vicar-general, with a tone of anguish. "Well! would you sinner in appearance," replied "and have also a Saviour on account? Then," added Staupitz who "know that Jesus Christ is even of those who are great, and deserving of utter condemnation."

It was not alone the sin he had in his heart that agitated Luther; of his conscience were augmented of reason. If the holy precepts alarmed him, some of the doctrine of the divine book still more increased

¹ Memini inter jucundissimas et salutaribus me solet Dominus Jesus mirifice consolari. L. Epp. l. 115. ad Staupitzium, 30 May, 1518.

² Hæsit hoc verbum tuum in me, sicut aculeus. Ibid.

³ Ecce jucundissimum ludum, verba unde debant, planeque huic sententiæ arridebant. L. Epp. l. 115.

⁴ Rursum nihil dulcius aut gratius mihi est, quam te. Ibid.

⁵ Ita enim dulcescent præcepta Dei, quantum, sed in vulneribus dulcissimi Salvatoris. Ibid.

¹ L. Opp. (W.) viii. 2725.

² Ibid. ii. 264.

³ Tu voluit e celo sententiam accepimus. L. Epp. l. 115.

ad Staupitzium, 30 May, 1518.

⁴ Penitentia vero non est, nisi que ab amore justitiæ et Dei incipit, &c. Ibid.

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th, which is the great medium by od confers peace on man, must ne- begin by taking away from him : security that destroys him. The of Election particularly disturbed ng man, and launched him into a s field of inquiry. Must he believe as man who first chose God for his or that God first elected man? The istory, daily experience, the works stine,—all had shown him that we ways and in every case ascend to t cause, to that sovereign will by very thing exists, and on which ing depends. But his ardent spirit ave desired to go still further; he ave wished to penetrate into the ouncils of God, unveiled his mys- en the invisible, and comprehended nprehensible. Staupitz checked him.

him not to presume to fathom the od, but to confine himself to what manifested to us in Jesus Christ. at Christ's wounds," said he, "and l you see God's counsel towards man ghtly forth. We cannot understand of Jesus Christ. In him, the Lord , you will find what I am, and what . Nowhere else, neither in heaven irth, will you discover it."¹

icar-general did still more. He Luther the paternal designs of Provi- i permitting these temptations and ous struggles that his soul was to . He made him view them in a light elated to revive his courage. By ls God prepares for himself the souls

destines for some important work. t prove the vessel before we launch e wide sea. If there is an education y for every man, there is a particular ose who are destined to act upon eration. This is what Staupitz re- i to the monk of Erfurth. "It is in," said he to him, "that God exer- in so many conflicts: you will see ill employ you, as his servant, for poses."

words, to which Luther listened onishment and humility, inspired : courage, and led him to discover in himself which he had not even d. The wisdom and prudence of an sed friend gradually revealed the an to himself. Staupitz went fur- : gave him many valuable directions ties, exhorting him, henceforward, e all his theology from the Bible, and away the systems of the schools. e study of the Scriptures," said he, r favourite occupation." Never was ices better followed out. What par- y delighted Luther, was the present s made him of a Bible: but it was not the one, bound in red leather, the pro-

perty of the convent, and which it was all his desire to possess, and to be able to carry about with him, because he was so familiar with its pages, and knew where to find each passage.¹ Nevertheless, at length he is master of the treasure of God. Henceforward he studies the Scriptures, and especially the epistles of St. Paul, with ever-increasing zeal. To these he adds the works of St. Augustine alone. All that he reads is imprinted deeply in his mind. His struggles have prepared his heart to understand the Word. The soil has been ploughed deep: the incorruptible seed sinks into it with power. When Staupitz quitted Erfurth, a new dawn had risen upon Luther.

But the work was not yet finished. The vicar-general had prepared the way: God reserved its accomplishment for an humbler instrument. The conscience of the young Augustine had not yet found repose. His body gave way at last under the conflict and the tension of his soul. He was attacked by an illness that brought him to the brink of the grave. This was in the second year of his abode in the convent. All his distresses and all his fears were aroused at the approach of death. His own impurity and the holiness of God again disturbed his mind. One day, as he lay overwhelmed with despair, an aged monk entered his cell, and addressed a few words of comfort to him. Luther opened his heart to him, and made known the fears by which he was tormented. The venerable old man was incapable of following up that soul in all its doubts, as Staupitz had done; but he knew his *Credo*, and had found in it much consolation to his heart. He will therefore apply the same remedy to his young brother. Leading him back to that Apostles' creed which Luther had learnt in early childhood at the school of Mansfeldt, the aged monk repeated this article with kind good-nature: *I believe in the forgiveness of sins*. These simple words, which the pious brother pronounced with sincerity in this decisive moment, diffused great consolation in Luther's heart. "I believe," he repeated to himself ere long on his bed of sickness, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins!"—"Ah!" said the monk, "you must believe not only in the forgiveness of David's and of Peter's sins, for this even the devils believe. It is God's command that we believe our own sins are forgiven us."² How delightful did this commandment seem to poor Luther! "Hear what St. Bernard says in his discourse on the Annunciation," added the aged brother: "The testimony of the Holy Ghost in thy heart is this: Thy sins are forgiven thee."

From this moment light sprung up in the heart of the young monk of Erfurth. The word of grace had been pronounced: he had

¹ Beckand, p. 55.

² David and Peire.... Sed mandatum Dei esse, ut singuli homines nobis remitti peccata credamus. Melanct. *Vita* Luth.

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believed in it. He disclaims all merit of salvation, and resigns himself confidently to the grace of God in Jesus Christ. He does not at first perceive the consequences of the principle he has admitted; he is still sincere in his attachment to the Church, and yet he has no further need of her; for he has received salvation immediately from God himself, and henceforth Roman-catholicism is virtually destroyed in him. He advances,—he seeks in the writings of the apostles and prophets for all that can strengthen the hope which fills his heart. Each day he invokes support from on high, and each day also the light increases in his soul.

Luther's mental health restored that of his body, and he soon rose from his bed of sickness. He had received a new life in a two-fold sense. The festival of Christmas, that soon came, gave him an opportunity of abundantly tasting all the consolations of faith. He took part in these holy solemnities with sweet emotion; and when in the ceremonial of the day he had to chant these words: *O beata culpa quæ talem meruisti Redemptorem!*¹ his whole being responded *Amen*, and thrilled with joy.

Luther had been two years in the cloister, and was to be ordained priest. He had received much, and saw with delight the prospect afforded by the sacerdotal office of freely distributing what he had freely received. He wished to take advantage of the ceremony that was about to take place to become thoroughly reconciled with his father. He invited him to be present, and even requested him to fix the day. John Luther, who was not yet entirely pacified with regard to his son, nevertheless accepted the invitation, and named Sunday, 2d May, 1507.

Among the number of Luther's friends was the vicar of Eisenach, John Braun, who had been a faithful counsellor to him during his residence in that city. Luther wrote to him on the 22d April. This is the oldest letter of the reformer, and it bears the following address: "To John Braun, holy and venerable priest of Christ and of Mary." It is only in Luther's two earliest letters that the name of Mary is found.

"God, who is glorious and holy in all his works," says the candidate for the priesthood, "having most graciously condescended to raise me up—me, a wretched and in all respects unworthy sinner, and to call me by his sole and most free mercy to his sublime ministry; I ought, in order to testify my gratitude for such divine and magnificent goodness (as far at least as mere dust and ashes can do it) to fulfil with my whole heart the duties of the office intrusted to me."

At last the day arrived. The miner of Mansfeldt did not fail to be present at his son's ordination. He gave him indeed no

unequivocal mark of his affection: a generosity by presenting him on tation with twenty florins.

The ceremony took place. Hier bishop of Brandenburg, officiated. moment of conferring on Luther t of celebrating mass, he placed the c his hands, and uttered these solemn *Accipe potestatem sacrificandi pro mortuis*: "Receive the power of sacrifice the quick and the dead." Luther time listened calmly to these words conferred on him the power of d work of the Son of God; but he al at them in after-years. "If the e not then open and swallow us both he, "it was owing to the great pati long-suffering of the Lord."²

The father afterwards dined at the with his son, the young priest's frie the monks. The conversation fell tin's entrance into the monastery. thers loudly extolled it as a most me work; upon which the inflexible Jo ing to his son, asked him: "Have read in Scripture, that you should o father and mother?"³ These words Luther; they presented in quite aspect the action that had brought l the bosom of the convent, and ti re-echoed in his heart.

Shortly after his ordination, Lu the advice of Staupitz, made litt sions on foot into the neighbouring and convents, either to divert his n give his body the necessary exerci accustom him to preaching.

The festival of Corpus Christi w celebrated with great pomp at Eisleb vicar-general would be present, an repaired there also. He had still Staupitz, and sought every opport meeting this enlightened guide who his soul into the path of life. The p was numerous and brilliant. Stau self bore the consecrated host, Luth ing in his sacerdotal robes. The that it was Jesus Christ himself w vicar-general carried, the idea tha viour was there in person before b denly struck Luther's imagination, him with such terror that he could proceed. The perspiration fell drop from his face; he staggered, and th should die of anguish and affright. the procession was over; the host, awakened all the fears of the m solemnly deposited in the sanctus Luther, finding himself alone with fell into his arms and confessed h Then the good vicar-general, who known that gentle Saviour, who break the bruised reed, said to him "It was not Jesus Christ, my bro

¹ Oh blessed fault, that has merited such a Redeemer: *Beata culpa, p. 2.*

² Opp. xvi. (W.) 1144.

³ El, hast du nicht auch gehört dass man El kornen seyn. L. Ep. II. 101.

does not alarm; he gives consolation only.¹

Luther was not destined to remain hidden in an obscure convent. The time was come for his removal to a wider stage. Staupitz, with whom he always remained in close communication, saw clearly that the young monk's disposition was too active to be confined within so narrow a circle. He spoke of him to the Elector Frederick of Saxony; and this enlightened prince invited Luther in 1512, probably about the end of the year, to become professor at the university of Wittenberg. This was the field on which he was to fight many hard battles. Luther felt that his true vocation was there. He was requested to repair to his new post with all speed; he replied to the call without delay, and in the hurry of his removal he had not time to write to him whom he styled his foster and well-beloved father,—John Braun, curate of Eisenach. He did so however a few months later. "My departure was so hasty," he wrote, "that those with whom I was living were almost ignorant of it. I am farther away, I confess; but the better part of me remains with you."² Luther had been three years in the cloister at Erfurth.

CHAPTER V.

University of Wittenberg.—First Instructions.—Biblical Lectures.—Sensations.—Luther preaches at Wittenberg.—David Chapel.—Impression produced by his Sermons.

In the year 1502, Frederick the Elector founded a new university at Wittenberg. He declared in the charter confirming the privileges of this high school, that he and his people would look to it as to an oracle. At that time he had little thought in how remarkable a manner this language would be verified. Two men belonging to the opposition that had been formed against the scholastic system,—Pollich of Mellerstadt, doctor of medicine, law, and philosophy, and Staupitz—had had great influence in the establishment of this academy. The university chose that it selected St. Augustine for its patron,—a choice that was very significant. This new institution, which possessed great liberty, and which was considered as a court of final appeal in all cases of difficulty, was admirably fitted to become the cradle of the Reformation, and it powerfully contributed to the development of Luther and of Luther's work.

On his arrival at Wittenberg, he repaired to the Augustine convent, where a cell was allotted to him; for though a professor, he did not cease to be a monk. He had been

called to teach physics and dialectics. In assigning him this duty, regard had probably been paid to the philosophical studies he had pursued at Erfurth, and to the degree of Master of Arts which he had taken. Thus Luther, who hungered and thirsted after the Word of God, was compelled to devote himself almost exclusively to the study of the Aristotelian scholastic philosophy. He had need of that bread of life which God gives to the world, and yet he must occupy himself with human subtleties. What a restraint! and what sighs it called forth! "By God's grace, I am well," wrote he to Braun, "except that I have to study philosophy with all my might. From the first moment of my arrival at Wittenberg, I was earnestly desirous of exchanging it for that of theology; but," added he, "lest it should be supposed he meant the theology of the day, "it is of a theology which seeks the kernel in the nut, the wheat in the husk, the marrow in the bones, that I am speaking." Be that as it may, God is God," continues he with that confidence which was the soul of his life; "man is almost always mistaken in his judgments; but this is our God. He will lead us with goodness for ever and ever." The studies that Luther was then obliged to pursue were of great service to him, in enabling him in after-years to combat the errors of the schoolmen.

But he could not stop there. The desire of his heart was about to be accomplished. That same power, which some years before had driven Luther from the bar into a monastic life, was now impelling him from philosophy towards the Bible. He zealously applied himself to the acquisition of the ancient languages, and particularly of Greek and Hebrew, in order to draw knowledge and learning from the very springs whence they gushed forth. He was all his life indefatigable in labour.³ A few months after his arrival at the university, he solicited the degree of bachelor of divinity. He obtained it at the end of March 1509, with the particular summons to devote himself to biblical theology,—*ad Biblia*.

Every day, at one in the afternoon, Luther was called to lecture on the Bible: a precious hour both for the professor and his pupils, and which led them deeper and deeper into the divine meaning of those revelations so long lost to the people and to the schools!

He began his course by explaining the Psalms, and thence passed to the Epistle to the Romans. It was more particularly while meditating on this portion of Scripture, that the light of truth penetrated his heart. In the retirement of his quiet cell, he used to consecrate whole hours to the study of the

¹ Theologia que nucleum nocet, et medullam tritid, et medullam oculum scrutatur. L. Ep. l. 6.

² In studiis literarum, corpore ac mente indefessum. Pallavicini, Hist. Conc. Trident. l. 16.

Es ist nicht Christus, denn Christus schreikt nicht, sondern trauet auf. L. Opp. (W.) xii. pp. 312, 724.

³ L. Ep. l. 6. March 17, 1509.

Divine Word, this epistle of St. Paul lying open before him. On one occasion, having reached the seventeenth verse of the first chapter, he read this passage from the prophet Habakkuk : *The just shall live by faith.* This precept struck him. There is then for the just a life different from that of other men : and this life is the gift of faith. This promise, which he received into his heart, as if God himself had placed it there, unveils to him the mystery of the christian life, and increases this life in him. Years after, in the midst of his numerous occupations, he imagined he still heard these words : The just shall live by faith.¹

Luther's lectures thus prepared had little similarity with what had been heard till then. It was not an eloquent rhetorician or a pedantic schoolman that spoke ; but a Christian who had felt the power of revealed truths,—who drew them forth from the Bible,—poured them out from the treasures of his heart,—and presented them all full of life to his astonished hearers. It was not the teaching of a man, but of God.

This entirely new method of expounding the truth made a great noise ; the news of it spread far and wide, and attracted to the newly established university a crowd of youthful foreign students. Even many professors attended Luther's lectures, and among others Mellerstadt, frequently styled *the light of the world*, first rector of the university, who already at Leipsic, where he had been previously, had earnestly combated the ridiculous instructions of scholasticism, had denied that "the light created on the first day was Theology," and had maintained that the study of literature should be the foundation of that science. "This monk," said he, "will put all the doctors to shame ; he will bring in a new doctrine, and reform the whole church ; for he builds upon the Word of Christ, and no one in the world can either resist or overthrow that Word, even should he attack it with all the arms of philosophy, of the sophists, Scotists, Albertists, Thomists, and with all the Tartarens."²

Staupitz, who was the instrument of God to develop all the gifts and treasures hidden in Luther, requested him to preach in the church of the Augustines. The young professor shrunk from this proposal. He desired to confine himself to his academical duties, he trembled at the thought of increasing them by those of the ministry. In vain did Staupitz solicit him : "No ! no !" replied he, "it is no slight thing to speak before men in the place of God."³ What affecting humility in this great reformer of the Church ! Staupitz persisted ; but the ingenious Luther, says one of his biographers, found fifteen

arguments, pretexts, and evasions to himself against this invitation. At the chief of the Augustines persevere in his attack, Luther said : "Ah, doing this you deprive me of life, not be able to hold out three months ! Well ! so be it in God's name," re- vicar-general, "for our Lord God need on high of devoted and skilful Luther was forced to yield.

In the middle of the square at Wittenberg stood an ancient wooden chapel, tall and long and twenty wide, whose walls up on all sides were falling into ruin, old pulpit made of planks, and high, received the preacher. It was a wretched place that the preaching reformation began. It was God's will which was to restore his glory through the humblest beginnings. The foundation of the new Augustine Church had been laid, and in the meanwhile this place of worship was made use of for building," adds Myconius, one of the contemporaries, who records these stances, "may well be compared to in which Christ was born. It was a wretched enclosure, that God will speak, that his well-beloved Son was born a second time. Among those of cathedrals and parish churches where the world is filled, there was not on time which God chose for the glorifying of eternal life."

Luther preaches : every thing is as the new minister. His expressive countenance, his noble air, his clear and sonorous voice, captivate all his hearers. Before the majority of preachers had sought what might amuse their congregation, what would convert them. The goodness that pervaded all Luther's and the joy with which the knowledge of the Gospel had filled his heart, imparted eloquence and authority, a warmth andunction that his predecessors had lacked. "Endowed with a ready genius," says one of his opponents, "good memory, and employing his tongue with wonderful facility, Luther inferior to none of his contemporaries in eloquence. Speaking from the pulpit were agitated by some violent emotion, the action to his words, he affected hearers' minds in a surprising manner, carried them like a torrent where he pleased. So much strength, grace and eloquence are rarely found in these parts of the North."—"He had," says Florimond Raymond, "a lively and impetuous eloquence that led away the people."⁴

Soon the little chapel could not hearers who crowded to it. The Wittenberg then nominated Lut-

¹ Beckand., p. 26.

² Melch. Adam, Vita Lutheri, 104.—The *Fortunate, German Disputations, and German sermons*, were favourite works with the scholastic divines in the Middle Ages.

³ Fabricius continet. Luth. 22.—Math. 4.

⁴ Florimond Raymond, Hist. Lutheri, c. 2. Hist. des Variations, I.

chaplain, and invited him to preach in the city church. The impression he there produced was greater still. The energy of his genius, the eloquence of his style, and the excellency of the doctrines that he proclaimed, equally astonished his hearers. His reputation extended far and wide, and Frederick the Wise himself came once to Wittenberg to hear him.

This was the beginning of a new life for Luther. The slothfulness of the cloister had been succeeded by great activity. Freedom, labour, the earnest and constant action to which he could now devote himself at Wittenberg, succeeded in re-establishing harmony and peace within him. Now he was in his place, and the work of God was soon to display its majestic progress.

CHAPTER VI.

journey to Rome—Convent on the Po—Sickness at Bologna—Abominations of Rome—Julius II.—Superstitious Devotion—Profanity of the Clergy—Conversations—Roman Academies—Biblical Studies—Pilate's Salutation—Effects on Luther's Faith and on the Reformation—Gate of Paradise—Luther's Confession.

LUTHER was teaching both in the academical hall and in the church, when he was interrupted in his labours. In 1510, or according to others in 1511 or 1512, he was sent to Rome. Seven convents of his order were at variance on certain points with the vicar-general.¹ The acuteness of Luther's mind, his powerful language, and his talents for discussion, were the cause of his selection as agent for these seven monasteries before the pope.² This divine dispensation was necessary for Luther. It was requisite that he should know Rome. Full of the prejudices and delusions of the cloister, he had always imagined it to be the abode of sanctity.

He set out and crossed the Alps. But he had scarcely descended into the plains of the rich and voluptuous Italy, before he found at every step subjects of astonishment and scandal. The poor German monk was entertained in a wealthy convent of the Benedictines on the banks of the Po, in Lombardy. The revenues of this monastery amounted to 30,000 ducats; 12,000 were devoted to the table, 12,000 were set apart for the buildings, and the remainder for the wants of the monks.³ The splendour of the apartments, the richness of their dress, and the delicacy of their food, confounded Luther. Marble, silk, luxury in all its forms—what a novel sight for the humble brother of the poor convent of Wittenberg! He was astonished and was

silent; but when Friday came, what was his surprise at seeing the Benedictine table groaning under a load of meat. Upon this he resolved to speak. "The Church and the pope," said he, "forbid such things." The Benedictines were irritated at this reprimand of the unpolished German. But Luther having persisted, and perhaps threatened to make their irregularities known, some thought the simplest course would be to get rid of their importunate guest. The porter of the convent forewarned him of the danger he incurred by a longer stay. He accordingly quitted this epicurean monastery, and reached Bologna, where he fell dangerously ill.⁴ Some have attributed this to the effects of poison; but it is more reasonable to suppose that the change of diet affected the frugal monk of Wittenberg, whose usual food was bread and herrings. This sickness was not to be unto death, but to the glory of God. He again relapsed into the sorrow and dejection so natural to him. To die thus, far from Germany, under this burning sky, and in a foreign land—what a sad fate! The distress of mind that he had felt at Erfurth returned with fresh force. The sense of his sinfulness troubled him; the prospect of God's judgment filled him with dread. But at the very moment that these terrors had reached their highest pitch, the words of St. Paul, that had already struck him at Wittenberg, *The just shall live by faith*, recurred forcibly to his memory, and enlightened his soul like a ray from heaven. Thus restored and comforted, he soon regained his health, and resumed his journey towards Rome, expecting to find there a very different manner of life from that of the Lombard convents, and impatient to efface, by the sight of Roman holiness, the melancholy impressions left on his mind by his sojourn on the banks of the Po.

At length, after a toilsome journey under a burning Italian sun, at the beginning of summer, he drew near the seven-hilled city. His heart was moved within him: his eyes sought after the queen of the world and of the Church. As soon as he discovered the eternal city in the distance,—the city of St. Peter and St. Paul,—the metropolis of Catholicism,—he fell on his knees, exclaiming, "Holy Rome, I salute thee!"

Luther is in Rome: the Wittenberg professor stands in the midst of the eloquent ruins of consular and imperial Rome—of the Rome of so many martyrs and confessors of Jesus Christ. Here had lived that Plautus and that Virgil whose works he had carried with him into the cloister, and all those great men at whose history his heart had so often beat with emotion. He beholds their statues,—the ruins of the monuments that bear witness to their glory. But all that glory—all that power has fled; his feet

¹ Quod septem conventus a vicario in quodamdam dissen-
sione. Cochleus, 2.

² Quod esset acceperat ingenio et ad contradicendum audax et
vehemens. Ibid.

³ L. Opp. (W.) xiii. 1000

⁴ Matth. Dresser. Hist. Lutheri.

trample on their dust. At each step he calls to mind the sad presentiments of Scipio shedding tears as he looked upon the ruins—the burning palaces and tottering walls of Carthage, and exclaimed, "Thus will it one day be with Rome!" "And in truth," said Luther, "the Rome of the Scipios and Cæsars has become a corpse. There are such heaps of rubbish that the foundations of the houses are now where once stood the roofs. It is there," added he, as he threw a melancholy glance over these ruins, "it is there that once the riches and the treasures of the world were gathered together."¹ All these fragments, against which his feet stumble at every step, proclaim to Luther within the very walls of Rome, that what is strongest in the eyes of man may be easily destroyed by the breath of the Lord.

But with these profane ashes are mingled other and holier ones: he reveals them to mind. The burial-place of the martyrs is not far from that of the generals of Rome and of her conquerors. Christian Rome with its sufferings has more power over the heart of the Saxon monk than pagan Rome with all its glory. Here that letter arrived in which Paul wrote, *The just shall live by faith*. He is not far from Appii Forum and the Three Taverns. Here is the house of Narcissus—there the palace of Cæsar, where the Lord delivered the Apostle from the jaws of the lion. Oh, how these recollections strengthen the heart of the monk of Wittenberg!

But Rome at this time presented a very different aspect. The warlike Julius II. filled the papal chair, and not Leo X., as some distinguished German historians have said, doubtless through inattention. Luther has often related a trait in the character of this pope. When the news reached him that his army had been defeated by the French before Ravenna, he was repeating his daily prayers: he flung away the book, exclaiming with a terrible oath: "And thou too art become a Frenchman..... Is it thus thou dost protect thy Church?....." Then turning in the direction of the country to whose arms he thought to have recourse, he added: "Saint Switzer, pray for us!"² Ignorance, levity, and dissolute manners, a profane spirit, a contempt for all that is sacred, a scandalous traffic in divine things—such was the spectacle afforded by this unhappy city. Yet the pious monk remained for some time longer in his delusions.

Having arrived about the period of the feast of St. John, he heard the Romans repeating around him a proverb current among them: "Happy the mother whose son performs mass on St. John's eve!"—"Oh, how should I rejoice to render my mother happy!" said Luther to himself. Margaret's pious son endeavoured to repeat a mass on that

day; but he could not, the throng was too great.³

Fervent and meek, he visited all the churches and chapels; he believed in all the falsehoods that were told him; he devoutly performed all the holy practices that were required there, happy in being able to execute so many good works from which his fellow-countrymen were debarred. "Oh! how I regret," said the pious German to himself, "that my father and mother are still alive! What pleasure I should have in delivering them from the fire of purgatory by my masses, my prayers, and by so many other admirable works!"⁴ He had found the light; but the darkness was far from being entirely expelled from his understanding. His heart was converted; his mind was not yet enlightened: he had faith and love, but he wanted knowledge. It was no trifling matter to emerge from that thick night which had covered the earth for so many centuries.

Luther several times repeated mass at Rome. He officiated with all the unction and dignity that such an action appeared to him to require. But what affliction seized the heart of the Saxon monk at witnessing the sad and profane mechanism of the Roman priests, as they celebrated the sacrament of the altar! These on their part laughed at his simplicity. One day when he was officiating he found that the priests at an adjoining altar had already repeated seven masses before he had finished one. "Quick, quick!" cried one of them, "send our Lady back her Son;" making an impious allusion to the transubstantiation of the bread into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. At another time Luther had only just reached the Gospel, when the priest at his side had already terminated the mass. "Passa, passa!" cried the latter to him, "make haste! have done with it at once."⁵

His astonishment was still greater, when he found in the dignitaries of the papacy what he had already observed in the inferior clergy. He had hoped better things of them.

It was the fashion at the papal court to attack Christianity, and you could not pass for a well-bred man, unless you entertained some erroneous or heretical opinion on the doctrines of the Church.⁶ They had endeavoured to convince Erasmus, by means of certain extracts from Pliny, that there was no difference between the souls of men and of beasts;⁷ and some of the pope's youthful courtiers maintained that the orthodox faith was the result of the crafty devices of a few saints.⁸

¹ L. Opp. (W.) Dedication of Ps. 117. vol. vi. L. g.

² Ibid.

³ L. Opp. (W.) xix. von der Winkelmesse. Matheson.

⁴ In quel tempo non pareva fosse galantuomo e buon cristiano colui che de dogmi della chiesa non aveva qualche opinione eretica. Caracciolo, Vlt. MS. Paul IV. quoted by Ranke.

⁵ Burigny, Vie d'Erasmus, I. 129.

⁶ E medio Romanis curia, sectam juvenum....quid amantissimum

¹ L. Opp. (W.) xxi. 2374, 2377.

² Sanctus Switzer! ora pro nobis. Ibid. 1314, 1322.

Luther's quality of envoy from the German Augustines procured him invitations to numerous meetings of distinguished ecclesiastics. One day, in particular, he was at table with several prelates, who displayed openly before him their buffoonery and impious conversation, and did not scruple to utter in his presence a thousand mockeries, thinking, no doubt, that he was of the same mind as themselves. Among other things, they related before the monk, laughing and priding themselves upon it, how, when they were repeating mass at the altar, instead of the sacramental words that were to transform the bread and wine into the flesh and blood of our Saviour, they pronounced over the elements this derisive expression: *Panis es, et panis manebis; vinum es, et vinum manebis*.¹ Then, continued they, we elevate the host, and all the people bow down and worship it. Luther could hardly believe his ears. His disposition, although full of animation and even gaiety in the society of friends, was remarkably serious whenever sacred matters were concerned. The mockeries of Rome were a stumbling-block to him. "I was," said he, "a thoughtful and pious young monk. Such language grieved me bitterly. If it thus they speak at Rome, freely and publicly at the dinner-table, thought I to myself, what would it be if their actions corresponded to their words, and if all—popes, cardinals, and courtiers—thus repeat the same! And how they must have deceived me, who have heard them read devoutly so great a number!"²

Luther often mixed with the monks and citizens of Rome. If some few extolled the pope and his party, the majority gave a free course to their complaints and to their sarcasms. What stories had they not to tell about the reigning pope, or Alexander VI., or about so many others! One day his Roman friends related how Cesar Borgia, having fled from Rome, was taken in Spain. As they were going to try him, he called for a scribe, and asked for a confessor to visit him in his prison. A monk was sent to him, whom he slew, put on his hood, and escaped. "I heard that at Rome; and it is a positive fact," says Luther.³ Another day, passing down a wide street leading to St. Peter's, he halted in astonishment before a stone statue, representing a pope under the figure of a woman, holding a sceptre, clothed in the papal mantle, and carrying a child in her arms. It is a young woman of Mentz, he was told, whom the cardinals elected pope, and who was delivered of a child opposite this place. No pope, therefore, passes along that street. "I am surprised," says Luther,

"that the popes allow such a statue to remain."⁴

Luther had thought to find the edifices of the Church encompassed with splendour and strength, but its doors were broken down, and the walls damaged by fire. He witnessed the desolation of the sanctuary, and drew back with horror. All his dreams had been of holiness,—he had discovered nought but profanation.

The disorders without the churches were not less shocking to him. "The police of Rome is very strict and severe," said he. "The judge or captain patrols the city every night on horseback with three hundred followers; he arrests every one that is found in the streets: if they meet an armed man, he is hung, or thrown into the Tiber. And yet the city is filled with disorder and murder; whilst in those places where the Word of God is preached uprightly and in purity, peace and order prevail, without calling for the severity of the law."⁵—"No one can imagine what sins and infamous actions are committed in Rome," said he at another time; "they must be seen and heard to be believed. Thus, they are in the habit of saying, If there is a hell, Rome is built over it: it is an abyss whence issues every kind of sin."⁶

This spectacle made a deep impression even then upon Luther's mind; it was increased ere long. "The nearer we approach Rome, the greater number of bad Christians we meet with," said he, many years after. "There is a vulgar proverb, that he who goes to Rome the first time, looks out for a knave; the second time, he finds him; and the third, he brings him away with him. But people are now become so clever, that they make these three journeys in one."⁷ Machiavelli, one of the most profound geniuses of Italy, but also one of unenviable notoriety, who was living at Florence when Luther passed through that city on his way to Rome, has made the same remark: "The strongest symptom," said he, "of the approaching ruin of Christianity (by which he means Roman-catholicism) is, that the nearer people approach the capital of Christendom, the less Christian spirit is found in them. The scandalous examples and the crimes of the court of Rome are the cause why Italy has lost every principle of piety and all religious feeling. We Italians," continues this great historian, "are indebted principally to the Church and the priests for having become impious and immoral."⁸ Luther, somewhat later, was sensible of the very great importance of this journey. "If they would give me one hundred thousand florins," said

¹ *Ecce nostram fidem orthodoxam potius quibuscumque sanctis articulis sublevari.* Paul Canerius, Vita Pauli II.

² *I heard thou art, and bread thou shalt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remain.*

³ *Frank. Opp. (W.) xix. von der Winkelmeesse.*

⁴ *Wie habe ich zu Rom für gewiss gehört.* Luth. Opp. W., t. xix. 128.

⁵ *Es nimmt mich wunder, das die Päbste solches Bild leiden können.* Luth. Opp. (W.) xxi. 152a.

⁶ *L. Opp. (W.) xxi. 276.*

⁷ *Ich irgend eine Heile, so muss Rom darauf gebaut seyn.*

⁸ *Luth. Opp. (W.) xxi. 277.*

⁹ *Address to the Christian Nobles of Germany.*

¹⁰ *Dissert. on the 1st Dec. of Luvy.*

he, "I would not have missed seeing Rome!"¹

This visit was also very advantageous to him in regard to learning. Like Reuchlin, Luther took advantage of his residence in Italy to penetrate deeper into the meaning of the Holy Scriptures. He took lessons in Hebrew from a celebrated rabbi, named Elias Levita. It was at Rome that he partly acquired that knowledge of the Divine Word, under the attacks of which Rome was destined to fall.

But this journey was most important to Luther in another respect. Not only was the veil withdrawn, and the sardonic sneer, the mocking incredulity which lay concealed behind the Romish superstitions revealed to the future reformer, but the living faith that God had implanted in him was there powerfully strengthened.

We have seen how he at first gave himself up to all the vain observances which the Church enjoined for the expiation of sin. One day, among others, wishing to obtain an indulgence promised by the pope to all who should ascend on their knees what is called Pilate's Staircase, the poor Saxon monk was humbly creeping up those steps, which he was told had been miraculously transported from Jerusalem to Rome. But while he was performing this meritorious act, he thought he heard a voice of thunder crying from the bottom of his heart, as at Wittenberg and Bologna, *The just shall live by faith.* These words, that twice before had struck him like the voice of an angel from God, resounded unceasingly and powerfully within him. He rises in amazement from the steps up which he was dragging his body: he shudders at himself; he is ashamed of seeing to what a depth superstition had plunged him. He flies far from the scene of his folly.²

This powerful text has a mysterious influence on the life of Luther. It was a *creative* sentence both for the reformer and for the Reformation. It was in these words God then said, *Let there be light!* and there was light.

It is frequently necessary for a truth to be presental many times to our minds in order that it may produce the due effect. Luther had profoundly studied the Epistle to the Romans, and yet the doctrine of justification by faith there taught had never appeared so clear to him. Now he comprehends that righteousness which alone can stand before God; now he receives for himself from the hand of Christ that obedience which God of his free gift imputes to the sinner, as soon as he raises his eyes with humility to the crucified Son of Man. This was the decisive epoch of Luther's inner life. That faith which had saved him from the terrors of death, became the very soul of his theology,

his stronghold in every danger; the principle which gave energy to his preaching and strength to his charity; the foundation of his peace, the encouragement to his labours, his comfort in life and in death.

But this great doctrine of a salvation proceeding from God and not from man, was not only the power of God to save Luther's soul; it became in a still greater degree the power of God to reform the Church:—an effectual weapon wielded by the apostles,—a weapon too long neglected, but taken at last in all its primitive brightness, from the arsenal of the omnipotent God. At the very moment when Luther arose from his knees on Pilate's Staircase, in agitation and amazement at those words which Paul had addressed fifteen centuries before to the inhabitants of that metropolis,—*Truth, till then a melancholy captive, and fettered in the Church, uprose also to fall no more.*

We should here listen to what Luther himself says on the matter. "Although I was a holy and blameless monk, my conscience was nevertheless full of trouble and anguish. I could not endure those words—the righteousness of God. I had no love for that holy and just God who punishes sinners. I was filled with secret anger against him: I hated him, because, not content with frightening by the law and the miseries of life us wretched sinners, already ruined by original sin, he still further increased our tortures by the Gospel..... But when, by the Spirit of God, I understood these words,—when I learnt how the justification of the sinner proceeds from the free mercy of our Lord through faith,¹..... then I felt born again like a new man; I entered through the open door into the 'very paradise of God.'² Henceforward, also, I saw the beloved and Holy Scriptures with other eyes. I perused the Bible,—I brought together a great number of passages that taught me the nature of God's work. And as previously I had de-tested with all my heart these words,—*The righteousness of God, I began from that hour to value them and to love them, as the sweetest and most consoling words in the Bible.* In very truth, this language of St Paul was to me the true gate of Paradise."

Thus when he was called on solemn occasions to confess this doctrine, Luther always recovered his enthusiasm and roared energy. "I see," observed he at an important moment,³ "that the devil is continually attacking this fundamental article by means of his doctors, and that in this respect he can never cease or take any repose. Well then, I, Doctor Martin Luther, unworthy herald of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, confess this article, that *faith alone without*

¹ *Qua vox Deus misericors justificat per fidem...* L. Opp. Lat. in pref.

² *Hic me proventus renatum esse sensi, et apertis portis in ipsum paradysum intrasse.* Ibid.

³ *Comment on the Imperial Edict, 1531.* L. Opp. (G.) vol. xx.

¹ 100,000 Gulden.—L. Opp. (W.) xxi. 237d.

² Seekeford, p. 66.

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ties before God; and I declare that and and remain for ever in despite peror of the Romans, the emperor urks, the emperor of the Tartars, or of the Persians,—in spite of the all the cardinals, with the bishops, onks, and nuns,—in spite of kings, nd nobles,—and in spite of all the . of the devils themselves; and that leavours to fight against this truth, draw the fires of hell upon their his is the true and holy Gospel, leclaration of me, Doctor Luther, to the teaching of the Holy Ghost ere is no one," continues he, " who or our sins, if not Jesus Christ the d. I say it once again, should all and all the devils tear each other and burst with rage, that it is not rue. And if it is He alone that ay our sins, it cannot be ourselves en works. But good works follow n, as the fruit grows on the tree. r doctrine—that is what is taught y Ghost and by all the communion We hold fast to it in the name of en!"

thus Luther found what had been d, at least to a certain degree, by all nd reformers, even by the most . of them. It was in Rome that him this clear view of the funda- octrine of Christianity. He had he city of the pontiffs for the solu- rtain difficulties concerning a mo- er: he brought away from it in his salvation of the church.

CHAPTER VII.

rus to Wittenberg—Made Doctor of Divinity—
Luther's Oath—Principle of the Reformation—
Courage—Early Views of Reformation—The
1—Splatin—Reuchlin's Quarrel with the

quitted Rome, and returned to Wit- his heart was full of sorrow and on. Turning his eyes with disgust pontifical city, he directed them e to the Holy Scriptures—to that hich the Word of God seemed then e to the world. This world increased art by all that the Church lost. rated from the one to cling to r. The whole of the Reformation hat one movement. It set God in : of the priest.

ts and the elector did not lose sight onk whom they had called to the y of Wittenberg. It appears as if -general had a presentiment of the it was to be done in the world, and

that, finding it too difficult for himself, he wished to urge Luther towards it. There is nothing more remarkable,—nothing, perhaps, more mysterious than this person, who is seen every where urging forward Luther in the path where God calls him, and then going to end his days sadly in a cloister. The preaching of the young professor had made a deep impression on the prince; he had admired the strength of his understanding, the forcibleness of his eloquence, and the excellency of the matters that he expounded.¹ The elector and his friend, desirous of advancing a man of such great promise, resolved that he should take the high degree of doctor of divinity. Staupitz repaired to the convent, and took Luther into the garden, where, alone with him under a tree that Luther in after-years delighted to point out to his disciples,² the venerable father said to him: "My friend, you must now become Doctor of the Holy Scriptures." Luther shrunk at the very thought: this eminent honour startled him. "Seek a more worthy person," replied he. "As for me, I cannot consent to it." The vicar-general persisted: "Our Lord God has much to do in the Church: he has need at this time of young and vigorous doctors." These words, adds Melancthon, were perhaps said playfully, yet the event corresponded with them; for generally many omens precede all great revolutions.³ It is not necessary to suppose that Melancthon here speaks of miraculous prophecies. The most incredulous age—that which preceded the present one—saw an exemplification of this remark. How many presages, without there being any thing miraculous in them, announced the revolution in which it closed!

"But I am weak and sickly," replied Luther. "I have not long to live. Look out for some strong man."—"The Lord has work in heaven as well as on earth," replied the vicar-general: "dead or alive, He has need of you in his council."⁴

"It is the Holy Ghost alone that can make a doctor of divinity,"⁵ then urged the monk still more alarmed.—"Do what your convent requires," said Staupitz, "and what I, your vicar-general, command; for you have promised to obey us."—"But my poverty," resumed the brother: "I have no means of defraying the expenses incidental to such a promotion."—"Do not be uneasy about that," replied his friend: "the prince has done you the favour to take all the charges upon himself." Pressed on every side, Luther thought it his duty to give way.

It was about the end of the summer of 1512

¹ Vim ingenii, nervos orationis, ac rerum bonitatem expositarum in concionibus admiratus fuerat. Melancthon. Vita Luth.

² Unter einem Baum, den er mir und andern gezeigt. Math. p. 6.

³ Multa præcedunt mutationes præsæria. Vita Luth.

⁴ Ihr lebet nun oder sterbet, so darff euch Gott in seinem Rathe. Mathes. p. 6.

⁵ Neminem nisi Spiritum Sanctum creare posse doctorem theologum. Weismann Hist. Eccl. l. 1404.

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that Luther set out for Leipzig to receive from the elector's treasurers the money necessary for his promotion. But according to court custom, the money did not arrive. The brother growing impatient wished to depart, but monastic obedience detained him. At length, on the 4th October, he received fifty florins from Pfeffinger and John Doltzig. In the receipt which he gave them, he employs no other title than that of monk. "I, Martin," wrote he, "brother of the order of Hermits."¹ Luther hastened to return to Wittenberg.

Andrew Bodenstein of the city of Carlstadt was at that time dean of the theological faculty, and it is by the name of Carlstadt that this doctor is generally known. He was also called A. B. C. Melancthon first gave him this designation on account of the three initials of his name. Bodenstein acquired in his native country the first elements of learning. He was of a serious and gloomy character, perhaps inclined to jealousy, and of a restless temper, but full of desire for knowledge, and of great capacity. He frequented several universities to augment his stores of learning, and studied theology at Rome. On his return from Italy, he settled at Wittenberg, and became doctor of divinity. "At this time," he said afterwards, "I had not yet read the Holy Scriptures."² This remark gives us a very correct idea of what theology then was. Carlstadt, besides his functions of professor, was canon and archdeacon. Such was the man who in after-years was destined to create a schism in the Reformation. At this time he saw in Luther only an inferior; but the Augustine ere long became an object of jealousy to him. "I will not be less great than Luther," said he one day.³ Very far from anticipating at that period the great destinies of the young professor, Carlstadt conferred on his future rival the highest dignity of the university.

On the 18th October 1512, Luther was received licentiate in divinity, and took the following oath: "I swear to defend the evangelical truth with all my might."⁴ On the day following, Bodenstein solemnly conferred on him, in the presence of a numerous assembly, the insignia of doctor of divinity. He was made a biblical doctor, and not a doctor of sentences; and was thus called to devote himself to the study of the Bible, and not to that of human traditions.⁵ He then pledged himself by an oath, as he himself relates,⁶ to his well-beloved and Holy Scriptures. He promised to preach them faithfully, to teach them with purity, to study them all his life, and to defend them, both in disputation and in writing, against all false teachers, so far as God should give him ability.

This solemn oath was Luther's Reformation. By imposing on his the holy obligation of searching boldly proclaiming the Christian truth, the oath raised the new doctor above the limits to which his monastic vows perhaps have confined him. Called by the sovereign, in the name of imperial majesty and of the see itself, and bound before God by solemn oath, he became from that most intrepid herald of the Word. On that memorable day Luther was champion of the Bible.

We may accordingly look upon the oath sworn to the Holy Scriptures, as the cause of the revival of the Church, the sole and infallible authority of the Word of God was the primary and fundamental principle of the Reformation. Every detail that was afterwards carried out—doctrine, morals, or government of the Church, and in its worship, was but the consequence of this first principle. In this we can scarcely imagine the sensation produced by this elementary and so long-neglected truth. A few men enlarged views than the common, saw its immense consequences. Encouraged by the voices of all the Reformers, they claimed this mighty principle, at the head of which Rome shall crumble in ruins. "The Christians receive no other law than those founded on the express words of Jesus Christ, of the Apostles, and of the Prophets. No man, no assembly, no pope has a right to prescribe new ones."

Luther's position was changed. He felt that he had received from God the power of a reformer as one of those extraordinary persons which the Lord addressed to the world under the Old Covenant, and to the world under the New. The solemn oath that he made produced so deep an impression upon his soul that the recollection of it was sufficient, in after-years, to sustain him in the midst of the greatest dangers of the fiercest conflicts. And when all Europe agitated and shaken by the Reformation, that he had proclaimed; when the traditions of Rome, the reproaches of many men, the doubts and fears of his sensible heart, seemed likely to make him hesitate, fear, and fall into despair, he called to mind the oath that he had made, and remained steadfast, calm, and firm. "I have gone forward in the Lord," said he in a critical moment, "and I have placed myself in his hands. His will be done! Who prayed him to make me a doctor?... If it was He who created me, who supports me; or else if he repents of what he has done, let him deprive me of my office.... This tribulation, therefore, shall not. I seek one thing only, which is to serve the favour of God in all that he calls me to do with him." At another

¹ L. Epp. t. II.

² Weismann, Hist. Eccl. p. 1418.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Juro me veritatem evangelicam viriliter defensurum.

⁵ Doctor biblicus et non sententiarum.—Melancthon.

⁶ L. Epp. (W.) xvi. 3081.—Mathesius, p. 7.

"He who undertakes any thing : a Divine call, seeks his own glory. Doctor Martin Luther, was forced to a doctor. Popery desired to stop me performance of my duty : but you see as happened to it, and worse still fall it. They cannot defend them- against me. I am determined, in same, to tread upon the lions, to dragons and serpents under foot. It begin during my life, and will be ished after my death."¹

the period of his oath, Luther no ought the truth for himself alone : it also for the Church. Still full recollections of Rome, he saw confu- sion him a path in which he had to walk with all the energy of his 'be spiritual life that had hitherto unvisited only within him, now ex- itself without. This was the third his development. His entrance into er had turned his thoughts towards e knowledge of the remission of sins be righteousness of faith had eman- is soul ; his doctor's oath gave him- tism of fire by which he became a of the Church.

less were soon directed in a general towards the Reformation. In an that he had written, as it would be delivered by the provost of Lietz- re Lateran council, he declared that tion of the world originated in the enching so many fables and tradi- stand of preaching the pure Word of he Word of Life, in his view, alone power of effecting the spiritual rege- of man. Thus then already he made tion of the world depend upon the shment of sound doctrine, and not re reformation of manners. Yet as not entirely consistent with him- still entertained contradictory opi- at a spirit of power beamed from all ngs : he courageously broke the th which the systems of the schools red the thoughts of men ; he every sed beyond the limits within which ages had so closely confined him, ed up new paths. God was with

vt adversaries that he attacked were nous schoolmen, whom he had him- such studied, and who then reigned in all the academies. He accused Pelagianism, and forcibly inveighing Aristotle, the father of the schools, inst Thomas Aquinas, he undertook them both from the throne whence rned, the one philosophy, and the ology.²

stote, Porphyry, the sententiary di- the schoolmen)," he wrote to Lange,

"are useless studies in our days. I desire nothing more earnestly than to unveil to the world that comedian who has deceived the Church by assuming a Greek mask, and to show his deformity to all."¹ In every public discussion he was heard repeating : "The writings of the apostles and prophets are surer and more sublime than all the sophisms and all the divinity of the schools." Such language was new, but men gradually be- came used to it. About a year after he was able to write with exultation : "God is at work. Our theology and St. Augustine ad- vance admirably and prevail in our univer- sity. Aristotle is declining : he is tottering towards his eternal ruin that is near at hand. The lectures on the Sentences produce no- thing but weariness. No one can hope for hearers, unless he professes the Biblical theology."² Happy the university of which such testimony can be given !

At the same time that Luther was attack- ing Aristotle, he took the side of Erasmus and Reuchlin against their enemies. He entered into communication with these great men and with other scholars, such as Pirck- heimer, Mutianus, and Hütten, who belonged more or less to the same party. He also, about this period, formed another friendship that was of great importance through the whole course of his life.

There was at that time at the elector's court a person remarkable for his wisdom and his candour : this was George Spalatin. He was born at Spalatus or Spalt in the bishopric of Eichstadt, and had been originally curate of the village of Hohenkirch, near the Thuringian forests. He was afterwards chosen by Frederick the Wise to be his secretary, chaplain, and tutor to his nephew, John Frederick, who was one day to wear the electoral crown. Spalatin was a simple- hearted man in the midst of the court : he appeared timid in the presence of great events ; circumspect and prudent, like his master,³ before the ardent Luther, with whom he corresponded daily. Like Staupitz, he was better suited for peaceful times. Such men are necessary : they are like those deli- cate substances in which jewels and crystal are wrapped to secure them from the injuries of transport. They seem useless ; and yet without them all these precious objects would be broken and lost. Spalatin was not a man to effect great undertakings ; but he faith- fully and noiselessly performed the task imposed upon him.⁴ He was at first one of the principal aids of his master in collecting those relics of saints, of which Frederick was so long a great admirer. But he, as well as the prince, turned by degrees towards the truth. The faith, which then reappeared in

¹ *Perdita studia nostri sæculi.* Epp. I. 12. (24th February 1516.)

² *Epp. I. 27.* (18th May 1517.)

³ *Secundum genium horum.* Weissmann, *Hist. Noctes*, I. 1434.

⁴ *Fideliter et sine strepitu fungens.* *Ibid.*

l. (W.) vol. 2061.
Adem in philosophia, Sanctum Thomam in
la evertendo succernat. *Pallavicini*, I. 12.

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the Church, did not lay such violent hold upon him as upon Luther: it guided him by slower methods. He became Luther's friend at court; the minister through whom passed all matters between the reformer and the princes; the mediator between the Church and the State. The elector honoured Spalatin with great intimacy: they always travelled together in the same carriage.¹ Nevertheless the atmosphere of the court oppressed the good chaplain: he was affected by profound melancholy; he could have desired to quit all those honours, and become once more a simple pastor in the forests of Thuringia. But Luther consoled him, and exhorted him to remain firm at his post. Spalatin acquired general esteem: princes and learned men showed him the most sincere regard. Erasmus used to say, "I inscribe Spalatin's name not only among those of my principal friends, but still further among those of my most honoured protectors; and that, not upon paper, but on my heart."²

Reuchlin's quarrel with the monks was then making a great noise in Germany. The most pious men were often undecided what part they should take; for the monks were eager to destroy the Hebrew books in which blasphemies against Christ were to be found. The elector commissioned his chaplain to consult the doctor of Wittemberg on this matter, as his reputation was already great. Here is Luther's answer: it is the first letter he addressed to the court-preacher:—

"What shall I say? These monks pretend to cast out Beelzebub, but it is not by the finger of God. I cease not from groaning and lamenting over it. We Christians are beginning to be wise outwardly, and mad inwardly.³ There are in every part of our Jerusalem blasphemies a hundred times worse than those of the Jews, and all there are filled with spiritual idols. It is our duty with holy zeal to carry out and destroy these internal enemies. But we neglect that which is most urgent; and the devil himself persuades us to abandon what belongs to us, at the same time that he prevents us from correcting what belongs to others."

CHAPTER VIII.

Faith—Popular Declarations—Academic Teaching—Luther's Purity of Life—German Theology or Mysticism—The Monk Spelein—Justification by Faith—Luther on Erasmus—Faith and Works—Erasmus—Necessity of Works—Luther's Charity.

LUTHER did not lose himself in this quarrel. A living faith in Christ filled his heart and

his life. "Within my heart," "reigns alone (and it ought to reign alone) faith in my Lord Jesus (and it is the beginning, middle, and end) thoughts that occupy my mind all night."⁴

All his hearers listened with as he spoke, whether from the chair or from the pulpit, of the Jesus Christ. His teaching diffused light. Men were astonished that not earlier acknowledged truths appeared so evident in his mouth. "Desire of self-justification," said he, "is the cause of all the distresses of the soul; he who receives Jesus Christ as he enjoys peace; and not only peace, but of heart. All sanctification is a fruit of faith. For faith is a divine light, which changes us and gives us new birth, emanating from God; he kills the old Adam in us; and, by the Ghost which is communicated to us, a new heart and makes us new. It is not by empty speculations," he exclaimed, "but by this practice that we can obtain a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ."⁵

It was at this time that Luther gave those discourses on the Ten Commandments that have come down to us under the name of *Popular Declarations*. They contain no doubt; Luther became enlightened by degrees. "*The path of the just shineth light, that shineth more and more the perfect day.*"⁶ But what truth, and eloquence are found in these! How well can we understand the new preacher must have profited his audience and upon his age! quote but one passage taken from the beginning.

Luther ascends the pulpit of Wittenberg and reads these words: "*Thou shalt have no other gods before me*" (Exod. xx.). turning to the people who crowded round him, he says, "All the sons of idolaters, and have sinned against this commandment."⁷

Doubtless this strange assertion struck his hearers. He proceeds to justify the speaker continues: "There are two kinds of idolatry—one external, and one internal.

"The external, in which man is devoted to wood and stone, to beasts and to venal host.

"The internal, in which man, by punishment, or seeking his own glory, does not worship the creature, but in his heart, and trusts in him.....

¹ Qui cum principe in rheda sine lectice solibus est ferri.

² *Opus Reformatorum*, l. 32.

³ Melch. Ad. Vita Spalat. p. 100.

⁴ Foris sapere, et domi dampnari. I. Epp. l. 4.

⁵ Pref. ad Galat.

⁶ Non per speculationem, sed per hanc viam.

⁷ Prov. iv. 18.

⁸ Omnes filii Adæ sunt idololatæ. Decem in Wittenbergensi populo predicata per R. P. D. I. Lutherum, Aug. anno 1518. These discourses were given in German; the quotations are from the Latin.

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"What kind of religion is this? You do not bend the knee before riches and honours, but you offer them your heart, the noblest portion of yourselves.....Alas! you worship God in body, but the creature in spirit.

"This idolatry prevails in every man until he is healed by the free gift of the faith that is in Christ Jesus.

"And how shall this cure be accomplished?

"Listen. Faith in Christ takes away from you all trust in your own wisdom, righteousness, and strength; it teaches you that if Christ had not died for you, and had not thus saved you, neither you nor any other creature would have been able to do it.¹ Then you learn to despise all those things that are unavailing to you.

"Nothing now remains to you but Jesus Christ—Christ alone.—Christ all-sufficient for your soul. Hoping for nothing from any creature, you have only Christ, from whom you hope for every thing, and whom you love above every thing.

"Now Christ is the one, sole, and true God. When you have him for your God, you have no other gods."²

It is in this manner Luther shows how the soul is brought back to God, his sovereign God, by the Gospel, according to the words of Jesus Christ: *I am the way; no man cometh unto the Father but by me.* The man who speaks thus to his age aims at something more than the correction of a few abuses; he is earnest above all things to establish true religion. His work is not merely negative; it is primarily positive.

Luther afterwards turns his discourse against the superstitions which then filled Christendom:—the signs and mysterious characters, the observance of certain days and months, familiar spirits, phantoms, the influence of the stars, witchcraft, metamorphoses, incubi and succubi, the patronage of saints, &c. &c. &c.; one after another he attacks these idols, and with vigorous arm overthrows all these false gods.

But it was particularly in his lecture-room, before an enlightened and youthful audience, numbering for the truth, that he displayed all the treasures of God's Word. "He explained Scripture in such a manner," says his illustrious friend Melancthon, "that, in the judgment of all pious and well-informed men, it was as if a new morn had risen upon the doctrine after a long night of darkness. He showed the difference that existed between the Law and the Gospel. He refuted the then prevalent error of the churches and of the schools, that men by their works merit the remission of sins, and become righteous before God by an outward discipline. He thus led men's hearts back to the Son of

God.¹ Like John the Baptist, he pointed to the Lamb of God that has taken away the sins of the world; he explained how sin is freely pardoned on account of the Son of God, and that man receives this blessing through faith. He made no change in the ceremonies. On the contrary, the established discipline had not in his order a more faithful observer and defender. But he endeavoured more and more to make all understand these grand and essential doctrines of conversion, of the remission of sins, of faith, and of the true consolation that is to be found in the cross. Pious minds were struck and penetrated by the sweetness of this doctrine; the learned received it with joy.² One might have said that Christ, the apostles, and the prophets, were now issuing from the obscurity of some impure dungeon."³

The firmness with which Luther relied on the Holy Scriptures imparted great authority to his teaching. But other circumstances added still more to his strength. In him every action of his life corresponded with his words. It was known that these discourses did not proceed merely from his lips:⁴ they had their source in his heart, and were practised in all his works. And when, somewhat later, the Reformation burst forth, many influential men, who saw with regret these divisions in the Church, won over beforehand by the holiness of the reformer's life and by the beauty of his genius, not only did not oppose him, but, further still, embraced that doctrine to which he gave testimony by his works.⁵ The more men loved christian virtues, the more they inclined to the reformer. All honest divines were in his favour.⁶ This is what was said by those who knew him, and particularly by the wisest man of his age, Melancthon, and by Erasmus, the illustrious opponent of Luther. Envy and prejudice have dared to speak of his disorderly life. Wittenberg was changed by this preaching of faith, and that city became the focus of a light that was soon to illumine all Germany, and to shine on all the Church.

It was in 1516 that Luther published the work of an anonymous mystic theologian (probably Ebland, priest at Frankfort), entitled *German Theology*, in which the author shows how man may attain perfection by the three methods of purification, illumination, and communion. Luther never gave himself up to the mystic theology, but he received from it a salutary impression. It confirmed him in his disgust for the dry teaching of the schoolmen, in his contempt for the works and observances so much

¹ Revocavit igitur Lutherus hominum mentes ad Filium Dei. Melancthon, Vita Luth.

² Hujus doctrine dulcedine pii omnes valde capiebantur, et eruditus gratum erat. Melancthon, Vita Luth.

³ Quasi ex tenebris, carcere, squalore, educi Christum, prophetas, apostolos. Ibid.

⁴ Oratio non in labris nasci, sed in pectore. Ibid.

⁵ Eique propter auctoritatem, quam sanctitate morum antea pepererat, adhaeruerunt. Ibid.

⁶ Puto et hodie theologos omnes probos favere Lutheri. Erasmi. Epp. l. 622.

¹ Nisi ipse pro te mortuus esset, teque servaret, nec tu, nec omnia creatura tibi posset prodere. Decem Franc.

² At Jesus est verus, unus, solus Deus, quem cum habes, non habes alium deum. Ibid.

trumpeted by the Church, and in the conviction that he felt of man's spiritual helplessness and of the necessity of grace, and in his attachment to the Bible. "I prefer," wrote he to Staupitz, "the mystics and the Bible to all the schoolmen;"¹ thus placing the former teachers in the next rank to the sacred writers. Perhaps, also, the *German Theology* aided him in forming a sounder idea on the sacraments, and above all on the mass; for the author maintains that the eucharist gives Christ to man, and does not offer up Christ to God. Luther accompanied this publication by a preface, in which he declared that, next to the Bible and St. Augustine, he had never met with a book in which he had learnt more of God, Christ, man, and of all things. Already many doctors began to speak ill of the Wittenberg professors, and accused them of innovation. "One would say," continues Luther, "that there had never lived men before us who taught as we teach. Yes, in truth, there have been many. But the anger of God, which our sins have deserved, has prevented us from seeing and hearing them. For a long time the universities have banished the Word of God into a corner. Let them read this book, and then let them say whether our theology is new, for this is not a new book."²

But if Luther derived from the mystic divinity whatever good it contained, he did not take the bad also. The great error of mysticism is to overlook the free gift of salvation. We are about to notice a remarkable example of the purity of his faith.

Luther had an affectionate and tender heart, and desired to see those whom he loved in possession of that light which had guided him into the paths of peace. He took advantage of every opportunity that occurred, as professor, preacher, or monk, as well as of his extensive correspondence, to communicate his treasure to others. One of his former brethren in the convent of Erfurt, the monk George Spenlein, was then residing in the convent of Memmingen, perhaps after having spent a short time at Wittenberg. Spenlein had commissioned the doctor to sell various articles that he had left with him—a tunic of Brussels cloth, a work by an Eisenach doctor, and a hood. Luther carefully discharged this commission. He received, says he in a letter to Spenlein, dated the 7th April 1516, one florin for the tunic, half a florin for the book, and a florin for the hood, and had remitted the amount to the father-vicar, to whom Spenlein owed three florins. But Luther quickly passes from this account of a monk's wardrobe to a more important subject.

"I should be very glad to know," wrote he to friar George, "what is the state of your soul. Is it not tired of its own righteousness? does it not breathe freely at last, and

does it not confide in the righteousness of Christ? In our days, pride seduces many, and especially those who labour with all their might to become righteous. Not understanding the righteousness of God that is given to us freely in Christ Jesus, they wish to stand before Him on their own merits. But that cannot be. When you were living with me, you were in that error, and so was I. I am yet struggling unceasingly against it, and I have not yet entirely triumphed over it.

"Oh, my dear brother, learn to know Christ, and him crucified. Learn to sing unto him a new song, to despair of yourself, and to say to him: Thou, Lord Jesus Christ, art my righteousness, and I am thy sin. Thou hast taken what was mine, and hast given me what was thine.¹ What thou wast not, thou didst become, in order that I might become what I was not!—Beware, my dear George, of pretending to such purity as no longer to confess yourself a sinner: for Christ dwells only with sinners. He came down from heaven, where he was living among the righteous, in order to live also among sinners. Meditate carefully upon this love of Christ, and you will taste all its unspeakable consolation. If our labours and afflictions could give peace to the conscience, why should Christ have died? You will not find peace, save in him, by despairing of yourself and of your works, and in learning with what love he opens his arms to you, taking all your sins upon himself, and giving thee all his righteousness."

Thus the powerful doctrine that had already saved the world in the apostolic age, and which was destined to save it a second time in the days of the Reformation, was clearly and forcibly explained by Luther. Passing over the many ages of ignorance and superstition that had intervened, in this he gave his hand to Saint Paul.

Spenlein was not the only man whom he sought to instruct in this fundamental doctrine. The little truth that he found in this respect in the writings of Erasmus, made him uneasy. It was of great importance to enlighten a man whose authority was so great, and whose genius was so admirable. But how was he to do it? His court-friend, the Elector's chaplain, was much respected by Erasmus: it is to him that Luther applies. "What displeases me in Erasmus, who is a man of such extensive learning, is, my dear Spalatin," wrote Luther, "that by the righteousness of works and of the law, of which the apostle speaks, he understands the fulfilling of the ceremonial law. The righteousness of the law consists not only in ceremonies, but in all the works of the Decalogue. Even if these works should be accomplished without faith in Christ, they

¹ Illis pretere mysticos et Biblia. L. Epp. I. 267.

² Die Deutsche Theologie. Strasburg, 1818. Preben.

¹ Tu, Domine Jesu, ex justitia mea; ego autem sum peccatum tuum: tu assumptisti meum, et dedisti mihi tuum. L. Epp. I. 17.

may, it is true, produce a Fabricius, a Regulus, and other men perfectly upright in the eyes of the world; but they then deserve as little to be styled *righteousness*, as the fruit of the medlar to be called a fig. For we do not become righteous, as Aristotle maintains, by performing righteous works; but when we are become righteous, then we perform such works.¹ The man must first be changed, and afterwards the works. Abel was first accepted by God, and then his sacrifice." Luther continues: "Fulfil, I beseech you, the duty of a friend and of a Christian by communicating these matters to Erasmus." This letter is thus dated: "In haste, from the corner of our convent, 19th October 1516." It places in its true light the relation between Luther and Erasmus. It shows the sincere interest he felt in what he thought would be really beneficial to this illustrious writer. Undoubtedly, the opposition shown by Erasmus to the truth compelled Luther somewhat later to combat him openly; but he did not do so until he had sought to enlighten his antagonist.

At last then were heard explained ideas at once clear and deep on the nature of goodness. Then was declared the principle, that what constitutes the real goodness of an action is not its outward appearance, but the spirit in which it is performed. This was aiming a deadly blow at all those superstitious observances which for ages had oppressed the Church, and prevented christian virtues from growing up and flourishing within it.

"I am reading Erasmus," says Luther on another occasion, "but he daily loses his credit with me. I like to see him rebuke with so much firmness and learning the grovelling ignorance of the priests and monks; but I fear that he does not render great service to the doctrine of Jesus Christ. What is of man is dearer to him than what is of God.² We are living in dangerous times. A man is not a good and judicious Christian because he understands Greek and Hebrew. Jerome who knew five languages, is inferior to Augustine who understood but one; although Erasmus thinks the contrary. I very carefully conceal my opinions concerning Erasmus, through fear of giving advantage to his adversaries. Perhaps the Lord will give him understanding in His time."³

The helplessness of man—the omnipotence of God, were the two truths that Luther desired to re-establish. That is but a sad religion and a wretched philosophy by which men are directed to his own natural strength. Ages have tried in vain this so much boasted strength; and while man has, by his own natural powers, arrived at great excellence in all that concerns his earthly existence, he

has never been able to scatter the darkness that conceals from his soul the knowledge of the true God, or to change a single inclination of his heart. The highest degree of wisdom attained by ambitious minds, or by souls thirsting with the desire of perfection, has been to despair of themselves.¹ It is therefore a generous, a comforting, and supremely true doctrine which unveils our own impotency in order to proclaim a power from God by which we can do all things. That truly is a great reformation which vindicates on earth the glory of heaven, and which pleads before man the rights of the Almighty God.

No one knew better than Luther the intimate and indissoluble bond that unites the gratuitous salvation of God with the free works of man. No one showed more plainly than he, that it is only by receiving all from Christ, that man can impart much to his brethren. He always represented these two actions—that of God and that of man—in the same picture. And thus it is, that after explaining to the friar Spenlein what is meant by saving righteousness, he adds, "If thou firmly believest those things, as is thy duty (for cursed is he who does not believe them), receive thy brethren who are still ignorant and in error, as Jesus Christ has received thee. Bear with them patiently. Make their sins thine own; and if thou hast any good thing, impart it to them. 'Receive ye one another,' says the apostle, 'as Christ also received us, to the glory of God.' (Rom. xv. 7.) It is a deplorable righteousness that cannot bear with others because it finds them wicked, and which thinks only of seeking the solitude of the desert, instead of doing them good by long-suffering, prayer, and example. If thou art the lily and the rose of Christ, know that thy dwelling-place is among thorns. Only take care lest by thy impatience, by thy rash judgments, and thy secret pride, thou dost not thyself become a thorn. Christ reigns in the midst of his enemies. If he had desired to live only among the good, and to die for those only who loved him, for whom, I pray, would he have died, and among whom would he have lived?"

It is affecting to see how Luther practised these charitable precepts. An Augustine monk of Erfurth, George Leiffer, was exposed to many trials. Luther became informed of this, and within a week after writing the preceding letter to Spenlein, he came to him with words of comfort. "I learn that you are agitated by many tempests, and that your soul is tossed to and fro by the waves.The cross of Christ is divided among all the world, and each man has his share. You should not, therefore, reject that which has

¹ Non enim justo agendo iusti efficiuntur; sed iusti fiendo excedendo, operantur iusti. I. Epp. i. 2.

² Humana prevalent in eo plusquam divina.

³ Delit of Dominus intellectum suo furti tempore. Ibid.

¹ τί οὐκ; ὁ παντός ἀσπόμεντος σίμα ἴδιαι; What is it possible to be without sin? asked Epistemon (iv. 12. 19.) Ἀπῆχρητος. Impossible! replied he.

fallen to you. Receive it rather as a holy relic, not in a vessel of silver or of gold, but in what is far better—in a heart of gold,—in a heart full of meekness. If the wood of the cross has been so sanctified by the body and blood of Christ, that we consider it as the most venerable relic, how much more should the wrongs, persecutions, sufferings, and hatred of men, be holy relics unto us, since they have not only been touched by Christ's flesh, but have been embraced, kissed, and blessed by his infinite charity."¹

CHAPTER IX.

Luther's first Theses—The Old Adam and Grace—Visitation of the Convents—Luther at Dresden and Erfurt—Tornator—Peace and the Cross—Results of Luther's Journey—His Labours—The Plague.

LUTHER's teaching produced its natural fruits. Many of his disciples already felt themselves impelled to profess publicly the truths which their master's lessons had revealed to them. Among his hearers was a young scholar, Bernard of Feldkirchen, professor of Aristotle's physics in the university, and who five years later was the first of the evangelical ecclesiastics who entered into the bonds of matrimony.

It was Luther's wish that Feldkirchen should maintain, under his presidency, certain theses or propositions in which his principles were laid down. The doctrines professed by Luther thus gained additional publicity. The disputation took place in 1516.

This was Luther's first attack upon the dominion of the sophists and upon the papacy, as he himself characterizes it. Weak as it was, it caused him some uneasiness. "I allow these propositions to be printed," said he many years after, when publishing them in his works, "principally that the greatness of my cause, and the success with which God has crowned it, may not make me vain. For they fully manifest my humiliation, that is to say, the infirmity and ignorance, the fear and trembling with which I began this conflict. I was alone: I had thrown myself imprudently into this business. Unable to retract, I conceded many important points to the pope, and I even adored him."²

Some of the propositions were as follows:³

"The old Adam is the vanity of vanities; he is the universal vanity; and he renders all other creatures vain, however good they may be.

"The old Adam is called the *flesh*, not only because he is led by the lusts of the flesh,

but further, because should he be chaste prudent, and righteous, he is not born again of God by the Holy Ghost.

"A man who has no part in the grace of God, cannot keep the commandments of God, or prepare himself, either wholly or in part, to receive grace, but he rests of necessity under the power of sin.

"The will of man without grace is not free, but is enslaved, and that too with its own consent.

"Jesus Christ, our strength and our righteousness, he who trieth the heart and reins, is the only discernor and judge of our merits.

"Since all is possible, by Christ, to the believer, it is superstitious to seek for other help, either in man's will or in the saints."⁴

This disputation made a great noise, and it has been considered as the beginning of the Reformation.

The hour drew nigh in which the Reformation was to burst forth. God hastened to prepare the instrument that he had determined to employ. The elector, having built a new church at Wittenberg, to which he gave the name of All Saints, sent Staupitz into the Low Countries to collect relics for the ornament of the new edifice. The vicar-general commissioned Luther to replace him during his absence, and in particular to make a visitation of the forty monasteries of Misnia and Thuringia.

Luther repaired first to Grimma, and thence to Dresden. Every where he endeavoured to establish the truths that he had discovered, and to enlighten the members of his order.—"Do not bind yourselves to Aristotle, or to any other teacher of a deceitful philosophy," said he to the monks, "but read the Word of God with diligence. Do not look for salvation in your own strength or in your good works, but in the merits of Christ and in God's grace."⁵

An Augustine monk of Dresden had fled from his convent, and was at Mentz, where the prior of the Augustines had received him. Luther wrote to the latter, begging him to send back the stray sheep, and added these words so full of charity and truth: "I know that offences must needs come. It is no marvel that man falls; but it is so that he rises again and stands upright. Peter fell that he might know he was but a man. Even in our days the cedars of Lebanon are seen to fall. The very angels—a thing that exceeds all imagination!—have fallen in heaven, and Adam in paradise. Why then should we be surprised if a reed is shaken by the whirlwind, or if a smoking taper is extinguished?"

From Dresden Luther proceeded to Erfurt, and reappeared to discharge the functions of vicar-general in that very convent

¹ Sanctissima reliquia.....deitas voluntatis sue charitate amplexu osculato. L. Opp. I. 14.

² Sed etiam utro adornam. L. Opp. Lat. I. 20.

³ L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 162, and in the Latin edition, vol. I. 51.

⁴ Cum credenti omnia sint, auctore Christo possibilis superstitiosum est, humano arbitrio, aliis sanctis, alia de putari auxilia. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 162.

⁵ Hilscher's Luther's Anwesenheit in Alt-Dresden, 1798.

⁶ Opp. I. 20, dated May 1, 1516.

where, eleven years before, he had wound up the clock, opened the gates, and swept out the church. He nominated to the priorship of the convent his friend the bachelor John Lange, a learned and pious but severe man: he exhorted him to affability and patience. "Put on," wrote he to him shortly after, "put on a spirit of meekness towards the prior of Nuremberg: this is but proper, seeing that he has assumed a spirit of bitterness and harshness. Bitterness is not expelled by bitterness, that is to say, the devil by the devil; but sweetness dispels bitterness, that is to say, the finger of God casts out the evil spirit."¹ We must, perhaps, regret that Luther did not on various occasions remember this excellent advice.

At Neustadt on the Orla there was nothing but dissension. Dissensions and quarrels reigned in the convent, and all the monks were at war with their prior. They assailed Luther with their complaints. The prior Michael Dressel, or Tornator, as Luther calls him, translating his name into Latin, on his side laid all his troubles before the doctor. "Peace, peace!" said he. "You seek peace," replied Luther; "but it is the peace of the world, and not the peace of Christ that you seek. Do you not know that our God has set his peace in the midst of war? He whom no one disturbs has not peace. But he who, troubled by all men and by the things of this life, bears all with tranquillity and joy—he possesses the true peace. You say with Israel: Peace, peace! and there is no peace. Say rather with Christ: The cross, the cross! and there will be no cross. For the cross ceases to be a cross, as soon as we can say with love: O blessed cross, there is no wood like thine!"² On his return to Wittenberg, Luther, desiring to put an end to these dissensions, permitted the monks to elect another prior.

Luther returned to Wittenberg after an absence of six weeks. He was afflicted at all that he had seen; but the journey gave him a better knowledge of the Church and of the world, increased his confidence in his intercourse with society, and afforded him many opportunities of founding schools, of pressing this fundamental truth that "Holy Scripture alone shows us the way to heaven," and of exhorting the brethren to live together in holiness, chastity, and peace.³ There is no doubt that much good seed was sown in the different Augustine convents during this journey of the reformer. The monastic order, which had long been the support of Rome, did perhaps more for the Reformation than against it. This is true in particular of the Augustines. Almost all the pious men

of liberal and elevated mind, who were living in the cloisters, turned towards the Gospel. A new and generous blood ere long circulated through these orders, which were, so to speak, the arteries of the German Church. As yet nothing was known in the world of the new ideas of the Wittenberg Augustine, while they were already the chief topic of conversation in the chapters and monasteries. Many a cloister thus became a nursery of reformers. As soon as the great struggle took place, pious and able men issued from their obscurity, and abandoned the seclusion of a monastic life for the active career of ministers of God's Word. At the period of this inspection of 1516 Luther awakened many drowsy souls by his words. Hence this year has been named "the morning star of the gospel-day."

Luther resumed his usual occupation. He was at this period overwhelmed with labour: it was not enough that he was professor, preacher, and confessor; he was burdened still further by many temporal occupations having reference to his order and his convent. "I have need almost continually," writes he, "of two secretaries; for I do nothing else all the day long but write letters. I am preacher to the convent, I read the prayers at table, I am pastor and parish minister, director of studies, the prior's vicar (that is to say, prior eleven times over!) inspector of the fish-ponds at Litzkau, counsel to the inns of Herzberg at Torgau, lecturer on Saint Paul, and commentator on the Psalms..... I have rarely time to repeat the daily prayers and to sing a hymn; without speaking of my struggles with flesh and blood, with the devil and the world..... Learn from this what an idle man I am!"⁴

About this time the plague broke out in Wittenberg. A great number of the students and teachers quitted the city. Luther remained. "I am not certain," wrote he to his friend at Erfurth, "if the plague will let me finish the Epistle to the Galatians. Its attacks are sudden and violent: it is making great ravages among the young in particular. You advise me to fly. Whither shall I fly? I hope that the world will not come to an end, if brother Martin dies.⁵ If the pestilence spreads, I shall disperse the brothers in every direction; but as for me, my place is here; duty does not permit me to desert my post, until He who has called me shall summon me away. Not that I have no fear of death (for I am not Paul, I am only his commentator); but I hope that the Lord will deliver me from fear." Such was the resolution of the Wittenberg doctor. Shall he whom the pestilence could not force to retire a single step, shrink before Rome? Shall he yield through fear of the scaffold?

¹ Non enim asper asperum, id est non diabolus diabolum; sed quartus asperum, id est digitus Dei dicitur demonia. L. Epp. i. 24.

² Tam cito enim crux cessat esse crux, quam cito latius fletus: Crux benedicta! inter ligna nullum tale. Epp. i. 25.

³ Heiliglich, friedlich und stätlich. Math. p. 10.

⁴ Letter to Lange, 28th October 1516. Epp. i. 41.

⁵ Quo fugiam? spero quod non corruat orbis, ruente finis Martino. Ibid. 42.

CHAPTER X.

The Relics—Relations of Luther with the Elector—Advice to the Chaplain—Duke George—His Character—Luther's Sermon before the Court—Dinner at Court—Evening with Kemmer.

LUTHER displayed the same courage before the mighty of this world, that he had shown amidst the most formidable evils. The elector was much pleased with the vicar-general, who had made a rich harvest of relics in the Low Countries. Luther gives an account of them to Spalatin; and this affair of the relics, occurring at the very moment when the Reformation is about to begin, is a singular circumstance. Most certainly, the reformers had little idea to what point they were tending. A bishopric appeared to the elector the only recompense worthy the services of the vicar-general. Luther, to whom Spalatin wrote on the subject, strongly disapproved of such an idea. "There are many things which please your prince," replied he, "and which, nevertheless, are displeasing to God.¹ I do not deny that he is skilful in the matters of this world; but in what concerns God and the salvation of souls, I account him, as well as his counsellor Peffinger, sevenfold blind. I do not say this behind their backs, like a slanderer; do not conceal it from them, for I am ready myself, and on all occasions, to tell it them both to their faces. Why, would you," continues he, "surround this man (Staupitz) with all the whirlwinds and tempests of episcopal cares?"

The elector was not offended with Luther's frankness. "The prince," wrote Spalatin, "often speaks of you, and in honourable terms." Frederick sent the monk some very fine cloth for a gown. "It would be too fine," said Luther, "if it were not a prince's gift. I am not worthy that any man should think of me, much less a prince, and so great a prince as he. Those are my best friends who think the worst of me.² Thank our prince for his kindness to me; but I cannot allow myself to be praised either by you or by any man; for all praise of man is vain, and only that which comes from God is true."

The excellent chaplain was unwilling to confine himself to his court functions. He wished to make himself useful to the people; but like many individuals in every age, he desired to do it without offence and without irritation, by conciliating the general favour. "Point out," wrote he to Luther, "some work that I may translate into our mother tongue; one that shall give general satisfaction, and at the same time be useful." "Agreeable and useful!" replied Luther; "such a question is beyond my ability. The

better things are the less they please.³ What is more salutary than Jesus Christ? and yet he is to the majority a savour of death. You will tell me that you wish to be useful only to those who love what is good. In that case make them hear the voice of Jesus Christ: you will be useful and agreeable, depend upon it, to a very small number only; for the sheep are rare in this region of wolves."

Luther, however, recommended to his friend the sermons of the Dominican Tauler. "I have never read," said he, "either in Latin or in our own language, a theology sounder, or more in conformity with the Gospel. Taste, then, and see how sweet the Lord is, but not till after you have first tasted and felt how bitter is every thing that we are ourselves."⁴

It was in the course of the year 1517 that Luther entered into communication with Duke George of Saxony. The house of Saxony had at that time two chiefs. Two princes, Ernest and Albert, carried off in their youth from the castle of Altenburg by Kunz of Kaufungen, had, by the treaty of Leipsic, become the founders of the two houses which still bear their names. The Elector Frederick, son of Ernest, was at the period we are describing, the head of the Ernestine branch; and his cousin Duke George, of the Albertine. Dresden and Leipsic were both situated in the states of this duke, whose residence was in the former of these cities. His mother, Sidonia, was daughter of George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia. The long struggle that Bohemia had maintained with Rome, since the time of John Huss, had not been without influence on the prince of Saxony. He had often manifested a desire for a Reformation. "He has imbibed it with his mother's milk," said the priests; "he is by birth an enemy of the clergy."⁵ He annoyed the bishops, abbots, canons, and monks in many ways; and his cousin, the Elector Frederick, was compelled more than once to interfere in their behalf. It seemed that Duke George would be one of the warmest partisans of a Reformation. The devout Frederick, on the other hand, who had in former years worn the spurs of Godfrey in the Holy Sepulchre, and girding himself with the long and heavy sword of the conqueror of Jerusalem, had made oath to fight for the Church, like that ancient and valiant knight, appeared destined to be the most ardent champion of Rome. But in all that concerns the Gospel, the anticipations of human wisdom are frequently disappointed. The reverse of what we might have supposed took place. The duke would have been delighted to humiliate the Church and the clergy, to bumble the bishops, whose princely retinue far surpassed his own; but it was another thing to receive into his heart

¹ Multa placent principi tuo, quæ Deo displicent. L. Epp. l. 36.
² Il mihi maxime prosumt, qui mei pessime meminerint. Ibid. 46.

³ Quæ sunt aliqua salubriora, eo minus placent. L. Epp. l. 46.
⁴ Quam amarum est, quicquid nos sumus. Ibid.
⁵ 4. Opp. (W.) xlii. : b61.

the evangelical doctrine that would humble it, to acknowledge himself a guilty sinner, incapable of being saved, except by grace alone. He would willingly have reformed others, but he cared not to reform himself. He would perhaps have set his hand to the task of compelling the Bishop of Mentz to be contented with a single bishopric, and to keep no more than fourteen horses in his stables, as he said more than once;¹ but when he saw another than himself step forward as a reformer, — when he beheld a simple monk undertake this work, and the Reformation gaining numerous partisans among the people, the haughty grandson of the Hussite king became the most violent adversary of the reform to which he had before shown himself favourable.

In the month of July 1517, Duke George requested Staupitz to send him an eloquent and learned preacher. Luther was recommended to him as a man of extensive learning and irreproachable conduct. The prince invited him to preach at Dresden in the castle-chapel, on the feast of St. James the Elder.

The day arrived. The duke and his court repaired to the chapel to hear the Wittenberg preacher. Luther joyfully seized this opportunity of testifying to the truth before such an assemblage. He selected his text from the Gospel of the day: *Then came to him the mother of Zebedee's children with her sons,* &c. (Matt. xx. 20-23). He preached of the unreasonable desires and prayers of men; and then spoke emphatically on the assurance of salvation. He established it on this foundation, that those who receive the Word of God with faith are the true disciples of Jesus Christ, elected to eternal life. He next treated of gratuitous election, and showed that this doctrine, if presented in union with the work of Christ, has great power to dispel the terrors of conscience; so that men, instead of flying far from the righteous God, at the sight of their own unworthiness, are gently led to seek their refuge in Him. In conclusion, he related an allegory of three virgins, from which he deduced edifying instructions.

The word of truth made a deep impression on his hearers. Two of them in particular seemed to pay very great attention to the sermon of the Wittenberg monk. The first was a lady of respectable appearance, who was seated on the court benches, and on whose features a profound emotion might be traced. It was Madame de la Sale, first lady to the duchess. The other was a licentiate in canon law, Jerome Emser, councillor and secretary to the duke. Emser possessed great talents and extensive information. A courtier and skilful politician, he would have desired to be on good terms with the two contending parties—to pass at Rome for a

defender of the papacy, and at the same time shine in Germany among the learned men of the age. But under this pliant mind was concealed a violent character. It was in the palace-chapel at Dresden that Luther and Emser first met; they were afterwards to break more than one lance together.

The dinner hour arrived for the inhabitants of the palace, and in a short time the ducal family and the persons attached to the court were assembled at table. The conversation naturally fell on the preacher of the morning. "How were you pleased with the sermon?" said the duke to Madame de la Sale.—"If I could hear but one more like it," replied she, "I should die in peace."—"And I," replied George angrily, "would rather give a large sum not to have heard it; for such discourses are only calculated to make people sin with assurance."

The master having thus made known his opinion, the courtiers gave way uncontrolled to their dissatisfaction. Each one had his censure ready. Some maintained that in his allegory of the three virgins, Luther had in view three ladies of the court; on which there arose interminable babbling. They rallied the three ladies whom the monk of Wittenberg had thus, they said, publicly pointed out.² He is an ignorant fellow, said some; he is a proud monk said others. Each one made his comment on the sermon, and put what he pleased into the preacher's mouth. The truth had fallen into the midst of a court that was little prepared to receive it. Every one mangled it after his own fashion. But while the Word of God was thus an occasion of stumbling to many, it was for the first lady a stone of uprising. Falling sick a month after, she confidently embraced the grace of the Saviour, and died with joy.³

As for the duke, it was not perhaps in vain that he heard this testimony to the truth. Whatever may have been his opposition to the Reformation during his life, we know that at his death he declared that he had no hope save in the merits of Jesus Christ.

It was natural that Emser should do the honours to Luther in his master's name. He invited him to supper. Luther refused; but Emser persisted, and prevailed on him to come. Luther thought he should only meet a few friends; but he soon perceived that a trap had been laid for him.⁴ A master of arts from Leipsic and several Dominicans were with the prince's secretary. The master of arts, having no mean opinion of himself, and full of hatred towards Luther, addressed him in a friendly and honied manner; but he soon got into a passion, and began to shout with all his might.⁵ The combat began. The dispute turned, says

¹ *Hæc tres postea in aula principis a me notatas garrire vident.* L. Epp. i. 85.

² *Kellh. Leb. Luth. p. 32.*

³ *Inter medias me invidias conjectum.* L. Epp. i. 86.

⁴ *In me scriber et clamore invecens est.* *Ibid.*

Luther, on the trumpery of Aristotle and St. Thomas.¹ At last Luther defied the master of arts to define with all the learning of the Thomists what is the fulfilling of God's commandments. The embarrassed disputant put a good face on the matter. "Pay me my fee," said he holding out his hand, "*da postum*." One would have said that he wished to give a regular lesson, taking his fellow-guests for his pupils. "At this foolish reply," adds the reformer, "we all burst into laughter, and then we parted."

During this conversation a Dominican was listening at the door. He longed to enter and spit in Luther's face;² but he checked himself, and boasted of it afterwards. Emser, charmed at seeing his guests disputing, and appearing himself to preserve a due moderation, was earnest in excuses to Luther for the manner in which the evening had passed.³ The latter returned to Wittenberg.

CHAPTER XI.

Return to Wittenberg—Theses—Free-Will—Nature of Man—Rationalism—Proposal to the University of Erfurt—Rex—Urban Regius—Luther's Modesty—Effect of the Theses.

LUTHER returned zealously to work. He was preparing six or seven young theologians who were shortly to undergo an examination for a license to teach. What rejoiced him most of all was, that their promotion would tend to the discredit of Aristotle. "I could desire to multiply the number of his enemies as soon as possible," said he.⁴ With this intent he published certain theses about that time which merit our attention.

Free-will was the great subject treated of. He had already touched upon it in the Feldkirchen theses; he now went deeper into the question. There had been, from the very commencement of Christianity, a struggle more or less keen between the two doctrines of man's liberty and his enslavement. Some schoolmen had taught, like Pelagius and other doctors, that man possessed of himself the liberty or the power of loving God and of performing good works. Luther denied this liberty; not to deprive man of it, but in order that he might obtain it. The struggle in this great question is not therefore, as is generally said, between liberty and slavery it is between a liberty proceeding from man, and one that comes from God. Those who style themselves the partisans of liberty say to man: "Thou hast the power of performing good works; thou hast no need of greater

liberty." The others, who are called the partisans of servitude, say on the contrary: "True liberty is what thou needest, and God offers it thee in his Gospel." On the one side, they speak of liberty to perpetuate slavery; on the other, they speak of slavery to give liberty. Such was the contest in the times of St. Paul, of St. Augustine, and of Luther. Those who say, "Change nothing," are the champions of slavery: the others who say, "Let your fetters fall off," are the champions of liberty.

But we should deceive ourselves were we to sum up all the Reformation in that particular question. It is one of the numerous doctrines maintained by the Wittenberg doctor, and that is all. It would be indulging in a strange delusion to pretend that the Reformation was a fatalism,—an opposition to liberty. It was a noble emancipation of the human mind. Snapping the numerous bonds with which the hierarchy had bound men's minds,—restoring the ideas of liberty, of right, of free examination, it set free its own age, ourselves, and the remotest posterity. But let it not be said that the Reformation delivered man from every human despotism, but made him a slave by proclaiming the sovereignty of Grace. It desired, no doubt, to lead back the human will, to confound it with and render it entirely subject to the Divine will; but what kind of philosophy is that which does not know that an entire conformity with the will of God is the sole, supreme, and perfect liberty; and that man will be really free, only when sovereign righteousness and eternal truth alone have dominion over him?

The following are some of the ninety-nine propositions that Luther put forth in the Church against the Pelagian rationalism of the scholastic theology:—

"It is true that man who has become a corrupt tree, can will or do naught but evil.

"It is false that the will, left to itself, can do good as well as evil; for it is not free, but in bondage.

"It is not in the power of Man's will to choose or reject whatever is offered to it.

"Man cannot of his own nature will God to be God. He would prefer to be God himself, and that God were not God.

"The excellent, infallible, and sole preparation for grace, is the eternal election and predestination of God.¹

"It is false to say that if man does all that he can, he removes the obstacles to grace.

"In a word, nature possesses neither a pure reason nor a good will.²

"On the side of man there is nothing that goes before grace, unless it be impotency and even rebellion.

¹ Super Aristotelis et Thomæ vicia. L. Epp. l. 88.

² Ne prodiret et in faciem meam a spueret. Ibid.

³ Epist. non excommunicat. Ibid.

⁴ Quis vellem hostes cito quamplurimos fieri. Ibid. m.

¹ Optima et infallibilis ad gratiam preparatio et unicus dispositio, est eterna Dei electio et predestinatio. L. Op. l. 1. 88.

² Breviter, nec rectum dictamen habet natura, nec bonam voluntatem. Ibid.

"There is no moral virtue without pride or without sorrow, that is to say, without sin.

"From beginning to end, we are not masters of our actions, but their slaves.

"We do not become righteous by doing what is righteous; but having become righteous, we do what is righteous.

"He who says that a divine, who is not a logician, is a heretic and an empiric, maintains an empirical and heretical proposition.

"There is no form of reasoning (of syllogism) that holds with the things of God.¹

"If the form of the syllogism could be applied to Divine things, we should have *knowledge* and not *belief* of the article of the Holy Trinity.

"In a word, Aristotle is to divinity, as darkness to light.

"Man is a greater enemy to the grace of God than he is to the law itself.

"He who is without God's grace sins continually, even should he neither rob, murder, nor commit adultery.

"He sins, in that he does not fulfil the law spiritually.

"Not to kill, not to commit adultery, externally only and with regard to the actions, is the righteousness of hypocrites.

"The law of God and the will of man are two adversaries, that without the grace of God can never be reconciled.²

"What the law commands, the will never wishes, unless through fear or love it puts on the appearance of willing.

"The law is the task-master of the will, who is not overcome but by the Child that is born unto us. (Isaiah ix. 6.)³

"The law makes sin abound, for it exasperates and repels the will.

"But the grace of God makes righteousness abound through Jesus Christ, who causes us to love the law.

"Every work of the law appears good outwardly, but inwardly it is sin.

"The will, when it turns towards the law without the grace of God, does so in its own interest alone.

"Cursed are all those who perform the works of the law.

"Blessed are all those who perform the works of God's grace.

"The law which is good, and in which we have life, is the love of God shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost. (Rom. v. 5.)

"Grace is not given in order that the work may be done more frequently and more easily, but because without grace there can be no work of love.

"To love God is to hate oneself and to know nothing out of God."⁴

Thus Luther ascribes to God all the good that man can do. There is no question of repairing, of patching up, if we may use the expression, man's will: an entirely new one must be given him. God only has been able to say this, because God alone can accomplish it. This is one of the greatest and most important truths that the human mind can conceive.

But while Luther proclaimed the powerlessness of man, he did not fall into the other extreme. He says in the eighth thesis: "It does not hence follow that the will is naturally depraved; that is to say, that its nature is that of evil itself, as the Manichees have taught."¹ Originally man's nature was essentially good: it has turned away from the good, which is God, and inclined towards evil. Yet its holy and glorious origin still remains; and it is capable, by the power of God, of recovering this origin. It is the business of Christianity to restore it to him. It is true that the Gospel displays man in a state of humiliation and impotency, but between two glories and two grandours: a past glory from which he has been precipitated, and a future glory to which he is called. There lies the truth: man is aware of it, and if he reflects ever so little, he easily discovers that all which is told him of his present purity, power, and glory is but a fiction with which to lull and sooth his pride.

Luther in his theses protested not only against the pretended goodness of man's will, but still more against the pretended light of his understanding in respect to Divine things. In truth, scholasticism had exalted his reason as well as his will. This theology, as some of its doctors have represented it, was at bottom nothing but a kind of rationalism. This is indicated by the propositions we have cited. One might fancy them directed against the rationalism of our days. In the theses that were the signal of the Reformation, Luther censured the Church and the popular superstitions which had added indulgences, purgatory, and so many other abuses to the Gospel. In those we have just quoted, he assailed the schools and rationalism, which had taken away from that very Gospel the doctrine of the sovereignty of God, of his revelation, and of his grace. The Reformation attacked rationalism before it turned against superstition. It proclaimed the rights of God, before it cut off the excrescences of man. It was positive before it became negative. This has not been sufficiently observed; and yet if we do not notice it, we cannot justly appreciate that religious revolution and its true nature.

However this may be, the truths that Luther had just enunciated with so much energy were very novel. It would have been an easy matter to support these propo-

¹ *Nulla forma syllogistica tenet in terminis divinis.* L. Opp. Lat. I. 45.

² *Lex et voluntas sunt adversarii duo, sine gratis Dei inspiratione.* Ibid. 47.

³ *Lex est exactor voluntatis, qui non superatur nisi per Purissimum qui natus est nobis.* Ibid.

⁴ L. Opp. Lips. xlv. 143, and Opp. Lat. I.

¹ *Nec ideo sequitur quod sit naturaliter malus, id est natura malus, secundum Manicheos.* L. Opp. Lips. xvii. 143, and Opp. Lat. I.

sitions at Wittenberg; for there his influence predominated. But it might have been said that he had chosen a field where he knew that no combatant would dare appear. By offering battle in another university, he would give them greater publicity; and it was by publicity that the Reformation was effected. He turned his eyes to Erfurth, whose theologians had shown themselves so irritated against him.

He therefore transmitted these propositions to John Lange, prior of Erfurth, and wrote to him: "My suspense as to your decision upon these paradoxes is great, extreme, too great perhaps, and full of anxiety. I strongly suspect that your theologians will consider as paradoxical, and even as *kakodoxical*,¹ what is in my opinion very orthodox. Pray inform me, as soon as possible, of your sentiments upon them. Have the goodness to declare to the faculty of theology, and to all, that I am prepared to visit you, and to maintain these propositions publicly, either in the university or in the monastery." It does not appear that Luther's challenge was accepted. The monks of Erfurth were contented to let him know that these propositions had greatly displeased them.

But he desired to send them also into another quarter of Germany. For this purpose he turned his eyes on an individual who plays a great part in the history of the Reformation, and whom we must learn to know.

A distinguished professor, by name John Meyer, was then teaching at the university of Ingolstadt in Bavaria. He was born at Eck, a village in Swabia, and was commonly styled Doctor Eck. He was a friend of Luther, who esteemed his talents and his information. He was full of intelligence, had read much, and possessed an excellent memory. He united learning with eloquence. His gestures and his voice expressed the vivacity of his genius. Eck, as regards talent, was in the south of Germany what Luther was in the north. They were the two most remarkable theologians of that epoch, although having very different tendencies. Ingolstadt was almost the rival of Wittenberg. The reputation of these two doctors attracted from every quarter, to the universities where they taught, a crowd of students eager to listen to their teaching. Their personal qualities, not less than their learning, endeared them to their disciples. The character of Dr Eck has been attacked; but one trait of his life will show that, at this period at least, his heart was not closed against generous impulses.

Among the students whom his reputation had attracted to Ingolstadt, was a young man named Urban Regius, born on the shores of an Alpine lake. He had studied first at the university of Friburg in Brigau. On his

arrival at Ingolstadt, Urban followed the philosophical courses, and gained the professor's favour. Compelled to provide for his own wants, he was obliged to undertake the charge of some young noblemen. He had not only to watch over their conduct and their studies, but even to provide with his own money the books and clothing that they stood in need of. These youths dressed with elegance, and were fond of good living. Regius, in his embarrassed condition, entreated the parents to withdraw their sons.—"Take courage," was their reply. His debts increased; his creditors became pressing: he knew not what to do. The emperor was at that time collecting an army against the Turks. Recruiting parties arrived at Ingolstadt, and in his despair Urban enlisted. Dressed in his military uniform, he appeared in the ranks at their final review previous to leaving the town. At that moment Dr Eck came into the square with several of his colleagues. To his great surprise he recognised his pupil among the recruits. "Urban Regius!" said he, fixing on him a piercing glance. "Here!" replied the young soldier. "Pray, what is the cause of this change?" The young man told his story. "I will take the matter upon myself," replied Eck, who then took away his halberd, and bought him off. The parents, threatened by the doctor with their prince's displeasure, sent the money necessary to pay their children's expenses. Urban Regius was saved, and became somewhat later one of the bulwarks of the Reformation.

It was through Dr Eck that Luther thought of making his propositions on Pelagianism and scholastic rationalism known in the south of the empire. He did not, however, send them direct to the Ingolstadt professor, but forwarded them to a common friend, the excellent Christopher Scheurl, secretary to the city of Nuremberg, begging him to transmit them to Eck at Ingolstadt, which was not far from Nuremberg. "I forward you," said he, "my propositions, which are altogether paradoxical, and even *kakistodoxical* (*κακιστοδοξας*), as it would appear to many. Communicate them to our dear Eck, that most learned and ingenious man, in order that I may see and hear what he thinks of them."¹ It was thus Luther spoke at that time of Dr Eck: such was the friendship that united them. It was not Luther that broke it off.

But it was not on this field that the battle was to be fought. These propositions turned on doctrines of perhaps greater importance than those which two months later set the Church in flames; and yet, in despite of Luther's challenges, they passed unnoticed. At most, they were read within the walls of the schools, and created no sensation beyond

¹ Imo cacodoxa (unsound doctrine) videtur suspicor. L. Epp. l. 60.

¹ Ecce nostro, eruditissimo et ingeniosissimo viro exhibitum, ut audiam et videam quid vocet illas. L. Epp. l. 60.

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them. It was because they were only university propositions, or theological doctrines; while the theses which followed had reference to an evil that had grown up among the people, and which was then breaking bounds on every side throughout Germany. So long as Luther was content to revive forgotten doctrines, men were silent; but when he pointed out abuses that injured all the world, everybody listened.

And yet in neither case did Luther propose more than to excite one of those theological discussions so frequent in the universities. This was the circle to which his thoughts

were restricted. He had no idea of becoming a reformer. He was humble, and his humility bordered on distrust and anxiety. "Considering my ignorance," said he, "I deserve only to be hidden in some corner, without being known to any one under the sun."¹ But a mighty hand drew him from this corner in which he would have desired to remain unknown to the world. A circumstance, independent of Luther's will, threw him into the field of battle, and the war began. It is this providential circumstance which the course of events now calls upon us to relate.

1 L. Opp. (W.) xviii. 1844.

BOOK III.

THE INDULGENCES AND THE THESES. 1517—MAY 1518.

CHAPTER I.

Precission—Tetzel—Tetzel's Sermon—Confession—Four Graces—Sale—Public Penance—Letter of Indulgence—Exceptions—Amusements and Dissipation.

A GREAT agitation prevailed at that time among the German people. The Church had opened a vast market upon earth. From the crowds of purchasers, and the shouts and jokes of the sellers, it might have been called a fair, but a fair conducted by monks. The merchandise that they were extolling, and which they offered at a reduced price, was, said they, the salvation of souls!

These dealers traversed the country in a handsome carriage, accompanied by three horsemen, living in great state, and spending freely. One might have thought it some archbishop on a progress through his diocese, with his retinue and officers, and not a common chapman or a begging monk. When the procession approached a town, a deputy waited on the magistrate, and said, "The Grace of God and of the Holy Father is at your gates." Instantly everything was in motion in the place. The clergy, the priests and nuns, the council, the schoolmasters and their pupils, the trades with their banners, men and women, young and old, went out to meet these merchants, bearing lighted tapers in their hands, and advancing to the sound of music and of all the bells, "so that they could not have received God himself with greater honour," says an historian. The salutations being exchanged, the procession moved towards the church. The pontiff's bull of grace was carried in front on a velvet cushion, or on cloth of gold. The chief of the indulgence-merchants came next, holding

a large red wooden cross in his hand. All the procession thus moved along amidst singing, prayers, and the smoke of incense. The sound of the organ, and loud music, welcomed the merchant-monk and his attendants into the temple. The cross that he had carried was placed in front of the altar: on it were suspended the arms of the pope, and so long as it remained there, the clergy of the place, the penitentiaries, and the under-commissaries with white wands, came daily after vespers, or before the salutation, to render it homage.¹ This great affair excited a lively sensation in the quiet cities of Germany.

One person in particular attracted the attention of the spectators at these sales. It was he who carried the red cross, and who played the chief part. He was robed in the Dominican dress, and moved with an air of arrogance. His voice was sonorous, and seemed in its full strength, although he had already attained his sixty-third year.² This man, the son of a Leipzig goldsmith named Diez, was known as John Diezel, or Tetzel. He had studied in his native city, had taken the degree of bachelor in 1487, and two years after had entered the Dominican order. Numerous honours had been heaped upon his head. Bachelor of divinity, prior of the Dominicans, apostolic commissary, inquisitor (*hereticæ pravitatis inquisitor*), he had from the year 1502 uninterruptedly filled the office of dealer in indulgences. The skill that he had acquired as subordinate had soon procured him the nomination as chief commis-

¹ Mit weissen Steblein. Instructions of the Archbishop of Mentz to the Under-commissaries of Indulgences, &c. Art. 6.

² Ingenio ferox et corpore robustus. Cochl. &

sary. He received eighty florins a-month; all his expenses were paid; a carriage and three horses were at his disposal; but his subsidiary profits, as may be easily imagined, far exceeded his stipend. In 1507 he gained at Friburg two thousand florins in two days. If he had the office of a mountebank, he possessed the manners also. Convicted at Innspruck of adultery and infamous conduct, his vices had nearly caused his death. The Emperor Maximilian had ordered him to be put into a sack and thrown into the river. The Elector Frederick of Saxony interfered and obtained his pardon.¹ But the lesson that he had received had not taught him modesty. He led two of his children about with him. Miltitz, the pope's legate, mentions this fact in one of his letters.² It would have been difficult to find in all the convents of Germany a man better qualified than Tetzel for the business with which he was charged. To the theology of a monk, to the zeal and spirit of an inquisitor, he united the greatest effrontery; and the circumstance that most especially facilitated his task, was his skill in inventing those extravagant stories by which the people's minds are captivated. To him all means were good that filled his chest. Raising his voice, and displaying the eloquence of a mountebank, he offered his indulgences to all comers, and knew better than any tradesman how to extol his wares.³

When the cross had been erected, and the arms of the pope suspended from it, Tetzel went into the pulpit, and with a tone of assurance began to extol the value of indulgences, in the presence of a crowd whom the ceremony had attracted to the holy place. The people listened and stared as they heard of the admirable virtues that he announced. A Jesuit historian, speaking of the Dominican monks whom Tetzel had taken with him, says: "Some of these preachers failed not, as usual, to go beyond the matter they were treating of, and so far to exaggerate the worth of indulgences, that they gave the people cause to believe that they were assured of their salvation, and of the deliverance of souls from purgatory, so soon as they had given their money."⁴ If such were the disciples, we may easily imagine what the master must have been. Let us listen to one of the harangues he delivered after the elevation of the cross.

"Indulgences (said he) are the most precious and the most noble of God's gifts.

"This cross (pointing to the red cross) has as much efficacy as the very cross of Jesus Christ."⁵

"Come and I will give you letters, all properly sealed, by which even the sins that you intend to commit may be pardoned.

"I would not change my privileges for those of St. Peter in heaven; for I have saved more souls by my indulgences than the apostle by his sermons.

"There is no sin so great, that an indulgence cannot remit; and even if any one (which is doubtless impossible) had offered violence to the blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God, let him pay—only let him pay well, and all will be forgiven him."¹

"Reflect then, that for every mortal sin you must, after confession and contrition, do penance for seven years, either in this life or in purgatory: now, how many mortal sins are there not committed in a day, how many in a week, how many in a month, how many in a year, how many in a whole life!² Alas! these sins are almost infinite, and they entail an infinite penalty in the fires of purgatory. And now, by means of these letters of indulgence, you can once in your life, in every case except four, which are reserved for the apostolic see, and afterwards in the article of death, obtain a plenary remission of all your penalties and all your sins!"

Tetzel even entered into financial calculations. "Do you not know," said he, "that if any one desires to visit Rome, or any country where travellers incur danger, he sends his money to the bank, and for every hundred florins that he wishes to have, he gives five or six or ten more, that by means of the letters of this bank he may be safely repaid his money at Rome or elsewhere..... And you, for a quarter of a florin, will not receive these letters of indulgence, by means of which you may introduce into paradise, not a vile metal, but a divine and immortal soul, without its running any risk."³

Tetzel then passed to another subject.

"But more than this," said he: "indulgences avail not only for the living, but for the dead.

"For that, repentance is not even necessary.

"Priest! noble! merchant! wife! youth! maiden! do you not hear your parents and your other friends who are dead, and who cry from the bottom of the abyss: We are suffering horrible torments! a trifling alms would deliver us; you can give it, and you will not!"

All shuddered at these words uttered by the thundering voice of the impostor-monk.

"At the very instant," continued Tetzel,

¹ Welchen Churfürst Friedrich vom Saek zu Innspruck erbeiten hatte. Mathes. 10.

² L. Opp. (W.) xv. 82.

³ Circumferunt venales indulgentias in his regionibus a Tectello Dominicano impudentissimo sycophanta. Melanct. Vita Luth.

⁴ Hist. du Luthéranisme par le P. Maimbourg, de la compagnie de Jésus, 1641, p. 21.

⁵ L. Opp. (W.) xiii. 153.

¹ Tetzel defends and maintains this assertion in his *Andresen*, published the same year. Th. 98, 100, and 101.

² Sub-commisarius in super ac predicatoribus veniarum imponere, ut si quis per impossibile dei generitricem semper virginem violasset, quod eundem indulgentiarum vicere absolviere possent, luce clarius est. — Positiones fratris J. Tetzeli quibus defendit indulgentias contra Lutherum.

³ Qui peccata mortalia committuntur, necesse est, Kocher's Reformation Act. 1. 418.

⁴ Et continuat a quoniam Romano, vel ad alias peccatas partes, mittat pecunias suas in domos, et in tranquillitatem dat quinque, aut sex, aut decem, &c. Ibid.

"that the money rattles at the bottom of the chest, the soul escapes from purgatory, and flies liberated to heaven."¹

"O stupid and brutish people, who do not understand the grace so richly offered! Now heaven is every where opened!.....Do you refuse to enter now? When, then, will you enter?.....Now you can ransom so many souls!.....Stiffnecked and thoughtless man! with twelve groats you can deliver your father from purgatory, and you are ungrateful enough not to save him! I shall be justified in the day of judgment; but you,—you will be punished so much the more severely for having neglected so great salvation. I declare to you, though you should have but a single coat, you ought to strip it off and sell it, in order to obtain this grace.....The Lord our God no longer reigns. He has resigned all power to the pope."

Then seeking to make use of other arms besides, he added: "Do you know why our most Holy Lord distributes so rich a grace? It is to restore the ruined Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, so that it may not have its equal in the world. This Church contains the bodies of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and those of a multitude of martyrs. These saintly bodies, through the present state of the building, are now, alas!.....beaten upon, inundated, polluted, dishonoured, reduced to rottenness, by the rain and the hail.....Alas! shall these sacred ashes remain longer in the mire and in degradation?"

This description failed not to produce an impression on many, who burned with a desire to come to the aid of poor Leo X., who had not the means of sheltering the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul from the weather.

The orator next turned against the cavaliers and traitors who opposed his work: "I declare them excommunicated!" exclaimed he.

Then addressing the docile souls, and making an impious application of scripture, he exclaimed: "Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see: for I tell you, that many prophets and kings have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them!" And in conclusion, pointing to the strong box in which the money was received, he generally finished his pathetic discourse by three appeals to his auditory: "Bring—bring—bring!"—"He used to shout these words with such a horrible bellowing," wrote Luther, "that one would have said it was a mad bull rushing on the people and goring them with his horns."² When his speech was ended, he left the pulpit, ran towards the money-box, and in sight of all the people

flung into it a piece of money, taking care that it should rattle loudly.³

Such were the discourses that Germany listened to with astonishment in the days when God was preparing Luther.

The speech being concluded, the indulgence was considered as "having established its throne in the place with due solemnity." Confessionals decorated with the pope's arms were ranged about: the under-commissaries and the confessors whom they selected were considered the representatives of the apostolic penitentiaries of Rome at the time of a great jubilee; and on each of their confessionals were posted in large characters, their names, surnames, and titles.⁴

Then thronged the crowd around the confessors. Each came with a piece of money in his hand. Men, women, and children, the poor, and even those who lived on alms—all found money. The penitentiaries, after having explained anew to each individual privately the greatness of the indulgence, addressed this question to the penitents: "How much money can you conscientiously spare to obtain so complete a remission?" The demand, said the Instructions of the Archbishop of Mentz to the Commissaries, should be made at this moment, in order that the penitents might be better disposed to contribute.

Four precious graces were promised to those who should aid in building the basilic of St. Peter. "The first grace that we announce to you," said the commissaries, in accordance with the letter of their instructions, "is the full pardon of every sin."⁵ Next followed three other graces: *first*, the right of choosing a confessor, who, whenever the hour of death appeared at hand, should give absolution from all sin, and even from the greatest crimes reserved for the apostolic see;⁶ *secondly*, a participation in all the blessings, works, and merits of the Catholic Church, prayers, fasts, alms, and pilgrimages;⁷ *thirdly*, redemption of the souls that are in purgatory.

To obtain the first of these graces, it was requisite to have contrition of heart and confession of mouth, or at least an intention of confessing. But as for the three others, they might be obtained without contrition, without confession, simply by paying. Christopher Columbus, extolling the value of gold, had said ere this with great seriousness: "Whoever possesses it can introduce souls into paradise." Such was the doctrine taught by the Archbishop of Mentz and by the papal commissaries.

"As for those," said they, "who wish to deliver souls from purgatory and procure the pardon of all their offences, let them put money into the chest; contrition of heart or

¹ Thesis 26. Positiones fratris J. Tetzeli quibus defendit indulgentias contra Lutherum.

² Instructions of the Archbishop of Mentz, &c.

³ Recol. on thesis 22.

⁴ Tentzel, Reformationsgesch.—Myconius, Ref. Hist.—Instr. of Archbishop of Mentz to the Under-commissaries.—Luther's Theses.

⁵ Instr. tract., &c. 4, 60.

⁶ Ibid. 30.

⁷ Ibid. 19.

⁸ Ibid. 32.

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confession of mouth is not necessary.¹ Let them only hasten to bring their money; for thus will they perform a work most useful to the souls of the dead, and to the building of the Church of St. Peter." Greater blessings could not be offered at a lower rate.

The confession over, and that was soon done, the faithful hastened to the vendor. One alone was charged with the sale. His stall was near the cross. He cast inquiring looks on those who approached him. He examined their manner, their gait, their dress, and he required a sum proportionate to the appearance of the individual who presented himself. Kings, queens, princes, archbishops, bishops, were, according to the scale, to pay twenty-five ducats for an ordinary indulgence. Abbots, counts, and barons, ten. The other nobles, the rectors, and all those who possessed an income of five hundred florins, paid six. Those who had two hundred florins a-year paid one; and others, only a half. Moreover, if this tariff could not be carried out to the letter, full powers were given the apostolical commissary; and all was to be arranged according to the data of "sound reason," and the generosity of the donor.² For particular sins, Tetzl had a particular tax. For polygamy it was six ducats; for sacrilege and perjury, nine ducats; for murder, eight ducats; for witchcraft, two ducats. Samson, who exercised the same trade in Switzerland as Tetzl in Germany, had a somewhat different scale. For infanticide he required four *livres tournois*; and for parricide or fratricide, one ducat.³

The apostolical commissaries sometimes met with difficulties in their trade. It frequently happened, both in towns and villages, that the men were opposed to this traffic, and forbade their wives to give anything to these merchants. What could their pious spouses do? "Have you not your dowry, or other property, at your own disposal?" asked the vendors. "In that case you can dispose of it for so holy a work, against the will of your husbands."⁴

The hand that had given the indulgence could not receive the money; this was forbidden under the severest penalties: there were good reasons to fear lest that hand should prove unfaithful. The penitent was himself to drop the price of his pardon into the chest.⁵ They showed an angry countenance against all who daringly kept their purses closed.⁶

If among the crowd of those who thronged the confessionals there should be found a

man whose crime had been public, though it was one that the civil laws could not reach, he was to begin by doing public penance. They first led him into a chapel or the vestry; there they stripped off his garments, took off his shoes, and left him nothing but his shirt. They crossed his arms over his bosom: placed a taper in one hand, and a rod in the other. The penitent then walked at the head of a procession to the red cross. Here he remained kneeling until the chants and the offertory were over. After this the commissary struck up the psalm, *Miserere Mei!* The confessors immediately drew near the penitent, and conducted him through the station towards the commissary, who, taking the rod and striking him thrice gently on the back,¹ said to him: "God have pity on thee, and pardon thy sin!" He then began to sing the *Kyrie eleison*.² the penitent was led to the front of the cross, where the confessor gave him the apostolical absolution, and declared him reinstated in the communion of the faithful. Sad mummery, concluded by the words of Holy Scripture, that, in such a moment, were mere profanity!

We give one of these letters of absolution. It is worth while learning the contents of these diplomas which led to the Reformation of the Church.

"May our Lord Jesus Christ have pity on thee, N. N., and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion! And I, in virtue of the apostolical power that has been confided to me, absolve thee from all ecclesiastical censures, judgments, and penalties which thou mayst have incurred; moreover, from all excesses, sins, and crimes that thou mayst have committed, however great and enormous they may be, and from whatsoever cause, were they even reserved for our most holy father the pope and for the apostolic see. I blot out all the stains of inability and all marks of infamy that thou mayst have drawn upon thyself on this occasion. I remit the penalties that thou shouldst have endured in purgatory. I restore thee anew to participation in the sacraments of the Church. I incorporate thee afresh in the communion of saints, and re-establish thee in the purity and innocence which thou hadst at thy baptism. So that in the hour of death, the gate by which sinners enter the place of torments and punishment shall be closed against thee, and, on the contrary, the gate leading to the paradise of joy shall be open. And if thou shouldst not die for long years, this grace will remain unalterable until thy last hour shall arrive.

"In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

"Friar JOHN TETZEL, commissary, has signed this with his own hand."

¹ Auch nieh ist nicht nöthig dass sie in dem Herzen zerknirscht sind, und mit dem Mund gebeichtet haben. Instr. 24.

² Nach den Sätzen der gesunden Vernunft, nach ihrer Magnificenz und Freigebigkeit. Ibid. 25.

³ Miller's Bible, iii. 264. The *livres tournois*, or sterling, to use a synonymous English expression, is worth about 24d., and is now replaced by the franc.

⁴ Instr. 27. Wieder den Willen ihres Mannes.

⁵ Ibid. 27, 30, 31.

⁶ L. Opp. (L.) xiv. 72.

¹ Dreimal gelind auf den Rücken. Instr.

² Lord I ave mercy upon us. The name of a penitential hymn in the Roman ritual.

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With what skill are presumptuous and lying words here foisted in between holy and christian expressions!

All the believers were required to confess in the place where the red cross was set up. None were excepted but the sick and aged, and pregnant women. If, however, there chanced to be in the neighbourhood some noble in his castle, some great personage in his palace, there was also an exemption for him,¹ as he would not like to be mixed up with this crowd, and his money was well worth the pains of fetching from his mansion.

Was there any convent whose chiefs, opposed to Tetzel's commerce, forbade their monks to visit the places where the Indulgence had set up its throne, they found means of remedying the evil by sending them confessors, who were empowered to absolve them contrary to the rules of their order and the will of their superiors.² There was no vein in the gold mine that they did not find the means of working.

Then came what was the end and aim of the whole business: the reckoning of the money. For greater security, the chest had three keys: one was in Tetzel's keeping; the second in that of a treasurer delegated by the house of Fugger of Augsburg, to whom this vast enterprise had been consigned; the third was confided to the civil authority. When the time was come, the money-boxes were opened before a public notary, and the contents were duly counted and registered. Must not Christ arise and drive out these profane money-changers from the sanctuary?

When the mission was over, the dealers relaxed from their toils. The instructions of the commissary-general forbade them, it is true, to frequent taverns and places of bad repute;³ but they cared little for this prohibition. Sin could have but few terrors for those who made so easy a traffic in it. "The collectors led a disorderly life," says a Romanist historian; "they squandered in taverns, gambling-houses, and places of ill-fame, all that the people had saved from their necessities."⁴ It has even been asserted, that when they were in the taverns they would often stake the salvation of souls on a throw of the dice.⁵

rise to in Germany. There are characteristics which, of themselves alone, depict the times. We prefer using the language of the men whose history we are narrating.

At Magdeburg, Tetzel refused to absolve a rich lady, unless (as he declared to her) she would pay one hundred florins in advance. She requested the advice of her usual confessor, who was a Franciscan: "God grants the remission of sins gratuitously," replied the monk, "he does not sell it." He begged her, however, not to communicate to Tetzel the counsel she had received from him. But this merchant having notwithstanding heard a report of this opinion so contrary to his interests, exclaimed: "Such a counsellor deserves to be banished or to be burnt."¹

Tetzel rarely found men enlightened enough, and still more rarely men who were bold enough, to resist him. In general he easily managed the superstitious crowd. He had set up the red cross of the indulgences at Zwickau, and the worthy parishioners had hastened to drop into his strong-box the money that would deliver them. He was about to leave with a well-stored purse, when, on the eve of his departure, the chaplains and their acolytes asked him for a farewell supper. The request was just. But how contrive it? the money was already counted and sealed up. On the morrow he caused the great bell to be tolled. The crowd rushed into the church; each one imagined something extraordinary had happened, seeing that the business was over. "I had resolved," said he, "to depart this morning; but last night I was awakened by groans. I listened attentively.....they came from the cemetery.....Alas! it was some poor soul calling upon me and earnestly entreating me to deliver it from the torments by which it is consumed! I shall stay, therefore, one day longer, in order to move the compassion of all christian hearts in favour of this unhappy soul. I myself will be the first to give, and he that does not follow my example will merit condemnation." What heart would not have replied to this appeal? Who knows, besides, what soul it is thus crying from the cemetery? The offerings were abundant, and Tetzel entertained the chaplains and their acolytes with a joyous repast, the expense of which was defrayed by the offerings given in behalf of the soul of Zwickau.²

The indulgence-merchants had visited Hagenau in 1517. The wife of a shoemaker, taking advantage of the authorization given in the commissary-general's instructions, had procured a letter of indulgence, contrary to her husband's will, and had paid a gold florin. She died shortly after. As the husband had not caused a mass to be said for the repose of her soul, the priest charged him with contempt of religion, and the magistrate of

CHAPTER II

The Franciscan Confessor—The Soul in the Burial-ground—The Shoemaker of Hagenau—The Students—Myconius' conversation with Tetzel—Triek of a Nobleman—Remarks of the Wise and of the People—A Miner of Schneeberg.

But now let us turn to the scenes which this sale of the pardon of sins at that time gave

¹ Instruction 2. ² Ibid. 32.

³ Sess. 4. Council of Trent, 2.

⁴ Schrock, K. G. v. d. R. I. 112.

⁵ Ibid. 4.

¹ Sculliet. Annal. Evangel. 4.

² Loescher's Ref. Act. I. 404. L. Opp. xv. 422, 423.

Hagenau summoned him to appear in court. The shoemaker put his wife's indulgence in his pocket, and went to answer the accusation.—"Is your wife dead?" asked the magistrate.—"Yes," replied he.—"What have you done for her?"—"I have buried her body, and commended her soul to God."—"But have you had a mass said for the repose of her soul?"—"I have not: it was of no use: she entered heaven at the moment of her death."—"How do you know that?"—"Here is the proof." As he said these words, he drew the indulgence from his pocket, and the magistrate, in presence of the priest, read in so many words, that, at the moment of her death, the woman who had received it would not go into purgatory, but would at once enter into heaven. "If the reverend gentleman maintains that a mass is still necessary," added the widower, "my wife has been deceived by our most holy father the pope; if she has not been, it is the priest who deceives me." There was no reply to this, and the shoemaker was acquitted. Thus did the plain sense of the people condemn these pious frauds.¹

One day as Tetzel was preaching at Leipsic, and mingling with his sermon some of these stories of which we have given a specimen, two students quitted the church in indignation, exclaiming: "It is impossible for us to listen any longer to this monk's jokes and puerilities."² One of them, we are informed, was the youthful Camerarius, who afterwards became Melancthon's intimate friend and biographer.

But of all the young men of the age, the one on whom Tetzel made the deepest impression was doubtless Myconius, afterwards celebrated as a reformer and historian of the Reformation. He had received a christian education. "My son," his father, a pious Franconian, would often say to him, "pray frequently; for all things are given to us gratuitously from God alone. The blood of Christ," added he, "is the only ransom for the sins of the whole world. O my son, though three men only should be saved by Christ's blood, believe, and believe with assurance, that thou art one of those three men."³ It is an insult to the Saviour's blood to doubt that he can save." And then, cautioning his son against the traffic that was now beginning to be established in Germany: "Roman indulgences," said he again, "are nets to catch silver, and which serve to deceive the simple-minded. Remission of sins and eternal life are not to be purchased with money."

At the age of thirteen Frederick was sent to the school at Annaberg to finish his studies. Tetzel arrived in this city shortly after, and

remained there two years. The people flocked in crowds to hear his sermons. "There is no other means of obtaining eternal life," cried Tetzel in a voice of thunder, "than the satisfaction of works. But this satisfaction is impossible for man. He can therefore only purchase it from the Roman pontiff."⁴

When Tetzel was about to quit Annaberg, his sermons became more earnest. "Soon," cried he in threatening accents, "I shall take down the cross, shut the gates of heaven,⁵ and extinguish the brightness of the sun of grace that beams before your eyes." And then assuming a tender tone of exhortation: "Now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation." Again raising his voice, the priestly Stentor,⁶ who was addressing the inhabitants of a country whose wealth consisted in its mines, shouted out: "Bring your money, citizens of Annaberg! contribute bounteously in favour of indulgences, and your mines and your mountains shall be filled with pure silver!" Finally, at Whitsuntide, he declared that he would distribute his letters to the poor gratuitously, and for the love of God.

The youthful Myconius was one of Tetzel's hearers. He felt an ardent desire to take advantage of this offer. "I am a poor sinner," said he to the commissaries in Latin, "and I have need of a gratuitous pardon."—"Those alone," replied the merchants, "can have part in Christ's merits who lend a helping hand to the Church, that is to say, who give money."—"What is the meaning, then," asked Myconius, "of those promises of a free gift posted on the gates and walls of the churches?"—"Give at least a groat," said Tetzel's people, after having vainly interceded with their master in favour of the young man. "I cannot."—"Only six deniers."—"I am not worth so many." The Dominicans begin to fear that he came on purpose to entrap them. "Listen," said they, "we will make you a present of the six deniers." The young man replied indignantly: "I will have no bought indulgences. If I desired to buy them, I should only have to sell one of my schoolbooks. I desire a gratuitous pardon, and for the love of God alone. You will render an account to God for having allowed a soul to be lost for six deniers."—"Who sent you to entrap us?" exclaimed the vendors.—"Nothing but the desire of receiving God's pardon could have made me appear before such great gentlemen," replied the young man, as he withdrew.

"I was very sad at being thus sent away unpitied. But I felt, however, a comforter within me, who said that there was a God in heaven who pardons repentant souls without

¹ *Magnoli Last Communes*, 302.

² *Hoffman's Reformationsgesch.* v. Leipsic, 33.

³ *Si tantum tres homines essent salvandi per sanguinem Christi, certo statueret unum se esse ex tribus illis.* Melch. Adam. *Vita Myconii*.

⁴ *Si nummis redimatur a pontifice Romano.* Melch. Adam.

⁵ *Clausurum Januam coeli.* Ibid.

⁶ *Stentor pontificus.* Ibid.

money and without price, for the love of his Son Jesus Christ. As I took leave of these folks, the Holy Spirit touched my heart. I burst into tears, and prayed to the Lord with anguish: O God! cried I, since these men have refused to remit my sins, because I wanted money to pay them, do thou, Lord, have pity on me, and pardon them of thy pure grace. I repaired to my chamber; I prayed to my crucifix which was lying on my desk; I put it on a chair, and fell down before it. I cannot describe to you what I experienced. I begged God to be a father to me, and to do with me whatever he pleased. I felt my nature changed, converted, transformed. What had delighted me before, now became an object of disgust. To live with God and to please him was my earnest, my sole desire."¹

Thus did Tetzel himself prepare the Reformation. By flagrant abuses, he cleared the way for a purer doctrine; and the indignation he aroused in a generous youth was one day to burst forth with power. We may form some idea of this by the following anecdote.

A Saxon nobleman, who had heard Tetzel at Leipzig, was much displeased by his falsehoods. Approaching the monk, he asked him if he had the power of pardoning sins that men have an intention of committing. "Most assuredly," replied Tetzel, "I have received full powers from his holiness for that purpose."—"Well, then," answered the knight, "I am desirous of taking a slight revenge on one of my enemies, without endangering his life. I will give you ten crowns if you will give me a letter of indulgence that shall fully justify me." Tetzel made some objections; they came, however, to an arrangement by the aid of thirty crowns. The monk quitted Leipzig shortly after. The nobleman and his attendants lay in wait for him in a wood between Jüterbock and Treblin; they fell upon him, gave him a slight beating, and took away the well-stored indulgence-chest the inquisitor was carrying with him. Tetzel made a violent outcry, and carried his complaint before the courts. But the nobleman showed the letter which Tetzel had signed himself, and which exempted him beforehand from every penalty. Duke George, whom this action had at first exceedingly exasperated, no longer read the document than he ordered the accused to be acquitted.²

This traffic every where occupied men's thoughts, and was every where talked of. It was the topic of conversation in castles, in academies, and in the burghers' houses, as well as in taverns, inns, and all places of public resort.³ Opinions were divided; some

believed, others felt indignant. As for the sensible part of the nation, they rejected with disgust the system of indulgences. This doctrine was so opposed to the Holy Scriptures and to morality, that every man who had any knowledge of the Bible, or any natural light, internally condemned it, and only waited for a signal to oppose it. On the other hand, the scoffers found ample food for raillery. The people, whom the dissolute lives of the priests had irritated for many years, and whom the fear of punishment still kept within certain bounds, gave vent to all their hatred. Complaints and sarcasms might every where be heard on the love of money that devoured the clergy.

They did not stop there. They attacked the power of the keys and the authority of the sovereign pontiff. "Why," said they, does not the pope deliver at once all the souls from purgatory by a holy charity and on account of their great wretchedness, since he delivers so many for love of perishable money and of the cathedral of St. Peter? Why are they always celebrating festivals and anniversaries for the dead? Why does not the pope restore or permit the resumption of the benefices and prebends founded in favour of the dead, since it is now useless and even reprehensible to pray for those whom the indulgences have delivered for ever? What means this new holiness of God and of the pope, that for love of money they grant to an impious man, and an enemy of God, to deliver from purgatory a pious soul, the beloved of the Lord, rather than deliver it themselves gratuitously through love, and because of its great misery?"⁴

Stories were told of the gross and immoral conduct of the traffickers in indulgences. To pay their bills to the carriers who transported them and their merchandise, the innkeepers with whom they lodged, or whoever had done them any service, they gave a letter of indulgence for four souls, for five, or for any number according to circumstances. Thus these certificates of salvation circulated in the inns and markets like bank notes or other paper money. "Pay! pay!" said the people, "that is the head, belly, tail, and all the contents of their sermons."⁵

A miner of Schneeberg met a seller of indulgences. "Must we credit," asked he, "what you have so often told us of the power of indulgences and of the papal authority, and believe that we can, by throwing a penny into the chest, ransom a soul from purgatory?" The merchant affirmed it was so. "Ah!" resumed the miner, "what a merciless man, then, the pope must be, since for want of a wretched penny he leaves a poor soul crying in the flames so long! If he has no ready money, let him store up some hundred thousand crowns, and deliver all these

¹ Wronner's Letter to Eberus in Hochill Vita Tetzel, Wittenb. 114.

² A'Wron, Modern Chronik. L. W. (W.) xv. 444, &c., Hochill in Vita Tetzel.

³ L. Opp. (Leips.) xvii. 111, 112.

⁴ Luther, Theses on Indulgences, 82, 83, 84.

⁵ L. Opp. (Leips.) xvii. 74.

souls at once. We poor people would very readily repay him both interest and capital."

The Germans were wearied with this scandalous traffic that was carried on in the midst of them. They could not longer endure the impositions of these master-cheats of Rome, as Luther called them.¹ No bishop, no theologian, however, dared oppose their quackery and their frauds. All minds were in suspense. Men asked one another if God would not raise up some mighty man for the work that was to be done: but nowhere did he appear.

CHAPTER III.

Leo X.—The Pope's Necessities—Albert—His Character—Farming the Indulgences—Franciscans and Dominicans.

THE pope who then sat in St. Peter's chair was not a Borgia, but Leo X. of the illustrious family of the Medici. He was clever, sincere, full of gentleness and meekness. His manners were affable, his liberality unbounded, his morals superior to those of his court; Cardinal Pallavicini however acknowledges that they were not beyond reproach. To this amiable character he united many of the qualities of a great prince. He was a friend to the arts and sciences. In his presence were represented the first Italian comedies; and there were few of his time that he had not seen performed. He was passionately fond of music; every day his palace re-echoed with the sound of instruments, and he was frequently heard humming the airs that had been executed before him. He loved magnificence, he spared no expense in festivals, sports, theatres, presents, or rewards. No court surpassed in splendour and in luxury that of the sovereign pontiff. Hence, when it was known that Julian Medici thought of taking up his abode at Rome with his young wife: "Thank God!" exclaimed Cardinal Bibbiena, the most influential of Leo's councillors; for nothing was wanting but a court of ladies.² A court of ladies was the necessary complement of the court of the pope. But to religious feelings Leo was quite a stranger. "He possessed such charming manners," said Sarpi,³ "that he would have been a perfect man, if he had had some knowledge of religion and greater inclination to piety, about which he never troubled himself much."

Leo required large sums of money. He had to provide for his great expenses, find means for his extensive liberality, fill the purse of gold which he flung daily among the people, keep up the licentious shows of the Vatican, satisfy the numerous calls of his relatives and of his courtiers, who were addicted to pleasures, endow his sister who had married Prince Cibo, natural son of Pope Innocent VIII., and defray the cost of his taste for literature, the arts, and luxury. His cousin, Cardinal Pucci, who was as skilful in the science of amassing as Leo in that of squandering money, advised him to have recourse to indulgences. The pope, therefore, published a bull, announcing a general indulgence, the produce of which should be applied (said he) to the building of St. Peter's, that monument of sacerdotal magnificence. In a letter given at Rome, under the seal of the Fisherman, in November 1517, Leo requires of his commissary of indulgences 147 gold ducats, to purchase a manuscript of the thirty-third book of Livy. Of all the uses to which he applied the money of the Germans, this was undoubtedly the best. Yet it was a strange thing to deliver souls from purgatory to procure the means of purchasing a manuscript of the history of the Roman wars.

There was at that time in Germany a youthful prince who in many respects was the very image of Leo X.: this was Albert, younger brother of the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg. This young man at the age of twenty-four years had been created archbishop and elector of Mentz and of Magdeburg; two years later he was made cardinal. Albert had neither the virtues nor the vices that are often met with in the superior dignitaries of the church. Young, frivolous, and worldly, but not without generous sentiments, he saw clearly many of the abuses of Romanism, and cared little for the fanatical monks who surrounded him. His equity inclined him to acknowledge, in part at least, the justice of the demands of the friends of the Gospel. At the bottom of his heart he was not violently opposed to Luther. Capito, one of the most distinguished reformers, was long his chaplain, his counsellor, and his intimate confidant. Albert regularly attended at his sermons. "He did not despise the Gospel," said Capito; "on the contrary he highly esteemed it, and for a long time prevented the monks from attacking Luther." But he would have desired the latter not to compromise him, and that, while pointing out doctrinal errors and the vices of the inferior clergy, he should beware of exposing the failings of bishops and of princes. Above all, he feared to see his name mixed up in the matter. "Consider," said the confiding Capito to Luther, deceiving himself as many have done in similar circumstances, "consider the example of Jesus Christ and of the Apostles: they blamed the Pharisees and the incestuous Corinthians; but they never

¹ *Post erat Germani omnes, horrendis exploitationibus, undinationibus, et infinitis imposturis Romanorum nebulonum.* L. Opp. Lat. in Pref.

² *Ranke, Hermannische Fabrik.* l. 71.

³ Council of Trent, 4. Pallavicini, while endeavouring to confute Sarpi, confirms and even heightens his testimony: *Non plane officio defuit, (Leo)... venationes, festas, pompas adeo frequentes.... Conc. Trid. Hist.* l. 2, 4.

named the offenders. You do not know what is passing in the hearts of the bishops. There is much more good in them than perhaps you imagine." But Albert's profane and frivolous disposition, much more than the susceptibilities and fears of his self, was destined to alienate him from the Reformation. Affable, witty, handsome, sun-puissant, extravagant, delighting in the luxuries of the table, in costly equipages, in magnificent buildings, in licentious pleasures, and in the society of literary men, this young archbishop-elect was in Germany what Leo X. was in Rome. His court was one of the most magnificent in the empire. He was ready to sacrifice to pleasure and to greatness all the presentiments of truth that might have stolen into his heart. Nevertheless, even to the last, he evinced a certain resistance and better convictions; more than once he gave proofs of his moderation and of his equity.

Albert, like Leo, had need of money. Some rich merchants of Angsburg, named Fugger, had made him advances. He was called upon to pay his debts. Besides, although he had monopolized two archbishoprics and one bishopric, he had not the means of paying for his *pallium*. This ornament, made of white wool, besprinkled with black crosses, and blessed by the pope, who sent it to the archbishops as an emblem of their dignity, cost them 25,000, or, according to some accounts, 30,000 florins. Albert very naturally formed the project of resorting to the same means as the pontiff to obtain money. He solicited the general farming of indulgences, or, "of the sins of the Germans," as they said at Rome.

Sometimes the popes themselves worked them; at other times they farmed them, as some governments still farm gambling-houses. Albert proposed sharing the profits of this business with Leo. The pope, in accepting the terms, exacted immediate payment of the price of the pallium. Albert, who was reckoning on the indulgences to meet this demand, again applied to the Fuggers, who thinking it a safe speculation made the required advance on certain conditions, and were named treasurers of this undertaking. They were the royal bankers of this epoch: they were afterwards created counts for the services they had rendered.

The pope and the archbishop having thus divided before hand the spoils of the good souls of Germany, it was next a question who should be commissioned to realize the investment. It was at first offered to the Franciscans, and their superior was associated with Albert. But these monks wished to have no share in it, for it was already in bad odour among all good people. The Augustines, who were more enlightened than the other religious orders, cared still less about it. The Franciscans, however,

feared to displease the pope, who had just sent a Cardinal's hat to their general Forli, — a hat that had cost this poor mendicant order 30,000 florins. The superior judged it more prudent not to refuse openly; but he made all kinds of objections to Albert. They could never come to an understanding; and accordingly the elector joyfully accepted the proposition to take the whole matter to himself. The Dominicans, on their part, coveted a share in the general enterprise about to be set on foot. Tetzel, who had already acquired great reputation in this trade, hastened to Mentz, and offered his services to the elector. They called to mind the ability he had shown in publishing the indulgences for the knights of the Teutonic order of Prussia and Livonia; his proposals were accepted, and thus the whole traffic passed into the hands of his order.¹

CHAPTER IV.

Tetzel approaches—Luther in the Confessional—Tetzel's Answer—Luther has no Plan—Jealousy of Orders—Luther's Sermon—The Elector's Dream.

LUTHER, as far as we are acquainted, heard of Tetzel for the first time at Grinuna in 1516, just as he was commencing his visitation of the churches. It was reported to Staupitz, who was still with Luther, that there was a seller of indulgences at Würzen named Tetzel, who was making a great noise. Some of his extravagant expressions were quoted, and Luther exclaimed with indignation: "If God permit, I will make a hole in his drum."²

Tetzel was returning from Berlin, where he had met with the most friendly reception from the Elector Joachim, the former-general's brother, when he took his station at Juterbock. Staupitz, taking advantage of the confidence the Elector Frederick placed in him, had often called his attention to the abuses of the indulgences and the scandalous lives of the vendors.³ The princes of Saxony, indignant at this disgraceful traffic, had forbidden the merchant to enter their provinces. He was therefore compelled to remain in the territories of his patron the Archbishop of Magdeburg; but he approached Saxony as near as he could. Juterbock was only four miles from Wittenberg. "This great purse-thresher," said Luther, "began to thresh⁴ bravely throughout the country, so that the money began to leap and fall tinkling into the box." The people flocked in crowds from Wittenberg to the indulgence-market of Juterbock.

¹ Seckendorf, 42.

² Lingke, Reformation, luthers, 27.

³ Instillans ejus pectori frequentes indulgentiarum simulas Cochleus, 4.

⁴ Drechsel, Luth. Opp. vii.

At this period Luther was still full of respect for the Church and the pope. "I was at that time," said he, "a monk, and a most furious papist, so intoxicated, nay, so drowned in the Roman doctrines, that I would have willingly aided, if I could, in killing any one who should have had the audacity to refuse the slightest obedience to the pope.¹ I was a very Saul, as there are many still." But at the same time his heart was ready to catch fire for everything that he recognised as truth, and against everything he believed to be error. "I was a young doctor fresh from the forge, ardent and rejoicing in the Word of the Lord."²

Luther was one day seated in the confessional at Wittenberg. Many of the townspeople came successively, and confessed themselves guilty of great excesses. Adultery, licentiousness, usury, ill-gotten gains,—such are the crimes acknowledged to the minister of the Word by those souls of which he will one day have to give an account. He reprimands, corrects, instructs. But what is his astonishment when these individuals reply that they will not abandon their sins?..... Greatly shocked, the pious monk declares that since they will not promise to change their lives, he cannot absolve them. The unhappy creatures then appeal to their letters of indulgence; they show them, and maintain their virtue. But Luther replies that he has nothing to do with these papers, and adds: *Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.* They cry out and protest; but the doctor is immovable. They must cease to do evil, and learn to do well, or else there is no absolution. "Have a care," added he, "how you listen to the clamours of these indulgence-merchants: you have better things to do than buy these licenses which they sell at so vile a price."³

The inhabitants of Wittenberg, in great alarm, hastily returned to Tetzel: they told him that an Augustine monk had treated his letters with contempt. The Dominican at this intelligence bellowed with anger. He stormed from the pulpit, employing insults and curses;⁴ and to strike the people with greater terror, he had a fire lighted several times in the market-place, declaring that he had received an order from the pope to burn all heretics who presumed to oppose his most holy indulgences.

Such is the fact that was, not the cause, but the first occasion of the Reformation. A pastor, seeing the sheep of his fold in a course in which they must perish, seeks to withdraw them from it. As yet he has no thought of reforming the church and the

world. He has seen Rome and her corruptions; but still he does not rise up against her. He has a presentiment of some of the abuses under which Christendom groans; but he does not think of correcting them. He does not desire to become a reformer.¹ He has no more plan for the reformation of the Church than he had had for the reformation of himself. God wills a reform, and elects Luther to be its instrument. The same remedy which had been so efficacious in healing his own wounds, the hand of God will apply by him to the sores of Christendom. He remains tranquil in the sphere that is assigned to him. He walks simply wherever his Master calls him. He fulfils at Wittenberg the duties of professor, preacher, and pastor. He is seated in the temple where the members of his church come and open their hearts to him. It is there—on that field—that the evil attacks him, and error seeks him out. They would prevent him from executing his office. His conscience, bound to the Word of God, revolts. Is it not God who calls him? To resist is a duty: it is therefore a right. He must speak. Thus, says Mathesius, were the events ordained by that God who desired to restore Christendom by means of the forgemaster's son, and to pass through his furnaces the impure doctrine of the Church in order to purify it.²

It is not requisite, after this statement, to refute a lying imputation, invented by some of Luther's enemies, but not till after his death. It has been said, that the jealousy peculiar to religious orders,—that vexation at seeing a disgraceful and reprobated traffic confided to the Dominicans rather than to the Augustines, who had hitherto possessed it,—led the Wittenberg professor to attack Tetzel and his doctrines. The well-established fact, that this speculation had been first offered to the Franciscans, who would have nothing to do with it, is sufficient to refute this fable repeated by writers who have copied one another. Cardinal Pallavicini himself affirms that the Augustines had never held this commission.³ Besides, we have witnessed the travail of Luther's soul. His conduct needs no other interpretation. It was necessary for him to confess aloud the doctrine to which he owed his happiness. In Christianity, when a man has found a treasure for himself, he desires to impart it to others. In our days we should give up these puerile and unworthy explanations of the great revolution of the 16th century. It requires a more powerful lever to raise the world. The Reformation was not in Luther only; his age must have given it birth.

Luther, who was impelled equally by

¹ In Pref. Opp. Witt. l. Monachum, et papistam insanissimum ita ebrium, iteo submersum in dogmatibus papæ.

² L. Opp. (W.) xxi.

³ Certe disuadere populo et eos dehortari ne indulgentiarum clamoribus aurem preberent. L. Opp. Lat. in Pref.

⁴ Wüßt, schilt und maledict gürlich auf dem Predigtstuhl. Myconius, Reformationsgesch.

¹ Hæc initia fuerunt hujus controversiæ, in qua Lutherus, nihil adhuc suspicans aut somnians de futura mutatione rituum. Mel. Vit. Luth.

² Die verurtheilte Lehr durch den Ofen gehen. 10.

³ Falsum est consensisse hoc munus injungi Eremitanis S. Augustini, id.

obedience to the Word of God and charity towards men, ascended the pulpit. He forewarned his hearers, but with gentleness, as he says himself.¹ His prince had obtained from the pope special indulgences for the castle-chapel at Wittenberg. Some of the blows that he was aiming at the inquisitor's indulgences might fall on those of the elector. It matters not! he will hazard disgrace. If he sought to please men, he would not be Christ's servant.

"No one can prove by Scripture, that the righteousness of God requires a penalty or satisfaction from the sinner," said the faithful minister of the Word to the people of Wittenberg. "The only duty it imposes is a true repentance, a sincere conversion, a resolution to bear the cross of Christ, and to perform good works. It is a great error to pretend of oneself to make satisfaction for our sins to God's righteousness; God pardons them gratuitously by his inestimable grace.

"The Christian Church, it is true, requires something of the sinner, and which consequently can be remitted. But that is all. Yet farther, these indulgences of the Church are tolerated only because of the idle and imperfect Christians who will not zealously perform good works; for they move none to sanctification, but leave each man in his imperfection."

Next attacking the pretences under which indulgences are published, he continued: "They would do much better to contribute for love of God to the building of St. Peter's, than to buy indulgences with this intention. But, say you, shall we then never purchase any?.....I have already told you, and I repeat it, my advice is that no one should buy them. Leave them for drowsy Christians; but you should walk apart and for yourselves! We must turn the faithful aside from indulgences, and exhort them to the works which they neglect."

Finally, glancing at his adversaries, Luther concluded in these words: "And should any cry out that I am a heretic (for the truth I preach is very prejudicial to their strong box, I care but little for their clamours. They are gloomy and sick brains, men who have never tasted the Bible, never read the Christian doctrine, never comprehended their own doctors, and who lie rotting in the rags and tatters of their own vain opinions.....² May God grant both them and us a sound understanding! Amen." After these words the doctor quitted the pulpit, leaving his hearers in great emotion at such daring language.

This sermon was printed, and made a profound impression on all who read it. Tetzel replied to it, and Luther answered again; but these discussions did not take place till the year 1518.

The festival of All-Saints was approaching. The chronicles of the time relate a circumstance, which, although of little importance to the history of this period, may still serve to characterize it. It is a dream of the elector's, the essence of which is no doubt true, although some circumstances may have been added by those who related it. A respectable writer observes, that the fear of giving his adversaries an opportunity of saying that Luther's doctrine was founded on dreams, has no doubt hindered many historians from mentioning it.³

The Elector Frederick of Saxony, say the chronicles of the time, was at his palace of Schweinitz, six leagues from Wittenberg, when, on the 31st October, early in the morning, being with his brother Duke John, who was then co-regent, and who reigned alone after his death, and with his chancellor, the elector said—"I must tell you of a dream, brother, which I had last night, and of which I should like to know the meaning. It is so firmly graven in my memory that I should never forget it, even were I to live a thousand years; for it came three times, and always with new circumstances."

DUKE JOHN.—"Was it a good or a bad dream?"

THE ELECTOR.—"I cannot tell: God knows."

DUKE JOHN.—"Do not be uneasy about it: let me hear it."

THE ELECTOR.—"Having gone to bed last night, tired and dispirited, I soon fell asleep after saying my prayers, and slept calmly for about two hours and a half. I then awoke, and all kinds of thoughts occupied me till midnight. I reflected how I should keep the festival of All-Saints; I prayed for the wretched souls in purgatory, and begged that God would direct me, my councils, and my people, according to the truth. I then fell asleep again, and dreamt that the Almighty sent me a monk, who was a true son of Paul the Apostle. He was accompanied by all the saints, in obedience to God's command, to hear him testimony, and to assure me that he did not come with any fraudulent design, but that all he should do was conformable to the will of God. They asked my gracious permission to let him write something on the doors of the palace-chapel at Wittenberg, which I conceded through my chancellor. Upon this, the monk repaired thither and began to write; so large were the characters, that I could read from Schweinitz what he was writing. The pen he used was so long that its extremity reached as far as Rome, where it pierced the ears of a lion⁴ which lay there, and shook

¹ Beckendorf. It will be found in Lösscher, l. 46. ² *See* Tenen's Ant. und Fortg. der Ref., Jünker's Ebnungd. 101; Lehmann's Beschr. de Melan. Erzeb. &c.; and in a MS. among the Weimar State Papers, taken down from Spalatin's mouth. Our account of the dream is from this MS., published at the last jubilee of the Reformation, 1817, p. 150 &c.

³ Schabertsh.

⁴ *See* *See* in three Lösscherichen und vornehmsten Opinen, *et* take veruuen. L. Opp. (L.) xvi. 118.

the triple crown on the pope's head. All the cardinals and princes ran up hastily and endeavoured to support it. You and I both tendered our assistance: I stretched out my arm.....that moment I awoke with my arm extended, in great alarm and very angry with this monk, who could not guide his pen better. I recovered myself a little.....it was only a dream.

"I was still half asleep, and once more closed my eyes. The dream came again. The lion, still disturbed by the pen, began to roar with all his might, until the whole city of Rome, and all the states of the Holy Empire, ran up to know what was the matter. The pope called upon us to oppose this monk, and addressed himself particularly to me, because the friar was living in my dominions. I again awoke, repeated the Lord's prayer, entreated God to preserve his holiness, and fell asleep.....

"I then dreamt that all the princes of the empire, and we along with them, hastened to Rome, and endeavoured one after another to break this pen; but the greater our exertions, the stronger it became: it crackled as if it had been made of iron: we gave it up as hopeless. I then asked the monk (for I was now at Rome, now at Wittenberg) where he had got that pen, and how it came to be so strong. 'This pen,' replied he, 'belonged to a Bohemian goose a hundred years old.' I had it from one of my old schoolmasters. It is so strong, because no one can take the pith out of it, and I am myself quite astonished at it.' On a sudden I heard a loud cry: from the monk's long pen had issued a host of other pens.....I awoke a third time: it was daylight."

DUKE JOHN.—"What is your opinion, Mr Chancellor? Would that we had here a Joseph, or a Daniel, taught of God!"

THE CHANCELLOR.—"Your highnesses know the vulgar proverb, that the dreams of young women, wise men, and great lords, have generally some hidden meaning. But we shall not learn the signification of this for some time, until the events have come to pass to which it relates. For this reason, confide its accomplishment to God, and commit all things into his hands."

DUKE JOHN.—"My opinion is the same as yours, Mr Chancellor; it is not proper for us to rack our brains to discover the interpretation of this dream: God will direct everything to his own glory."

THE ELECTOR.—"May our faithful God do even so! Still I shall never forget this dream. I have thought of one interpretation.....but I shall keep it to myself. Time will show, perhaps, whether I have conjectured rightly."

Thus, according to the Weimar manuscript, passed the morning of the 31st Octo-

ber at Schweinitz; let us see how the evening was spent at Wittenberg. We are returning entirely to the domain of his

CHAPTER V.

Festival of All-Saints—Theses—Their Strengthening—Providence—Letter to Albert—Indifference of Bishops—Dissemination of the Theses.

LETNER'S words had produced little. Tetzel continued his traffic and his discourses without disturbing himself. Luther resign himself to these abuses, and will he keep silence? As he has earnestly exhorted those who recourse to his services; as preacher, uttered a warning voice from the pulpit still remains for him to speak as a theologian; he has yet to address not merely a few in the confessional, not merely the mass of the faithful at Wittenberg, but all who are, like himself, teachers of the word of God. His resolution is taken.

It is not the Church he thinks of strengthening; it is not the pope he is bringing down; on the contrary, it is his respect for the pope that will not allow him to be longer on the monstrous claims by the pontiff is discredited. He must take the pope's part against those impudent who dare mingle up his venerable name with their scandalous traffic. Far from this of a revolution which should overthrow the primacy of Rome, Luther believes he has to defend catholicism for his allies and these barefaced monks.²

The festival of All-Saints was a very important day for Wittenberg, and, above all, for the church the elector had built, and which he had filled with relics. On that day the priests used to bring out these ornaments adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones, and exhibit them before the people who were astonished and dazzled at the magnificence.³ Whoever visited the church on that festival and made confession obtained a rich indulgence. According to this great anniversary, pilgrims came to Wittenberg in crowds.

On the 31st October 1517, at noon of that day preceding the festival,⁴ Luther had already made up his mind, walks towards the church, to which a superstitious crowd of pilgrims was repairing, and upon the door ninety-five theses or propo-

¹ Cujus impia et nefaria condonibus inclatus in studio pietatis ariens edidit propositiones de Indulgentiis, Vita Luth.

² Ex in his certis mihi videbar, me habiturum papam, cujus fiducia tunc fortiter nitebar. L. Opp. Pref.

³ Quas magnifico apparatu publice populo ostendit. Cochleus, 4.

⁴ Cuius us, Schies. Chronikon. l. 942.

¹ John Huss. This circumstance may have been added later, in allusion to the words of Huss we have quoted above, p. 4.

tions against the doctrine of indulgences. Neither the Elector, nor Staupitz, nor Spalatin, nor any even of his most intimate friends, had been made acquainted with his intentions.¹

Luther therein declares, in a kind of preface, that he has written these theses with the express desire of setting the truth in the full light of day. He declares himself ready to defend them on the morrow, in the university, against all opponents. Great was the attention they excited: they were read, and passed from mouth to mouth. Ere long the pilgrims, the university, and the whole city, were in commotion.

We give some of these propositions, written with the pen of the monk, and posted on the door of the church of Wittenberg:—

1. "When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ says *repent*, he means that the whole life of believers upon earth should be a constant and perpetual repentance.

2. "This word cannot be understood of the sacrament of penance (*i. e.* confession and satisfaction), as administered by the priest.

3. "Still the Lord does not mean to speak in this place solely of internal repentance; internal repentance is null, if it produce not externally every kind of mortification of the flesh.

4. "Repentance and sorrow—*i. e.* true penance—endure as long as a man is displeased with himself—that is, until he passes from this life into eternity.

5. "The pope is unable and desires not to remit any other penalty than that which he has imposed of his own good pleasure, or conformably to the canons—*i. e.* the papal censures.

6. "The pope cannot remit any condemnation, but only declare and confirm the remission of God, except in the cases that appertain to himself. If he does otherwise, the condemnation remains entirely the same.

7. "The laws of ecclesiastical penance ought to be imposed solely on the living, and have no regard to the dead.

8. "The commissaries of indulgences are in error when they say, that by the papal indulgence a man is delivered from every punishment and is saved.

9. "The same power that the pope has over purgatory throughout the Church, each bishop possesses individually in his own diocese, and each priest in his own parish.

10. "They preach mere human follies who maintain, that as soon as the money rattles in the strong box, the soul flies out of purgatory.

11. "This is certain, that as soon as the money tinkles, avarice and love of gain arrive, increase, and multiply. But the support and prayers of the Church depend solely on God's will and good pleasure.

12. "Those who fancy themselves sure of salvation by indulgences will go to perdition along with those who teach them so.

13. "They are teachers of antichristian doctrines who pretend that to deliver a soul from purgatory, or to buy an indulgence, there is no need of either sorrow or repentance.

14. "Every Christian who truly repents of his sins, enjoys an entire remission both of the penalty and of the guilt, without any need of indulgences.

15. "Every true Christian, whether dead or alive, participates in all the blessings of Christ or of the Church, by God's gift, and without a letter of indulgence.

16. "Still we should not condemn the papal dispensation and pardon; for this pardon is a declaration of the pardon of God.

17. "True repentance and sorrow seek and love the punishment; but the mildness of indulgence absolves from the punishment, and begets hatred against it.

18. "We should teach Christians that the pope has no thought or desire of comparing in any respect the act of buying indulgences with any work of mercy.

19. "We should teach Christians that he who gives to the poor, or lends to the needy, does better than he who purchases an indulgence.

20. "For the work of charity increaseth charity, and renders a man more pious; whereas the indulgence does not make him better, but only renders him more self-confident, and more secure from punishment.

21. "We should teach Christians that whoever sees his neighbour in want, and yet buys an indulgence, does not buy the pope's indulgence, but incurs God's anger.

22. "We should teach Christians that if they have no superfluity, they are bound to keep for their own households the means of procuring necessities, and ought not to squander their money in indulgences.

23. "We should teach Christians that the purchase of an indulgence is a matter of free choice and not of commandment.

24. "We should teach Christians that the pope, having more need of prayers offered up in faith than of money, desires prayer more than money when he dispenses indulgences.

25. "We should teach Christians that the pope's indulgence is good, if we put no confidence in it; but that nothing is more hurtful, if it diminishes our piety.

26. "We should teach Christians that if the pope knew of the extortions of the preachers of indulgences, he would rather the mother-church of St. Peter were burnt and reduced to ashes, than see it built up with the skin, the flesh, and the bones of his flock.

27. "We should teach Christians that the pope (as it is his duty) would distribute his own money to the poor whom the indulgence-sellers are now stripping of their last farthing.

¹ Cum hujus dispensationis nullus etiam intimorum amicorum fuerit conscius. L. Epp. l. 106.

even were he compelled to sell the mother-church of St. Peter.

52. "To hope to be saved by indulgences, is a lying and an empty hope; although even the commissary of indulgences, nay further, the pope himself, should pledge their souls to guarantee it.

53. "They are the enemies of the pope and of Jesus Christ, who, by reason of the preaching of indulgences, forbid the preaching of the Word of God.

55. "The pope can have no other thought than this: If the indulgence, which is a lesser matter, be celebrated with ringing of a bell, with pomp and ceremony, much more should we honour and celebrate the Gospel, which is a greater thing, with a hundred bells, and with a hundred pomps and ceremonies.

62. "The true and precious treasure of the Church is the Holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God.

65. "The treasures of the Gospel are nets in which in former times the rich and those in easy circumstances were caught.

66. "But the treasures of the indulgence are nets with which they now catch the riches of the people.

67. "It is the duty of bishops and pastors to receive the commissaries of the apostolical indulgences with every mark of respect.

68. "But it is still more their duty to ascertain with their eyes and ears that the said commissaries do not preach the dreams of their own imagination, instead of the orders of the pope.

71. "Cursed be he who speaks against the indulgence of the pope.

72. "But blessed be he who speaks against the foolish and impudent language of the preachers of indulgences.

76. "The indulgence of the pope cannot take away the smallest daily sin, as far as regards the guilt or the offence.

79. "It is blasphemy to say that the cross adorned with the arms of the pope is as effectual as the cross of Christ.

80. "The bishops, pastors, and theologians who permit such things to be told the people, will have to render an account of them.

81. "This shameless preaching, these impudent commendations of indulgences, make it difficult for the learned to defend the dignity and honour of the pope against the calumnies of the preachers, and the subtle and crafty questions of the common people.

86. "Why, say they, does not the pope, who is richer than the richest Cæsar, build the mother-church of St. Peter with his own money, rather than with that of poor Christians?

92. "Would that we were quit of all these preachers who say to the Church: Peace! peace! and there is no peace.

94. "We should exhort Christians to diligence in following Christ, their head, through crosses, death, and hell.

95. "For it is far better to enter into the kingdom of heaven through much tribulation, than to acquire a carnal security by the consolations of a false peace."

Such was the commencement of the work. The germs of the Reformation were contained in these propositions of Luther's. The abuses of indulgences were attacked therein, and this is their most striking feature, but beneath these attacks there was a principle which, although attracting the attention of the multitude in a less degree, was one day to overthrow the edifice of popery. The evangelical doctrine of a free and gratuitous remission of sins was there for the first time publicly professed. The work must now increase in strength. It was evident, indeed, that whoever had this faith in the remission of sins, announced by the Wittenberg doctor; that whoever had this repentance, this conversion, and this sanctification, the necessity of which he so earnestly inculcated, would no longer care for human ordinances, would escape from the toils and swaddling-bands of Rome, and would acquire the liberty of the children of God. All errors would fall down before this truth. By it, light had begun to enter Luther's mind; by it, also, the light would be diffused over the Church. A clear knowledge of this truth is what preceding reformers had wanted; and hence the unfruitfulness of their exertions. Luther himself acknowledged afterwards, that in proclaiming justification by faith, he had laid the axe to the root of the tree. "It is doctrine we attack in the adherents of the papacy," said he. "Huss and Wickliffe only attacked their lives; but in attacking their doctrine we take the goose by the neck.¹ Every thing depends on the Word, which the pope has taken from us and falsified. I have vanquished the pope, because my doctrine is of God, and his is of the devil."

In our own days, too, we have forgotten this main doctrine of justification by faith, although in a sense opposed to that of our fathers. "In the time of Luther," observes one of our contemporaries,² "the remission of sins cost money at least; but in our days, each man supplies himself gratis." There is a great similarity between these two errors. There is perhaps more forgetfulness of God in ours, than in that of the 16th century. The principle of justification by the grace of God, which brought the Church out of so much darkness at the period of the Reformation, can alone renew our generation, put an end to its doubts and waverings, destroy the selfishness that preys upon it, establish righteousness and morality among the nations, and, in short, reunite the world to God from whom it has been severed.

But if Luther's theses were strong by the

¹ Wenn man die Lehre angreift, so wird die Gans am Krage gefressen. L. Opp. (W.) xiii. 1280
² Harms of Kiel.

strength of the truth they proclaimed, they were not the less so by the faith of their champion. He had boldly drawn the sword of the Word: he had done so in reliance on the power of truth. He had felt that by leaning on God's promises, he could afford to risk something, to use the language of the world. "Let him who desires to begin a good work," said he when speaking of this daring attack, "undertake it with confidence in the goodness of his cause, and not, which God forbid! expecting the support and consolation of the world. Moreover, let him have no fear of man, or of the whole world; for these words will never lie: *It is good to trust in the Lord, and assuredly he that trusteth in the Lord shall not be confounded.* But let him that will not or who cannot risk something with confidence in God, take heed how he undertakes any thing."¹ Luther, after having posted his theses on the gate of All-Saints' Church, retired, no doubt, to his tranquil cell, full of the peace and joy that spring from an action done in the Lord's name, and for the sake of eternal truth.

Whatever be the boldness that prevails in these propositions, they still bespeak the monk who refuses to admit a single doubt on the authority of the see of Rome. But, while attacking the doctrine of indulgences, Luther had unwittingly touched on certain errors, whose discovery could not be agreeable to the pope, seeing that sooner or later they would call his supremacy in question. Luther was not so far-sighted; but he was sensible of the extreme boldness of the step he had just taken, and consequently thought it his duty to soften down their audacity, as far as he could in conformity with the truth. He therefore set forth these theses as doubtful propositions on which he solicited the information of the learned; and appended to them, conformably with the established usage, a solemn declaration that he did not mean to affirm or say any thing contrary to the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church, and the rights and decretals of the Roman See.

Frequently, in after-years, as he contemplated the immense and unexpected consequences of this courageous attack, Luther was astonished at himself, and could not understand how he had ventured to make it. An invisible and mightier hand than his held the clue, and led the herald of truth along a path that was still hidden from him, and from the difficulties of which he would perhaps have shrunk, if he had foreseen them, and if he had advanced alone and of his own accord. "I entered into this controversy," said he, "without any definite plan, without knowledge or inclination; I was taken quite unawares, and I call God, the searcher of hearts, to witness."²

Luther had become acquainted with the source of these abuses. Some one brought him a little book, adorned with the arms of the Archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, which contained the regulations to be followed in the sale of indulgences. It was this young prelate, then, this graceful prince, who had prescribed, or at least sanctioned, all this quackery. In him Luther saw only a superior whom he should fear and respect.³ Not wishing to beat the air at hazard, but rather to address those who are charged with the government of the Church, Luther sent him a letter, abounding at once in frankness and humility. It was on the very day he posted up the theses that the doctor wrote to Albert:—

"Pardon me, most reverend father in Christ and most illustrious prince," said he, "if I, who am but the dregs of men,⁴ have the presumption to write to your Sublime Highness. The Lord Jesus Christ is my witness that, feeling how small and despicable I am, I have long put off doing it..... May your Highness condescend to cast a single glance on a grain of dust, and of your episcopal mildness graciously receive my petition.

"Certain individuals are hawking the papal indulgences up and down the country, in your Grace's name. I am unwilling so much to blame the clamours of these preachers (for I have not heard them), as the false ideas of the simple and ignorant people, who, in purchasing indulgences, fancy themselves assured of salvation.....

"The souls intrusted to your care, most excellent Father, are taught, not unto life, but unto death. The severe and just account that will be required of you increases from day to day.....I could no longer be silent. No! Man is not saved by the work or the office of his bishop.....Even the righteous are saved with difficulty, and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life. Wherefore, then, do these preachers of indulgences by their empty fables inspire the people with a carnal security?

"Indulgences alone, to hear them, ought to be proclaimed and extolled.....What! is it not the principal, the sole duty of the bishops to instruct the people in the Gospel, and in the charity of Christ Jesus?⁵ Christ himself has nowhere ordained the preaching of indulgences; but he has forcibly commanded the preaching of the Gospel.⁶ How dreadful, then, and how dangerous, for a bishop to allow the Gospel to be silent, and that the noise of indulgences alone should re-echo incessantly in the ears of his flock!...

"Most worthy Father in God, in the in-

¹ Domino suo et pastori in Christo venerabiliter postulando. (The address on the letter.) To his reverently to be feared Lord and Pastor in Christ. Epp. l. 60.

² Fex hominum. Ibid.

³ Ut populus Evangelium discat atque charitatem Christi. Ibid.

⁴ Vehementer precipit. Ibid.

¹ L. Opp. (Leipsa.) vi. 510.

² (non enim, non voluntate nec studio, in hac turbas in-
cidit, Deum ipsam testor. L. Opp. Lat. in Fruct.

structions to the commissaries, which have been published in your Grace's name (no doubt without your knowledge), it is said, that the indulgences are the most precious treasure—that by them man is reconciled to God, and that repentance is not necessary to those who purchase them.

"What can I, what ought I to do, most worthy Bishop, most serene Prince? I beg your Highness, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to cast a look of paternal vigilance on this affair, to suppress the book entirely, and to order the preachers to deliver other sermons before the people. If you do not so, fear lest you should one day hear some voice uplifted in refutation of these preachers, to the great dishonour of your most serene Highness."

Luther, at the same time, forwarded his theses to the archbishop, and added a postscript inviting him to read them, in order to convince himself on how slight a foundation the doctrine of indulgences was based.

Thus, Luther's whole desire was for the sentinels of the Church to awaken and resolve to put an end to the evils that were laying it waste. Nothing could be more noble and more respectful than this letter from a monk to one of the greatest princes of the Church and of the Empire. Never did man act more in accordance with this precept of Christ; "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." This is not the course of those fiery revolutionists who "despise dominion and speak evil of dignities." It is the cry of a christian conscience—of a priest who gives honour to all, but who fears God above every thing. All his prayers, all his entreaties, were unavailing. The youthful Albert, engrossed by pleasures and ambitious designs, made no reply to so solemn an appeal. The Bishop of Brandenburg, Luther's ordinary, a learned and pious man, to whom he sent his theses, replied that he was attacking the power of the Church; that he would bring upon himself much trouble and vexation; that the thing was above his strength; and he earnestly advised him to keep quiet.¹ The princes of the Church stopped their ears against the voice of God, which was manifested with such energy and tenderness through the mouth of Luther. They would not understand the signs of the times; they were struck with that blindness which has caused the ruin of so many powers and dignities. "They both thought," said Luther afterwards, "that the pope would be too strong for a poor mendicant friar like me."

But Luther could judge better than the bishops of the disastrous effects of indulgences on the manners and lives of the people, for he was in direct communication with them. He saw continually and near at hand what the bishops knew only through

unfaithful reports. Although the devil failed him, God did not. The Head Church, who sitteth in the heavens, whom all power is given upon earth, himself prepared the soil and deposited in the hands of his minister; he wings to the seeds of truth, and he secures it in an instant throughout the length and breadth of his Church.

No one appeared next day at the university to attack Luther's propositions. The traffic was too much decried, and too full, for any one but himself or his friends to dare take up the glove. But these were destined to be heard elsewhere under the arched roof of an academy. Scarcely had they been nailed to the door of Wittenberg, than the feeble of the hammer were followed through all Germany by a mighty blow that riven the foundations of haughty threatening with sudden ruin the wall gates, and pillars of popery, stunning terrifying her champions, and at the time awakening thousands from the error.²

These theses spread with the rapidity of lightning. A month had not elapsed when they were at Rome. "In a fortnight," says a contemporary historian, "they were every part of Germany, and in four days they had traversed nearly the whole of Christendom, as if the very angels had their messengers, and had placed them in the eyes of all men. No one can believe the noise they made."³ Somewhat later they were translated into Dutch and Spanish; a traveller sold them in Jerusalem. "One," said Luther, "complained of the gencies: and as all the bishops and cardinals had kept silence, and nobody was willing to bell the cat, poor Luther became a doctor, because (as they said) there was one at last who ventured to do it. But not like this glory, and the time was too high for my voice."⁴

Many of the pilgrims, who had thronged to Wittenberg from every quarter for the feast of All-Saints, carried back with them instead of indulgences, the famous theses of the Augustine monk. By this means they contributed to their circulation. Every one read them, meditated and commented on them. Men conversed about them in the convents and in all the universities.⁵ Pious monks, who had entered the cloister to save their souls,—all upright and able men, were delighted at this simple and striking confession of the truth, and he desired that Luther would continue the work he had begun. At length one man found courage to undertake the painful struggle. This was a reparation act

¹ Walther, Nachr. v. Luther, p. 45.

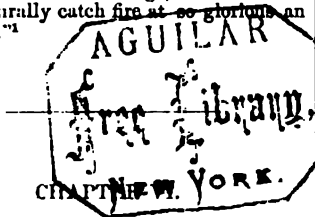
² Myconius, Hist. Ref. p. 23.

³ Das Lied wollte meiner Stimme zu hoch werden.

⁴ In allen hohen Schulen und Klöstern. Math. 13.

⁵ Er sollte still halten; es wäre eine grosse Sache. Math. 13.

Christendom: the public conscience was ailed. Piety saw in these theses a blow at every superstition; the new theory hailed in it the defeat of the scholastic mass; princes and magistrates considered it as a barrier raised against the invasions of ecclesiastical power; and the nation, tired at seeing so positive a *ceto* opposed this monk to the cupidity of the Roman clergy. "When Luther attacked this *ceto*," remarked to Duke George of Saxony, an very worthy of belief, and one of the principal rivals of the reformer, namely Erasmus, "the whole world applauded, and there is a general assent." "I observe," said at another time to Cardinal Campeggio, that the greater their evangelical piety the purer their morals, the less are men devoted to Luther. His life is praised even those who cannot endure his faith. The old was weary of a doctrine so full of puerilities and human ordinances, and thirsted that living, pure, and hidden water which flows from the veins of the evangelists apostles. Luther's genius was fitted to accomplish these things, and his zeal did naturally catch fire at so glorious an enterprise.¹



John—Erasmus—Flek—Bibra—The Emperor—The Pope—Luther—The Monks—Apprehensions—Adelman—An old Priest—The Bishop—The Elector—The Townspeople—Luther—Luther's Answer—Disorder—Luther's Malting.

must follow these propositions into whatever place they penetrated,—into the studies of the learned, the cells of the monks, and the halls of princes, to form an idea of the immense but prodigious effects they produced in Germany.

Luther received them. He was wearied of the rude combat he had to fight against the monks. The strength displayed by the combatant in his theses reanimated the spirited champion of literature, and renewed joy to his desponding heart. "Thanks to God!" exclaimed he after reading them, "at last they have found a man who will give them so much to do, that they will be compelled to let my old age end in peace." The cautious Erasmus was in the Low Countries when these propositions reached him. He internally rejoiced at witnessing secret wishes for the rectifying of abuses pressed with so much courage: he approved of the author, exhorting him only to greater moderation and prudence. Never-

theless, when some one reproached Luther's violence in his presence: "God," said he, "has given men a physician who cuts deep into the flesh, because the malady would otherwise be incurable." And when a little later the Elector of Saxony asked his opinion on Luther's business, he replied with a smile: "I am not at all surprised that it has made so much noise; for he has committed two unpardonable crimes; he has attacked the pope's tiara and the monks' bellies."¹

Doctor Flek, prior of the monastery of Steinlausitz, had long discontinued reading the Mass, but without telling any one the real cause. One day he found Luther's theses posted up in the refectory: he went up to them, began to read, and had only perused a few, when, unable to contain his joy, he exclaimed: "Ah! ah! he whom we have so long expected is come at last, and he will show you monks a trick or two!" Then looking into the future, says Mathesius, and playing on the meaning of the name Wittenberg: "All the world," said he, "will go and seek wisdom on that mountain and will find it."² He wrote to the doctor to continue the glorious struggle with boldness. Luther styles him a man full of joy and consolation.

The ancient and renowned episcopal see of Wurzburg was filled at that time by Lorenzo de Bibra, a pious, wise, and worthy man, according to the testimony of his contemporaries. When a gentleman came and informed him that he intended placing his daughter in a convent: "Rather give her a husband," said he. And then he added: "If you require money for her dowry, I will lend it you." The emperor and all the princes held him in the highest esteem. He mourned over the disorders of the Church, and above all, over those of the convents. The theses reached his palace also: he read them with great joy, and publicly declared that he approved of Luther. Somewhat later, he wrote to the Elector Frederick: "Do not let the pious Doctor Martin go, for they do him wrong." The elector was delighted at this testimony, and communicated it to the reformer with his own hand.

The Emperor Maximilian, predecessor of Charles the Fifth, read and admired the theses of the monk of Wittenberg; he perceived his ability, and foresaw that this obscure Augustine might one day become a powerful ally for Germany in her struggle against Rome. He accordingly said to the Elector of Saxony through his envoy: "Take great care of the monk Luther, for the time may come when we shall have need of him."³ And shortly after, being in diet with Meffinger, the elector's privy counsellor, he said

¹ Müller's Denkw. iv. 224.

² Alle Welt von diesem Wittenberg, Weisheit holen und bekommen, p. 13. Wittenberg (or Weissenberg) signifies the mountain of wisdom.

³ Dass er uns den Munch Luther feilsig beware. Math. 13.

Id hoc proutandum mihi videbatur illis, et natura communis et accensus studio. Erasmus. Epp. Campegio Car. 1. 1. 161.

to him: "Well! what is your Augustine doing? In truth his propositions are not contemptible. He will play the monks a pretty game."¹

At Rome, even in the Vatican, these theses were not so badly received as might have been imagined. Leo X. judged rather as a patron of letters than as pope. The amusement they gave him made him forget the severe truths they contained; and as Sylvester Prierio, the master of the sacred palace, who had the charge of examining the books, requested him to treat Luther as a heretic, he replied: "Brother Martin Luther is a very fine genius, and all that is said against him is mere monkish jealousy."²

There were few men on whom Luther's theses produced a deeper impression than the scholar of Annaberg, whom Tetzel had so mercilessly repulsed. Myconius had entered a convent. On the very night of his arrival he dreamt he saw immense fields of wheat all glistening with ripe ears. "Cut," said the voice of his guide; and when he alleged his want of skill, his conductor showed him a reaper working with inconceivable activity. "Follow him, and do as he does," said the guide.³ Myconius, as eager after holiness as Luther had been, devoted himself while in the monastery to all the vigils, fasts, mortifications, and practices invented by men. But at last he despaired of ever attaining his object by his own exertions. He neglected his studies, and employed himself in manual labours only. At one time he would bind books; at another, work at the turner's lathe, or any laborious occupation. This outward activity was unable to quiet his troubled conscience. God had spoken to him, and he could no longer fall back into his previous lethargy. This state of anguish endured several years. It has been sometimes imagined that the paths of the reformers were smooth, and that when they had renounced the observances of the Church, nothing but pleasure and comfort awaited them. It is not considered that they arrived at the truth through internal struggles a thousand times more painful than the observances to which slavish minds easily submitted.

At length the year 1517 arrived; Luther's theses were published; they were circulated through Christendom, and penetrated also into the monastery where the scholar of Annaberg was concealed. He hid himself in a corner of the cloister with another monk, John Voigt, that he might read them at his ease.⁴ Here were the selfsame truths he had heard from his father; his eyes were opened; he felt a voice within him responding to that which was then re-echoing through Germany,

and great consolation filled his heart. "I see plainly," said he, "that Martin Luther is the reaper I saw in my dream, and who taught me to gather the ears." He began immediately to profess the doctrine that Luther had proclaimed. The monks grew alarmed, as they heard him; they argued with him, and declared against Luther and against his convent. "This convent," replied Myconius, "is like our Lord's sepulchre: they wish to prevent Christ's resurrection, but they will fail." At last his superiors, finding they could not convince him, interdicted him for a year and a half from all intercourse with the world, permitting him neither to write nor receive letters, and threatening him with imprisonment for life. But the hour of his deliverance was at hand. Being afterwards nominated pastor of Zwickau, he was the first who declared against the papacy in the churches of Thuringia. "Then," said he, "was I enabled to labour with my venerable father Luther in the Gospel-harvest." Jonas describes him as a man capable of doing everything he undertook.⁵

No doubt there were others besides to whose souls Luther's propositions were a signal of life. They kindled a new flame in many cells, cottages, and palaces. While those who had entered the convents in quest of good cheer, an idle life, or respect and honours, says Mathesius, began to load the name of Luther with reproaches, the monks who lived in prayer, fasting, and mortification, returned thanks to God, as soon as they heard the cry of that eagle whom Huss had announced a century before.⁶ Even the common-people, who did not clearly understand the theological question, but who only knew that this man assailed the empire of the lazy and mendicant monks, welcomed him with bursts of acclamation. An immense sensation was produced in Germany by these daring propositions. Some of the reformer's contemporaries, however, foresaw the serious consequences to which they might lead, and the numerous obstacles they would encounter. They expressed their fears aloud, and rejoiced with trembling.

"I am much afraid," wrote the excellent canon of Augsburg, Bernard Adelmann, to his friend Pirckheimer, "that the worthy man must give way at last before the avarice and power of the partisans of indulgences. His representations have produced so little effect, that the Bishop of Augsburg, our primate and metropolitan,⁷ has just ordered, in the pope's name, fresh indulgences for St. Peter's at Rome. Let him haste to secure the aid of princes; let him beware of tempting God; for he must be void of common sense if he overlooks the imminent peril he

¹ Schmidt, Brand. Reformationsgesch. p. 124.

² Che frate Martino Lutero ha vera un ballastino ingrosso, e che coteste grano invidia fratesche. Brandelli, Leo's contemporary and a Dominican, Hist. trag. pars. 2.

³ Melch. Adami Vita Myconii.

⁴ Legit tunc cum Joanne Voito in angulum aditus, libello Lutheri. Melch. Adam.

⁵ Qui potuit quod voluit.

⁶ Davron Magister Johann Huss gewissaget. Math. 12.

⁷ Totique uxorum vir (and the husband of so many wives) added he, Heumann Documenta lit. 167.

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hours." Adelmann was delighted on hearing it rumoured that Henry VIII. had invited Luther to England. "In that country," thought the canon, "he will be able to teach the truth in peace." Many thus imagined that the doctrine of the Gospel required the support of the civil power. They knew not that it advances without this power, and is often trammelled and enfeebled by it.

Albert Kranz, the famous historian, was at Hamburg on his deathbed, when Luther's theses were brought to him: "Thou art right, Brother Martin," said he; "but thou wilt not succeed.....Poor monk! Go to thy cell and cry: Lord! have mercy upon me!"¹

An aged priest of Hexter in Westphalia, having received and read the theses in his personage, shook his head and said in Low German: "Dear Brother Martin! if you succeed in overthrowing this purgatory and all these paper-dealers, you will be a fine fellow indeed!" Erkenius, who lived a century later, wrote the following doggerel under these words:—

"What would the worthy parson say,
If he were living at this day?"²

Not only did a great number of Luther's friends entertain fears as to this proceeding, but many even expressed their disapprobation.

The Bishop of Brandenburg, grieved at seeing so violent a quarrel break out in his diocese, would have desired to stifle it. He resolved to effect this by mildness. "In your theses on indulgences," said he to Luther, through the Abbot of Janin, "I see nothing opposed to the Catholic truth; I myself condemn these indiscreet proclama-tions; but for the love of peace and for regard to your bishop, discontinue writing upon this subject." Luther was confounded at being addressed with such humility by so great a dignitary. Led away by the first impulse of his heart, he replied with emotion: "I consent: I would rather obey than perform miracles if that were possible."³

The elector beheld with regret the commencement of a combat that was justifiable no doubt, but the results of which could not be foreseen. No prince was more desirous of maintaining the public peace than Frederick. Yet, what an immense conflagration might not be kindled by this spark! What violent discord, what rending of nations, might not this monkish quarrel produce! The elector gave Luther frequent intimations of the uneasiness he felt.⁴

Even in his own order and in his own convent at Wittenberg, Luther met with disapprobation. The prior and sub-prior were terrified at the outcry made by Tetzel and

his companions. They repaired trembling and alarmed to Brother Martin's cell, and said: "Pray do not bring disgrace upon our order! The other orders, and especially the Dominicans, are already overjoyed to think that they will not be alone in their shame." Luther was moved at these words; but he soon recovered, and replied: "Dear fathers! if this work be not of God, it will come to naught; but if it be, let it go forwards." The prior and sub-prior made no answer. "The work is still going forwards," added Luther, after recounting this anecdote, "and, God willing, it will go on better and better unto the end. Amen."⁵

Luther had many other attacks to endure. At Erfurth, he was blamed for the violent and haughty manner in which he condemned the opinions of others: this is the reproach usually made against those men who possess that strength of conviction which proceeds from the Word of God. He was also accused of precipitation and levity.

"They require moderation in me," answered Luther, "and they trample it under foot in the judgment they pass on me!..... We can always see the mote in our brother's eye, and we overlook the beam in our own Truth will not gain more by my moderation, than it will lose by my rashness. I desire to know (continues he, addressing Lange) what errors you and your theologians have found in my theses? Who does not know that a man rarely puts forth any new idea without having some appearance of pride, and without being accused of exciting quarrels? If humility herself should undertake something new, her opponents would accuse her of pride!"⁶ Why were Christ and all the martyrs put to death? Because they seemed to be proud contempters of the wisdom of the time, and because they advanced novelties, without having first humbly taken counsel of the oracles of the ancient opinions.

"Do not let the wise of our days expect from me humility, or rather hypocrisy, enough to ask their advice, before publishing what duty compels me to say. Whatever I do will be done, not by the prudence of men, but by the counsel of God. If the work be of God, who shall stop it? if it be not, who can forward it? Not my will, nor theirs, nor ours; but thy will, O Holy Father, which art in heaven."—What courage, what noble enthusiasm, what confidence in God, and above all, what truth in these words, and what truth for all ages!

The reproaches and accusations which were showered upon Luther from every quarter, could not fail, however, to produce some impression on his mind. He had been deceived in his hopes. He had expected to see the heads of the Church and the most dis-

¹ Prater, ad in euliam, et dic: Misereor me. Lindner in Luther's Leben.

² Quid vero nunc si viveret.
Bonus iste clericus diceret.

³ Dene eum contentus: malo obedire quam miracula facere, etiam si possem. Epp. i. 71.

⁴ Reurours folowen se pe dightheavit, metuens discordias majores. Melanct. Vita Luth.

⁵ L. Opp. (L.) vi. 518.

⁶ Fugit enim ipsam humilitatem nova conari, statim in perbiis subijcitur ab illis qui aliter sapiunt. L. Epp. i. 72.

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tinguished scholars in the nation publicly unite with him; but the case was far otherwise. A word of approbation which escaped in the first moment of astonishment was all the best disposed accorded him; on the contrary, many whom he had hitherto respected the most, were loudest in their censure. He felt himself alone in the Church, alone against Rome, alone at the foot of that ancient and formidable building whose foundations penetrated to the centre of the earth, whose walls soared to the clouds, and against which he had aimed so daring a blow.¹ He was troubled and dispirited. Doubts, which he fancied he had overcome, returned to his mind with fresh force. He trembled at the thought that he had the whole authority of the Church against him: to withdraw from that authority, to be deaf to that voice which people had obeyed for centuries, to set himself in opposition to that Church which he had been accustomed from his infancy to venerate as the mother of the faithful,.....he, an insignificant monk.....was an effort too great for human power!² No step cost him dearer than this. And it was this, accordingly, which decided the Reformation.

No one can paint better than himself the combat in his own soul:—"I began this business," said he, "with great fear and trembling. Who was I then, I, a poor, wretched, contemptible friar, more like a corpse than a man;³ who was I to oppose the majesty of the pope, before whom not only the kings of the earth and the whole world trembled, but even, if I may so speak, heaven and hell were constrained to obey the signal of his eyes?.....No one can know what my heart suffered during these first two years, and into what despondency, I may say into what despair, I was sunk. Those haughty spirits who have since attacked the pope with such great hardihood can form no idea of it, although with all their skill they would have been unable to do him the least harm, if Jesus Christ had not already inflicted through me, his weak and unworthy instrument, a wound that shall never be healed.....But while they were content to look on and leave me alone in the danger, I was not so cheerful, so tranquil, nor so confident; for at that time I was ignorant of many things which now, thank God, I know. There were, it is true, many pious Christians who were pleased with my propositions, and valued them highly; but I could not acknowledge them and consider them as the instruments of the Holy Ghost; I looked only to the pope, to

the cardinals, bishops, theologians, lawyers, monks, and priests.....It was from them I expected to witness the influence of the Spirit. However, after gaining the victory over all their arguments by Scripture, I at last surmounted through Christ's grace, but with great anguish, toil, and pain, the only argument that still checked me, namely, that I should "listen to the Church;"¹ for, from the bottom of my heart, I revered the pope's Church as the true Church; and I did so with far more sincerity and veneration than all those scandalous and infamous corrupters who, to oppose me, now extol it so mightily. If I had despised the pope, as those men really despise him in their hearts who praise him so much with their lips, I should have trembled lest the earth should have instantly opened and swallowed me up alive like Korah and his company."

How honourable are these combats to Luther! What sincerity, what uprightness of mind they display! and by these painful assaults which he had to sustain from within and from without, he is rendered more worthy of our esteem than he would have been by an intrepidity unaccompanied by any such struggles. This travail of his soul clearly demonstrates the truth and Divinity of his work. We see that the cause and the principle were both in heaven. Who will dare assert, after all the features we have pointed out, that the Reformation was a political affair? No; it was not the effect of man's policy, but of God's power. If Luther had been urged forward solely by human passions, he would have sunk under his fears; his errors, his scruples, would have smothered the fire kindled in his soul; and he would have shed upon the Church a mere passing ray, as many zealous and pious men have done whose names have been handed down to us. But now God's time was come; the work could not be stopped; the emancipation of the Church must be accomplished. Luther was appointed at least to prepare the way for that complete enfranchisement and those extensive developments which are promised to the reign of Jesus Christ. He experienced, accordingly, the truth of that glorious promise: *Even the youths shall faint and be weary and the young men shall utterly fall: but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles.* That Divine power which filled the heart of the Wittenberg doctor, and which had impelled him to the combat, soon restored to him all his early resolution.

¹ Solus primo eram. L. Opp. Lat. in Præf.

² Condilium immanis audecæ plenum. Pallavicini, l. 17.

³ Miserissimus tunc fraterculus, cadaveri similior quam homini. L. Opp. Lat. l. 48.

¹ Et cum omnia argumenta superasset per scripturas, hoc unum cum summa diffidentia et angustia, tandem Christo favente, vix superavi, Ecclesiam scilicet esse emendandam. L. Opp. Lat. l. 48.

CHAPTER VII.

Attack—Luther's Reply—Good Works—Luther and the Study of Scripture—Scheurl and Luther—Doubts Thrown—Luther pleads for the People—A New

proaches, the timidity, and the silence friends had discouraged Luther; the of his enemies produced a contrary this is a case of frequent occurrence. versaries of the truth, who hope by violence to do their own work, are that of God himself.¹ Tetzel took gauntlet, but with a feeble hand. 's sermon, which had been for the what the theses had been for the was the object of his first reply. uted this discourse point by point, is own fashion; he then announced was preparing to meet his adversary dly in certain theses which he would n at the university of Frankfurt-on-r. "Then," said he, replying to the ion of Luther's sermon, "each man able to judge who is the heresiarch, schismatic: who is mistaken, rash, nderous. Then it will be clear to the all who it is that has a dull brain, s never felt the Bible, never read the n doctrines, never understood his ownIn support of the propositions I ; I am ready to suffer all things— scourging, drowning, and the stake," thing strikes us, as we read Tetzel's the difference between the German ed by him and Luther. One might : were several ages apart. A foreigner, ular, sometimes finds it difficult to and Tetzel, while Luther's language t entirely that of our own days. A ison of their writings is sufficient to ut Luther is the creator of the Ger- nage. This is, no doubt, one of t merits, but still it is one.

er replied without naming Tetzel; ad not named him. But there was in Germany who could not write at ul of their publications the names ight proper to conceal. Tetzel, in set a higher value upon his indul- endeavourd to confound the repent- quired by God with the penance im- by the Church. Luther sought to this point.

ave words," said he, in his pictu- language, "I throw to the winds besides, have more leisure than I) r remarks, which are mere artificial and dry leaves, and will content my- b examining the foundations of his f bars.

: penance imposed by the holy father

cannot be that required by Christ; for what the holy father imposes he can dispense with; and if these two penances were one and the same thing, it would follow that the pope takes away what Christ imposes, and destroys the commandment of God.....Well! if he likes it, let him abuse me (continues Luther, after quoting other erroneous interpretations by Tetzel), let him call me heretic, schismatic, slanderer, and whatever he pleases: I shall not be his enemy for that, and I shall pray for him as for a friend..... But I cannot suffer him to treat the Holy Scriptures, our consolation (Rom. xv. 4), as a sow treats a sack of oats."¹

We must accustom ourselves to find Luther sometimes making use of coarse expressions, and such as are too familiar for our age: it was the fashion of the times; and there will generally be found under those words, which would now shock the conventional usages of language, a strength and propriety which redeem their vulgarity. He thus continues:—

"He who purchases indulgences, repeat our adversaries, does better than he who gives alms to a poor man who is not reduced to the last extremity.—Now, should we hear the news that the Turks are profaning our churches and our crosses, we could hear it without shuddering; for we have in the midst of us the worst of Turks, who profane and annihilate the only real sanctuary, the Word of God, that sanctifieth all things.—Let him who desires to follow this precept, beware of feeding the hungry, or of clothing the naked, before they die, and consequently have no more need of assistance."

It is important to compare Luther's zeal for good works with what he says on justification by faith. The man that has any experience and any knowledge of Christianity, does not require this new proof of a truth, the evidence of which he has himself felt: namely, the more we are attached to justification by faith, the more we see the necessity of works, and the more we become attached to their practice; whilst any laxity with regard to the doctrine of faith necessarily brings with it laxity of morals. Luther, and Saint Paul before him and Howard after him, are proofs of the first assertion; every man without faith, and there are many such in the world, is a proof of the second.

When Luther comes to Tetzel's invectives, he answers them in this manner. "When I hear those invectives, I fancy it is an ass braying at me. I am delighted with them, and I should be very sorry were such people to call me a good Christian." We must represent Luther as he was, with all his weaknesses. A turn for jesting, and even for coarse jesting, was one of them. The Reformer was a great man, a man of God, no

¹ *Non Tenet illi et ejus satellitum imponunt necessitate, de rebus istidem copiosius disserendi et tractandi. Melancthon. Vita Luth.*

¹ *Dass er die Schrift, unsern Trost, nicht anders behandelte wie die Sau einen Haberack.*

doubt; but he was still a man and not an angel, and he was not even a perfect man. Who has the right to require perfection in him?

"Finally," added he, challenging his adversary to battle, "although it is not usual to burn heretics for such matters, here am I at Wittenberg, I, Doctor Martin Luther! Is there any inquisitor who is determined to chew iron and to blow up rocks? I beg to inform him that he has a safe-conduct to come hither, open gates, bed and board secured to him, and all by the gracious cares of our worthy prince, Duke Frederick, elector of Saxony, who will never protect heresy."¹

We see that Luther was not wanting in courage. He relied upon the Word of God; and it is a rock that never fails us in the storm. But God in his faithfulness afforded him other assistance. The burst of joy by which the multitude welcomed Luther's theses, had been soon followed by a gloomy silence. The learned had timidly retreated before the calumnies and abuse of Tetzel and the Dominicans. The bishops, who had previously exclaimed against the abuse of indulgences, seeing them attacked at last, had not failed, by a contradiction that is by no means rare, to discover that the attack was unseasonable. The greater portion of the reformer's friends were alarmed. Many had fled away. But when the first terror was over, a contrary movement took place in their minds. The monk of Wittenberg, who for some time had been almost alone in the midst of the Church, soon gathered around him again a numerous body of friends and admirers.

There was one who, although timid, yet remained faithful during this crisis, and whose friendship was his consolation and support. This was Spalatin. Their correspondence was not interrupted. "I thank you," said Luther, speaking of a particular mark of friendship that he had received, "but what am I not indebted to you?" It was on the 11th November 1517, eleven days after the publication of the theses, and consequently at the very time when the fermentation of men's minds was greatest, that Luther delighted thus to pour out his gratitude into his friend's heart. It is interesting to witness in this very letter to Spalatin, this strong man, who had just performed the bravest action, declaring whence all his strength was derived. "We can do nothing of ourselves: we can do everything by God's grace. All ignorance is invincible for us: no ignorance is invincible for the grace of God. The more we endeavour, of ourselves, to attain wisdom, the nearer we approach to folly."² It is untrue that this invincible ignorance excuses the sinner; otherwise there would be no sin in the world."

Luther had not sent his propositions either to the prince or to any of his court. It would appear that the chaplain expressed some astonishment to his friend in consequence. "I was unwilling," replied Luther, "that my theses should reach our most illustrious prince, or any of his court, before they had been received by those who think themselves especially designated in them, for fear they should believe I had published them by the prince's order, or to conciliate his favour, and from opposition to the Bishop of Mentz. I understand there are many persons who dream such things. But now I can safely swear, that my theses were published without the knowledge of Duke Frederick."³

If Spalatin consoled his friend and supported him by his influence, Luther, on his part, endeavoured to answer the questions put to him by the unassuming chaplain. Among others, the latter asked one that has been often proposed in our days: "What is the best method of studying Scripture?"

"As yet, most excellent Spalatin," Luther replied, "you have only asked me things that were in my power. But to direct you in the study of the Holy Scriptures is beyond my ability. If, however, you absolutely wish to know my method, I will not conceal it from you.

"It is very certain, that we cannot attain to the understanding of Scripture either by study or by the intellect. Your first duty is to begin by prayer.⁴ Entreat the Lord to grant you, of his great mercy, the true understanding of his Word. There is no other interpreter of the Word of God than the Author of this Word, as he himself has said: *They shall be all taught of God.* Hope for nothing from your own labours, from your own understanding: trust solely in God, and in the influence of his Spirit. Believe this on the word of a man who has had experience."⁵ We here see how Luther arrived at the possession of the truth which he preached. It was not, as some pretend, by trusting to a presumptuous reason; is was not, as others maintain, by giving way to malignant passions. The purest, the sublimest, the holiest source—God himself, consulted in humility, confidence, and prayer,—was that at which he drank. But in our days he has found few imitators, and hence it is there are not many who understand him. To every serious mind these words of Luther's are of themselves a justification of the Reformation.

Luther found further consolation in the friendship of respectable laymen. Christopher Scheurl, the excellent secretary of the imperial city of Nuremberg, gave him the

¹ Sed saluum est nunc etiam jurare, quod sine scitis Duxem Fredericum exterruit. L. Epp. l. 76.

² Primum id certissimum est, sacras litteras non posse vel studio, vel ingenio penetrari. Ideo primum officium est, ut ab oratione incipias.

³ Igitur de tuo studio desperare oportet omnino, simul et ingenio. Deo autem soli confidas et induard Spiritus. Expecto crede lata. L. Epp. l. 80, dated 16th January.

¹ Luth. Opp. (L.) xiv. l. 122.

² Tibi gratias ago: imo quid tibi non debeo? L. Epp. l. 74.

³ Quanto magis conamur ex nobis ad sapientiam, tanto amplius appropinquamus insipientiam. Ibid.

acting marks of his regard.¹ We dear are the expressions of sympathy a man's heart when he sees himself on every side. The secretary of the elector did still more: he desired to increase the number of Luther's friends, and intent requested him to dedicate one of his works to Jerome Ebner, a celebrated lawyer. "You entertain a high opinion of my studies," modestly answered the elector; "but I have a very mean one of my own." Nevertheless, I have desired to comply with your wishes. I have sought out all my stores, that I have never paltry before, nothing presented itself that did not appear utterly unworthy of being dedicated to so great a man by so mean a man as myself." Affecting humility! It was who speaks, and it is to Doctor Ebner that the name is unknown to us, that he himself. Posterity has not ratified the election.

who had done nothing to circulate his name, had not sent them to Scheurl any more to the Elector and his court. The Elector of Nuremberg expressed his astonishment at this. "My design," answered the elector, "was not to give my theses such a wide circulation."

I only desired to confer on them with some of those who remain with us.² If they had been condemned, I have destroyed them. If they had proved of, I purposed publishing what they have now been printed over again, and circulated so far beyond the Alps, that I repent of my offspring;³ so I fear the truth should be made known to the people, 'twas this alone I sought, but that is not the way to instruct the people contain questions that are still to be solved, and if I had thought myself I should have created such a sensation, some things I should have omitted, as I should have asserted with confidence." In after-years Luther differed. Far from fearing he had been deceived, he declared that he ought to have done much more. But the apprehension manifested to Scheurl do honour to the elector. They show that he had no party plan, no party spirit, no self-interest that he sought for truth alone. Had discovered it fully, he changed his mind. "You will find in my earlier writings many years after, that I very much needed many things to the pope, important things, that now I regard as abominable and blasphemous."⁴

et animus tuum erga meam paritatem cange ultra merita benevolentissimum probaverit. 79. "Your letters," wrote Luther on 11th are above the candour of your mind, and your benevolence towards my low estate." onellum neque votum eas evulgari, sed cum tunc circumspecte nos habitantibus primum super ipsa Epp. L. 80. nifesti hujus fortune. Ibid. temporibus pro summa blasphemia et abominabili et execrator. L. Opp. Lat. (W.) in Præf.

Scheurl was not the only respectable layman who, at this time, gave testimony of his friendship for Luther. The celebrated painter, Albert Durer, sent him a present, perhaps one of his pictures, and the doctor warmly expressed his gratitude for the kindness.¹

Thus Luther practically experienced the truth of these words of Divine wisdom: *A friend loveth at all times; and a brother is born for adversity.* But he remembered them also for others, and pleaded the cause of the whole nation. The elector had just imposed one tax, and there was a talk of another, probably by the advice of his counsellor Pöfelfinger, against whom Luther often vented his biting sarcasms. The doctor boldly placed himself in the breach: "Let not your highness despise the prayer of a poor beggar," said he. "I beseech you, in God's name, not to impose a new tax. My heart was bruised as well as the hearts of many of those who are most devoted to you, when they saw how far the last had injured your good fame, and the popularity your highness enjoyed. It is true that the Lord has given you an exalted understanding, so that you see into these matters farther than I or your subjects can. But perhaps it is God's will that a mean understanding should instruct a greater, in order that no one should trust to himself, but solely in the Lord our God, whom I pray to preserve your health of body for our good, and your soul for eternal blessedness. Amen." Thus it is that the Gospel, which calls upon us to honour kings, makes us also plead the cause of the people. To a nation it proclaims its duties; and reminds the prince of his subjects' rights. The voice of a Christian like Luther, resounding in the cabinet of a sovereign, might often supply the place of a whole assembly of legislators.

In this same letter, in which Luther addresses a severe lesson to the elector, he does not fear to make a request, or rather to remind him of a promise to give him a new coat. This freedom of Luther, at a time when he might fear he had displeased Frederick, does equal honour to the prince and to the reformer. "But if it is Pöfelfinger who has charge of it," added he, "let him give it me in reality, not in protestations of friendship. He knows how to spin fine speeches, but they never produce good cloth." Luther imagined that by the faithful counsel he had given his prince, he had well earned his court-dress.² But, however that may be, he had not received it two years after, and he asked for it again.³ This seems to indicate that Frederick was not so much influenced by Luther as has been supposed.

¹ Accepti simul et donum insignis viri Alberti Dureri. L. Opp. L. 80.

² Mein Hofkleid verdienet. Epp. L. I. 77, 78.

³ Ibid. 265.

CHAPTER VIII.

Frankfort Discussion—Tetzel's Theses—Menaces—Kalschro's Opposition—Luther's Theses burnt—The Monks—Luther's Peace—Tetzel's Theses burnt—Grief of Luther.

MEN'S minds had thus recovered a little from their first alarm. Luther himself felt inclined to declare that his theses had not the scope attributed to them. New events might turn aside the general attention, and this blow aimed at the Romish doctrine be lost in air like so many others. But the partisans of Rome prevented the affair from ending thus. They fanned the flame instead of quenching it.

Tetzel and the Dominicans replied with insolence to the attack that had been made on them. Burning with the desire of crushing the impudent monk who had dared to trouble their commerce, and of conciliating the favour of the Roman pontiff, they uttered a cry of rage; they maintained that to attack the indulgence ordained by the pope, was to attack the pope himself, and they summoned to their aid all the monks and divines of their school.¹ Tetzel indeed felt that an adversary like Luther was too much for him alone. Greatly disconcerted at the doctor's attack, and exasperated to the highest degree, he quitted the vicinity of Wittenberg, and repaired to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where he arrived in the month of November 1517. The university of this city, like that of Wittenberg, was of recent date; but it had been founded by the opposite party. Conrad Wimpina, an eloquent man, the ancient rival of Pollich of Mellerstadt, and one of the most distinguished theologians of the age, was a professor there. Wimpina cast an envious glance on the doctor and university of Wittenberg. Their reputation galled him. Tetzel requested him to answer Luther's theses, and Wimpina wrote two lists of antitheses, the object of the first being to defend the doctrine of indulgences, and the second, the authority of the pope.

On the 20th January 1518 took place that disputation prepared so long beforehand, announced with so much pomp, and on which Tetzel founded such great hopes. On every side he had beaten up for recruits. Monks had been sent from all the cloisters in the neighbourhood, and they met to the number of about three hundred. Tetzel read his theses. They even contained this declaration, "that whoever says that the soul does not escape out of purgatory so soon as the money tinkles in the chest, is in error."²

But above all, he put forward propositions according to which the pope seemed actually seated as God in the temple of God, according

to the apostle's expression. It was convenient for this shameless trafficker to take shelter, with all his disorders and scandals, under the mantle of the pope.

He declared himself ready to maintain the following propositions before the numerous assembly by which he was surrounded:—

3. "We should teach Christians that the pope, by the greatness of his power, is above the whole universal Church, and superior to the councils, and that we should implicitly obey his decrees.

4. "We should teach Christians that the pope alone has the right of deciding in all matters of christian faith; that he alone and no one besides him has power to interpret the meaning of Scripture according to his own views, and to approve or condemn all the words or writings of other men.

5. "We should teach Christians that the judgment of the pope cannot err, in matters concerning the christian faith, or which are necessary to the salvation of the human race.

6. "We should teach Christians that, in matters of faith, we should rely and repose more on the pope's sentiments, as made known by his decisions, than on the opinions of all the learned, which are derived merely from Scripture.

8. "We should teach Christians that those who injure the honour or dignity of the pope, are guilty of high-treason, and deserve to be accused.

17. "We should teach Christians that there are many things which the Church regards as indisputable articles of universal truth, although they are not to be found in the canon of the Bible or in the writings of the ancient doctors.

44. "We should teach Christians to regard as obstinate heretics all who declare by their words, acts, or writings, that they will not retract their heretical propositions, even should excommunication after excommunication fall upon them like hail or rain.

48. "We should teach Christians that those who protect the errors of heretics, and who, by their authority, prevent them from being brought before the judge who has a right to hear them, are excommunicated; that if in the space of a year they do not change their conduct, they will be declared infamous, and cruelly punished with divers chastisements, according to the law, and for a warning to other men.³

50. "We should teach Christians that those who scribble so many books and waste so much paper, who dispute and preach publicly and wickedly about oral confession, the satisfaction of works, the rich and great indulgences of the Bishop of Rome, and his power; that the persons who take part with those who preach or write such things, who

¹ Summa senatus convocata; monachos aliquot et theologiae sua sophistication utrumque tinctos. Mel. Vita Luth.

² Quisquis ergo dicit, non citius posse animam volare, quam in fundo cista denarius possit tinnire, errat. Postea Frater Joh. Tetzel, pos. 54. L. Opp. I. 54.

³ Pro infamibus sunt tenendi, qui etiam per juris capitula terribiliter multis piocenter penis in omnium hominum terrorem. Positiones fratris Joh. Tetzel, pos. 54. L. Opp. I. 54.

are pleased with their writings, and circulate them among the people and over the world; that those who speak in private of these things, in a contemptuous and shameless manner—should expect to incur the penalties before mentioned, and to precipitate themselves, and others with them, into eternal condemnation at the judgment day, and into merited disgrace even in this world. For 'if so much as a beast touch the mountain, it shall be stoned.'

We see that Tetzel did not attack Luther only. He probably had the Elector of Saxony in view in his 48th thesis. These propositions, besides, savour strongly of the Dominican. To threaten every contradictor with cruel punishments, was the argument of an inquisitor, to which there were no means of replying. The three hundred monks whom Tetzel had collected stared and listened with admiration to what he had said. The theologians of the university were too fearful of being ranked with the abettors of heresy, or else were too strongly attached to Wimpina's principles, openly to attack the astonishing theses that had just been read.

All this affair, about which there had been so much noise, seemed then destined to be a mere sham fight; but among the crowd of students present at the disputation was a youth about twenty years of age, named John Knipstrow. He had read Luther's theses, and had found them conformable to the doctrines of Scripture. Indignant at beholding the truth publicly trodden under foot, without any one appearing in its defence, this young man raised his voice, to the great astonishment of all the assembly, and attacked the presumptuous Tetzel. The poor Dominican, who had not reckoned on any opposition, was quite confused. After a few exertions, he deserted the field of battle, and gave way to Wimpina. The latter resisted more vigorously; but Knipstrow pressed him so closely, that to finish a struggle so unbecoming in his eyes, the president (Wimpina himself) declared the disputation over, and immediately proceeded to confer the degree of doctor upon Tetzel in recompense of this glorious combat. In order to get rid of the young orator, Wimpina had him sent to the convent of Pyritz in Pomerania, with an order that he should be strictly watched. But this dawning light was removed from the banks of the Oder, only to diffuse not long after a greater brilliancy throughout Pomerania.¹ When God thinks fit, he employs even learners to confound the teachers.

Tetzel, wishing to retrieve the check he had experienced, had recourse to the *ultima ratio* of Rome and of the inquisitors,—to fire. He caused a pulpit and a scaffold to be erected in one of the public walks in the environs of Frankfort. Thither he repaired in solemn procession, with his insignia of in-

quisitor of the faith. He gave vent to all his violence from the pulpit. He hurled thunderbolts, and exclaimed with his stentorian voice, that the heretic Luther deserved to suffer death at the stake. Next, placing the doctor's propositions and sermon on the scaffold, he burnt them.² He knew better how to do this than to maintain his theses. At this time he met with no gainsayers: his victory was complete. The impudent Dominican re-entered Frankfort in triumph. When powerful parties are vanquished, they have recourse to certain demonstrations, which we may well accord to them as some consolation for their disgrace.

These second theses of Tetzel's form an important epoch in the Reformation. They changed the ground of dispute: they transported it from the indulgence-markets to the halls of the Vatican, and diverted it from Tetzel to the pope. In the place of that despicable broker whom Luther had so firmly grasped, they substituted the sacred person of the head of the Church. Luther was filled with astonishment. It is probable that he would ere long have taken this step himself; but his enemies spared him the trouble. It was henceforward no question of a discredited traffic, but of Rome itself; and the blow by which a daring hand had tried to demolish Tetzel's shop, shook the very foundations of the pontifical throne.

Tetzel's theses served as a rallying cry to the troops of Rome. An uproar against Luther broke out among the monks, infuriate at the appearance of a more formidable adversary than either Reuchlin or Erasmus. Luther's name resounded every where from the pulpits of the Dominicans, who addressed themselves to the passions of the people. They called the bold doctor a madman, a seducer, and a demoniac. His doctrine was cried down as the most horrible heresy. "Only wait a fortnight, or a month at most," said they, "and this notorious heretic will be burnt." If it had depended solely on the Dominicans, the fate of Jerome and of Huss would soon have been that of the Saxon doctor also; but God was watching over him. His life was destined to accomplish what the ashes of the Bohemian reformer had begun; for each does the work of God, one by his death, the other by his life. Many began already to exclaim that the whole university of Wittenberg was deeply tainted with heresy, and pronounced it infamous.³ "Let us drive out that villain and all his partisans," continued they. In many places these cries succeeded in exciting the passions of the multitude. The public attention was directed against those who shared Luther's

¹ Fulmina in Lutherum torquet: vociferatur ubique hunc hereticum igni perendum esse: propositiones etiam Lutheri et conclusionem de indulgentiis publice comburit in Hammam. Melaneth. Vita Luth.

² Hoc fuerunt usque, ut Universitatem Wittenbergensem propter nos infamem coactum facere et hereticum. L. Epp. I. 16.

³ Splendet, Gemch. Dr. M. Luthera. Beckmann Notitia Univ. vfr. etc. Frankfort.

opinions; and wherever the monks were the strongest, the friends of the Gospel experienced the effects of their hatred. It was thus, with regard to the Reformation, that our Saviour's prophecy began to be accomplished: *Men will revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.* In every age this is the recompense bestowed by the world on the decided friends of the Gospel.

When Luther was informed of Tetzel's theses, and of the general attack of which they were the signal, his courage immediately took fire. He felt the necessity of opposing such adversaries face to face; and his intrepid soul had no difficulty in coming to such a decision. But at the same time their weakness revealed to him his own strength, and inspired him with the consciousness of what he really was.

He did not, however, give way to those sentiments of pride so natural to man's heart. "I have more difficulty to refrain from despising my adversaries," wrote he about this time to Spalatin, "and from sinning in this way against Jesus Christ, than I should have in conquering them. They are so ignorant of human and divine things, that it is disgraceful to have to fight against them. And yet it is this very ignorance which gives them their inconceivable arrogance and their brazen face."¹ But the strongest encouragement to his heart, in the midst of this general hostility, was the intimate conviction that his cause was that of truth. "Do not be surprised," wrote he to Spalatin at the beginning of 1518, "that I am so grossly insulted. I listen to their abuse with joy. If they did not curse me, we could not be so firmly assured that the cause I have undertaken is that of God himself.² Christ has been set up for a sign to be spoken against."³—"I know," said he on another occasion, "that from the very beginning of the world, the Word of God has been of such a nature, that whoever desired to publish it to the world has been compelled, like the Apostles, to abandon all things, and to expect death. If it were not so it would not be the Word of Jesus Christ."⁴ This peace in the midst of agitation is a thing unknown to the heroes of the world. We see men who are at the head of a government, or of a political party, sink under their toils and vexations. The Christian generally acquires new vigour in his struggle. It is because he possesses a mysterious source of repose and of courage unknown to him whose eyes are closed against the Gospel.

One thing, however, sometimes agitated

Luther: the thought of the dissensions his courageous opposition might produce. He knew that a single word might set the world on fire. At times his imagination beheld prince arrayed against prince, and perhaps people against people. His patriotic heart was saddened; his christian charity alarmed. He would have desired peace; and yet he must speak, for such was the Lord's will. "I tremble," said he, "I shudder at the idea that I may be an occasion of discord between such mighty princes."⁵

He still kept silence with regard to Tetzel's propositions concerning the pope. Had he been carried away by passion, he would, no doubt, have instantly fallen upon that astonishing doctrine, under the shelter of which his adversary sought to protect himself. But he did not; and in his delay, his reserve and silence, there is something grave and solemn, which sufficiently reveals the spirit that animated him. He waited, but not from weakness: for the blow was all the stronger.

Tetzel, after his *auto-da-fé* at Frankfort, had hastened to send his theses into Saxony. They will serve as an antidote (thought he) against Luther's. A man from Halle, commissioned by the inquisitor to circulate his theses, arrived at Wittenberg. The students of the university, still indignant that Tetzel should have burnt their master's propositions, had scarcely heard of his arrival, before they sought him out, surrounded him, mobbed and frightened him. "How can you dare bring such things here?" said they. Some of them bought part of the copies he had with him, others seized the remainder. They thus became masters of his whole stock, amounting to eight hundred copies; and then, unknown to the elector, the senate, the rector, Luther, and all the professors,⁶ they posted the following words on the university boards: "Whoever desires to be present at the burning and funeral of Tetzel's theses, must come to the market-place at two o'clock."

Crowds assembled at the appointed hour, and the Dominican's propositions were consigned to the flames in the midst of noisy acclamations. One copy escaped the conflagration, which Luther sent afterwards to his friend Lange of Erfurth. These generous but imprudent youths followed the precept of the ancients—*Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth*, and not that of Jesus Christ. But when doctors and professors set the example at Frankfort, can we be astonished that it was followed by young students at Wittenberg? The news of this academical execution soon spread through all Germany, and made a great noise.⁷ Luther was deeply pained at it.

"I am surprised," wrote he to his old

¹ Epp. Luth. i. 22.

² *Nisi malediceret, non crederem ex Deo esse quas tracto.* L. Epp. i. 22.

³ "The Word of God was purchased by death," continues he in his energetic language, "proclaimed by death, preserved by death, and by death must it be preserved and published." *Morte emptum est verbum Dei, moribus vulgatum, moribus servatum, moribus quoque servandum ac referendum est.*

⁴ *Inter tantos principes dissidii origo esse, valde horreo et timeo.* L. Epp. i. 22.

⁵ *Hæc insulo principe, senatu, rectori, denique omnibus nobis.* *Ibid.* 22.

⁶ *Fit ex ea re ingens undique fabula.* *Ibid.*

master, Jodocus, at Erfurth, "you should have believed I allowed Tetzel's theses to be burnt! Do you think I have so taken leave of my senses? But what could I do? When I am concerned, everybody believes whatever is told of me.¹ Can I stop the mouths of the whole world? Well! let them say, hear, and believe whatever they like concerning me. I shall work so long as God gives me strength, and with His help I shall fear nothing."—"What will come of it," said he to Lange, "I know not, except that the peril in which I am involved becomes greater on this very account."² This act shows how the hearts of the young already glowed for the cause which Luther defended. This was a sign of great importance; for a movement which has taken place among the youth is soon of necessity propagated throughout the whole nation.

The theses of Tetzel and of Wimpina, although little esteemed, produced a certain effect. They aggravated the dispute; they widened the rent in the mantle of the Church; they brought questions of the highest interest into the controversy. The chiefs of the Church began, accordingly, to take a nearer view of the matter, and to declare strongly against the Reformer. "Truly, I do not know on whom Luther relies," said the Bi-hop of Brandenburg, "since he thus ventures to attack the power of the bishops." Perceiving that this new conjuncture called for new measures, the bishop came himself to Wittenberg. But he found Luther animated with that interior joy which springs from a good conscience, and determined to give battle. The bi-hop saw that the Augustine monk obeyed a power superior to his own, and returned in anger to Brandenburg. One day during the winter of 1518, as he was seated before the fire, he said, turning to those who surrounded him: "I will not lay my head down in peace, until I have thrown Martin into the fire, like this brand;" and he flung the billet into the flames. The revolution of the sixteenth century was not destined to be accomplished by the heads of the Church, any more than that of the first century had been by the sanhedrim and by the synagogue. The chiefs of the clergy in the sixteenth century were opposed to Luther, to the Reformation, and to its ministers; as they had been to Jesus Christ, to the Gospel, to his Apostles, and, as too frequently happens in every age, to the truth.—"The bishops," said Luther, speaking of the visit the prelate of Brandenburg had paid him, "begin to perceive that they ought to have done what I am doing, and they are ashamed of it. They call me proud and arrogant—I will not deny that I am so; but they are not the people to know either what God is, or what we are."³

CHAPTER IX.

Priorio—System of Rome—Dialogue—System of Reform—Answer to Priorio—The Word—The Pope and the Church—Hochstraten—The Monks—Luther Replies—Eck—The School—The Obelisks—Luther's Sentiments—The Astricks—Rapture.

A MORE formidable resistance than that made by Tetzel was already opposed to Luther. Rome had answered. A reply had gone forth from the walls of the sacred palace. It was not Leo X. who had condescended to speak of theology: "Tis a mere monkish squabble," he said one day; "the best way is not to meddle with it." And at another time he observed, "It is a drunken German that has written these theses: when the fumes have passed off, he will talk very differently."¹ A Roman Dominican, Sylvester Mazzolini of Priorio or Prierias, master of the sacred palace, filled the office of censor, and it was in this capacity that he first became acquainted with the theses of the Saxon monk.

A Romish censor and Luther's theses, what a contrast! Freedom of speech; freedom of inquiry, freedom of belief, come into collision in the city of Rome with that power which claims to hold in its hands the monopoly of intelligence, and to open and shut at pleasure the mouth of Christendom. The struggle of christian liberty which engenders children of God, with pontifical despotism which produces slaves of Rome, is typified, as it were, in the first days of the Reformation, in the encounter of Luther and Priorio.

The Roman censor, prior-general of the Dominicans, empowered to decide on what Christendom should profess or conceal, and on what it ought to know or be ignorant of, hastened to reply. He published a writing, which he dedicated to Leo X. In it he spoke contemptuously of the German monk, and declared with Romish assurance "that he should like to know whether this Martin had an iron nose or a brazen head, which cannot be broken!"² And then, under the form of a dialogue, he attacked Luther's theses, employing by turns ridicule, insult, and menaces.

This combat between the Augustine of Wittenberg and the Dominican of Rome was waged on the very question that is the principle of the Reformation, namely: "What is the sole infallible authority for Christians?" Here is the system of the Church, as set forth by its most independent organs:—³

The letter of the written Word is dead without the spirit of interpretation, which alone reveals its hidden meaning. Now,

¹ Ein voller trunkener Deutscher. L. Opp. (W.) xii. 1327.

² An ferrem nasum aut caput aeneum grati late Luthera, ut effunderi non possit. See, Prierias Dialogue.

³ See John Hersch's Propositiones de Sensu Literali & Scripturae. Opp. tom. i.

¹ Omnes sensus omnia credunt de me. L. Opp. i. 109.

² 154. 20.

³ Quis vel Deus vel ipse sumus. L. Opp. i. 284.

this spirit is not given to every Christian, but to the Church—that is, to the priests. It is great presumption to say, that He who promised the Church to be with her always, even to the end of the world, could have abandoned her to the power of error. It will be said, perhaps, that the doctrine and constitution of the Church are no longer such as we find them in the sacred oracles. Undoubtedly: but this change is only in appearance; it extends only to the form and not to the substance. We may go further: this change is progressive. The vivifying power of the Divine Spirit has given a reality to what in Scripture was merely an idea; it has filled up the outline of the Word; it has put a finishing touch to its rude sketches; it has completed the work of which the Bible only gave the first rough draft. We must therefore understand the sense of the Holy Scriptures as settled by the Church, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. From this point the catholic doctors diverge. General councils, said some (and Gerson was one of them), are the representatives of the Church. The pope, said others, is the depositary of the spirit of interpretation, and no one has a right to understand the Scriptures otherwise than as decreed by the Roman pontiff. This was the opinion of Prierio.

Such was the doctrine opposed by the master of the sacred palace to the infant Reformation. He put forward propositions, on the power of the Church and of the pope, at which the most shameless flatterers of the Church of Rome would have blushed. Here is one of the principles he advanced at the head of his writing: "Whoever relies not on the teaching of the Roman Church, and of the Roman pontiff, as the infallible rule of faith, from which the Holy Scriptures themselves derive their strength and their authority, is a heretic."¹

Then, in a dialogue in which Luther and Sylvester are the speakers, the latter seeks to refute the doctor's propositions. The opinions of the Saxon monk were altogether strange to a Roman censor; and, accordingly, Prierio shows that he understood neither the emotions of his heart, nor the springs of his conduct. He measured the doctor of the truth by the petty standard of the servants of Rome. "My dear Luther," said he, "if you were to receive from our lord the pope a good bishopric and a plenary indulgence for repairing your Church, you would sing in a softer strain, and you would extol the indulgences you are now disparaging!" The Italian, so proud of his elegant manners, occasionally assumes the most scurrilous tone: "If it is the nature of dogs to bite," said he to Luther, "I fear you had a dog for your father."² The Dominican at last woun-

ders at his own condescension in speaking to the rebellious monk; and ends by showing his adversary the cruel teeth of an inquisitor. "The Roman Church," says he, "the apex of whose spiritual and temporal power is in the pope, may constrain by the secular arm those who, having once received the faith, afterwards go astray. It is not bound to employ reason to combat and vanquish rebels."³

These words, traced by the pen of a dignitary of the Roman court, were very significant. Still, they did not frighten Luther. He believed, or feigned to believe, that this dialogue was not written by Prierio, but by Ulric Hütten, or by another of the contributors to the *Letters of some Obscure Men*; who, said he, in his satirical humour, and in order to excite Luther against Prierio, had compiled this mass of absurdities.⁴ He had no desire to behold the see of Rome excited against him. However, after having kept silence for some time, his doubts (if he had any) were dispelled: he set to work, and his answer was ready in two days.⁵

The Bible had moulded the reformer and begun the Reformation. Luther needed not the testimony of the Church in order to believe. His faith had come from the Bible itself; from within and not from without. He was so intimately convinced that the evangelical doctrine was immovably founded on the Word of God, that in his eyes all external authority was useless. This experiment made by Luther opened a new futurity to the Church. The living source that had welled forth for the monk of Wittenberg was to become a river to slake the thirst of nations.

In order that we may comprehend the Word, the Spirit of God must give understanding, said the Church; and it was right so far. But its error had been in considering the Holy Spirit as a monopoly accorded to a certain class, and supposing that it could be confined exclusively within assemblies or colleges, in a city or in a conclave. *The wind bloweth where it listeth*, had said the Son of God, speaking of God's Spirit; in another place, *they shall all be taught of God*. The corruption of the Church, the ambition of the pontiffs, the passions of the councils, the quarrels of the clergy, the pomp of the prelates, had banished far from the sacerdotal abodes that Holy Ghost, that spirit of humility and peace. It had deserted the assemblies of the proud, the palaces of the mighty ones of the Church, and had taken up its dwelling with simple Christians and humble priests. It had fled from a domineering hierarchy, that had often trampled under foot and shed the blood of the poor; from a proud

¹ A qua etiam Summa Scriptura robur trahit et auctoritatem, hereticus est. Fundamentum tertium.

² Ni mordere canem est proprium, terror ne tibi pater canis fuerit. Sylv. Prior. Dial.

³ Seculari brachio potest eos compescere, nec tenetur rationibus certare ad vincendum pervertentes. Sylv. Prior. Dial.

⁴ Convenit inter nos, esse personatum aliquem Sylvestrum ex obscenis viris, qui tantas ineptias in hominem luserit ad provocandum me adversus eum. Sylv. l. p. 97, 13th January.

⁵ T. I. (W.) Let., p. 170.

and ignorant clergy, whose chiefs were better skilled in using the sword than the Bible; and dwelt at one time with despised sects, and at another with men of intelligence and learning. The holy cloud, that had departed from the sumptuous basilicas and proud cathedrals, had descended into the obscure abodes of the humble, or into the quiet studies, those to mortal witnesses of a conscientious inquiry. The Church, degraded by its love of power and of riches, dishonoured in the eyes of the people by the venal use it made of the doctrine of life; the Church, which sold salvation to replenish the treasuries drained by its haughtiness and debauchery,—had forfeited all respect, and sensible men no longer attached any value to her testimony. Despising so debased an authority, they joyfully turned towards the Divine Word, and to its infallible authority, as toward the only refuge remaining to them in such a general disorder.

The age, therefore, was prepared. The Reformation by which Luther changed the resting place of the sublimest hopes of the human heart, and with a hand of power transported them from the walls of the Vatican to the rock of the Word of God, was suited with enthusiasm. This is the work that the reformer had in view in his reply to Prierio.

He passes over the principles which the Dominican had set forth in the beginning of his work: "But," said he, "following your example, I will also lay down certain fundamental principles.

"The first is this expression of St. Paul: *Te igitur, uel an angelum, uel hominem, precha- turus Gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.*

"The second is this passage from St. Augustine to St. Jerome: 'I have learnt to render to the canonical books alone the honour of believing most firmly that none of them has erred; as for the others, I do not believe in what they teach, simply because it is they who teach them.'

Here we see Luther laying down with a firm hand the essential principles of the Reformation: the Word of God, the whole Word of God, nothing but the Word of God. "If you clearly understand these points," continues he, "you will also understand that your Dialogue is wholly overturned by them; for you have only brought forward the expressions and the opinions of St. Thomas." Then, attacking his adversary's axioms, he frankly declares that he believes popes and councils can err. He complains of the flatteries of the Roman courtiers, who ascribe both temporal and spiritual power to the pope. He declares that the Church exists visibly in Christ alone, and representatively in the councils.¹ And then coming

to Prierio's insinuation: "No doubt you judge of me after yourself," said he, "but if I aspired to an episcopal station, of a surety I should not use the language that is so grating to your ears. Do you imagine I am ignorant how bishoprics and the priesthood are obtained at Rome? Do not the very children sing in the streets those well known words:—²

*Of all foul spots the world around,
The foulest spot in Rome is found.*"

Such songs as these had been current at Rome before the election of one of the latter popes. Nevertheless, Luther speaks of Leo with respect: "I know," said he, "that we may come one day to meet in Babylon; his innocence has often endangered his life." He concludes by a few words in reply to Prierio's threats: "Finally, you say that the pope is at once pontiff and emperor, and that he is mighty to compel obedience by the secular arm. Do you thirst for blood?..... I protest that you will not frighten me either by your rhodomontades or by the threatening noise of your words. If I am put to death, Christ lives, Christ my Lord, and the Lord of all, blessed for evermore. Amen."³

Thus, with a firm hand, Luther erects against the infidel altar of the papacy the altar of the only infallible and Holy Word of God, before which he would have every knee to bow, and on which he declares himself ready to offer up his life.

Prierio published an answer, and then a third book "On the Irrefragable Truth of the Church and of the Roman Pontiff," in which, relying upon the ecclesiastical law, he asserted, that although the pope should make the whole world go with him to hell, he could neither be condemned nor deposed.⁴ The pope was at last obliged to impose silence on Prierio.

A new adversary no longer entered the lists; he also was a Dominican. James Hochstraten, inquisitor at Cologne, whom we have already seen opposing Reuchlin and the friends of letters, shuddered at Luther's boldness. It was necessary for monkish darkness and fanaticism to come in contact with him who was destined to give them a mortal blow. Monachism had sprung up as the primitive truth began to disappear. Since then, monks and errors had grown up side by side. The men had now appeared who was to accelerate their ruin; but the robust champions could not abandon the field of battle without a struggle. It lasted all the reformer's life; but in Hochstraten this combat is singularly personified: Hochstraten and Luther; the free and courageous

¹ Quando hanc ueritatem in omnibus placet ueritatem cantantibus. Deinde hanc ueritatem cantantibus. Deinde hanc ueritatem cantantibus. L. Opp. Lat. p. 124.

² Si occideris, uiuit Christus, Dominus meus et ornatus.

³ Ibid. p. 126.

⁴ De iurisdictione et irrefragabili Veritate Romana Ecclesie, lib. tertius, cap. 12.

¹ Ego ecclesiam uirtualliter non alicui nisi in Christo, representatiue non tibi in concilio. L. Opp. Lat. p. 124.

Christian with the impetuous slave of monkish superstitions! Hochstraten lost his temper, grew furious, and called loudly for the heretic's death.....It is by the stake he wished to secure the triumph of Rome. "It is high-treason against the Church," exclaimed he, "to allow so horrible a heretic to live one hour longer. Let the scaffold be instantly erected for him!" This murderous advice was, alas! but too effectually carried out in many countries; the voices of numerous martyrs, as in the primitive times of the Church, gave testimony to the truth, even in the midst of flames. But in vain were the sword and the stake invoked against Luther. The Angel of the Lord kept watch continually around him, and preserved him.

Luther answered Hochstraten in few words, but with great energy: "Go," said he in conclusion, "go, thou raving murderer, who criest for the blood of thy brethren; it is my earnest desire that thou forbearst to call me Christian and faithful, and that thou continuest, on the contrary, to decry me as a heretic. Understandest thou these things, blood-thirsty man! enemy of the truth! and if thy mad rage should hurry thee to undertake anything against me, take care to act with circumspection, and to choose thy time well. God knows what is my purpose, if he grant me life.....My hope and my expectation, God willing, will not deceive me."¹ Hochstraten was silent.

A more painful attack awaited the reformer. Doctor Eck, the celebrated professor of Ingolstadt, the deliverer of Urban Regius, and Luther's friend, had received the famous theses. Eck was not a man to defend the abuse of indulgences; but he was a doctor of the schools and not of the Bible; well versed in the scholastic writings, but not in the Word of God. If Prierio had represented Rome, if Hochstraten had represented the monks, Eck represented the schoolmen. The schools, which for five centuries past had domineered over Christendom, far from giving way at the first blow of the reformer, rose up haughtily to crush the man who dared pour out upon them the floods of his contempt. Eck and Luther, the School and the Word, had more than one struggle; but it was now that the combat began.

Eck could not but find errors in many of Luther's positions. Nothing leads us to doubt the sincerity of his convictions. He as enthusiastically maintained the scholastic opinions, as Luther did the declarations of the Word of God. We may even suppose that he felt no little pain when he found himself obliged to oppose his old friend; it would seem, however, from the manner of his attack, that passion and jealousy had some share in his motives.

He gave the name of *Obelisks* to his re-

marks against Luther's theses. Desirous at first of saving appearances, he did not publish his work, but was satisfied with communicating it confidentially to his ordinary, the Bishop of Eichstadt. But the *Obelisks* were soon extensively circulated, either through the indiscretion of the bishop or by the doctor himself. A copy fell into the hands of Link, a friend of Luther and preacher at Nuremberg. The latter hastened to send it to the reformer. Eck was a far more formidable adversary than Tetzel, Prierio, or Hochstraten: the more his work surpassed theirs in learning and in subtlety, the more dangerous it was. He assumed a tone of compassion towards his "feeble adversary," being well aware that pity inflicts more harm than anger. He insinuated that Luther's propositions circulated the Bohemian poison, that they savoured of Bohemia, and by these malicious allusions, he drew upon Luther the unpopularity and hatred attached in Germany to the name of Huss and to the schismatics of his country.

The malice that pervaded this treatise exasperated Luther; but the thought that this blow came from an old friend grieved him still more. Is it then at the cost of his friend's affections that he must uphold the truth? Luther poured out the deep sorrow of his heart in a letter to Egranus, pastor at Zwickau. "In the *Obelisks* I am styled a venomous man, a Bohemian, a heretic, a seditious, insolent, rash person.....I pass by the milder insults, such as drowsy-headed, stupid, ignorant, contemner of the sovereign pontiff, &c. This book is brimful of the blackest outrages. Yet he who penned them is a distinguished man, with a spirit full of learning, and a learning full of spirit; and, what causes me the deepest vexation, he is a man who was united to me by a great and recently contracted friendship:¹ it is John Eck, doctor of divinity, chancellor of Ingolstadt, a man celebrated and illustrious by his writings. If I did not know Satan's thoughts, I should be astonished at the fury which has led this man to break off so sweet and so new a friendship,² and that, too, without warning me, without writing to me, without saying a single word."

But if Luther's heart was wounded, his courage was not cast down. On the contrary, he rose up invigorated for the contest. "Rejoice, my brother," said he to Egranus, whom a violent enemy had likewise attacked, "rejoice, and do not let these flying leaves affright thee. The more my adversaries give way to their fury, the farther I advance. I leave the things that are behind me, in order that they may bay at them, and I pursue what lies before me, that they may bay at them in their turn."

¹ Et quod magis urit, antea mihi magna recenterque contracta amicitia conjunctas. L. Epp. l. 100.

² Quo furore ille amicitias recentissimas et jucundissimas solveret. Ibid.

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Eck was sensible how disgraceful his conduct had been, and endeavoured to vindicate himself in a letter to Carlstadt. In it he styled Luther "their common friend," and cast all the blame on the Bishop of Eichstadt, at whose solicitation he pretended to have written his work. He said that it had not been his intention to publish the *Obelisks*; that he would have felt more regard for the bonds of friendship that united him to Luther; and demanded in conclusion, that Luther, instead of disputing publicly with him, should turn his weapons against the Frankfort divines. The professor of Ingolstadt, who had not feared to strike the first blow, began to be alarmed when he reflected on the strength of that adversary whom he had so imprudently attacked. Willingly would he have eluded the struggle; but it was too late.

All these fine phrases did not persuade Luther, who was yet inclined to remain silent. "I will swallow patiently," said he, "this sop, worthy of Cerberus."¹ But his friends differed from him: they solicited, they even constrained him to answer. He therefore replied to the *Obelisks* by his *Asterisks*, opposing (as he said, playing on the words) to the rust and livid hue of the Ingolstadt doctor's *Obelisks*, the light and dazzling brightness of the stars of heaven. In this work he treated his adversary with less severity than he had shown his previous antagonists; but his indignation pierced through his words.

He showed that in these chaotic *Obelisks* there was nothing from the Holy Scriptures, nothing from the Fathers of the Church, nothing from the ecclesiastical canons; that they were filled with scholastic glosses, opinions, mere opinions and empty dreams;² in a word, the very things that Luther had attacked. The *Asterisks* are full of life and animation. The author is indignant at the errors of his friend's book; but he pities the man.³ He professes anew the fundamental principle which he laid down in his answer to Priorio: "The supreme pontiff is a man, and may be led into error; but God is truth, and cannot err."⁴ Farther on, employing the *argumentum ad hominem* against the scholastic doctor, he says to him, "It would be great impudence assuredly for any one to teach in the philosophy of Aristotle, what he cannot prove by the authority of that ancient author.—You grant it.—It is, *a fortiori*, the

most impudent of all impudence to affirm in the Church and among Christians what Christ himself has not taught.⁵ Now, where is it found in the Bible that the treasure of Christ's merits is in the hands of the pope?"

He adds further: "As for the malicious reproach of Bohemian heresy, I bear this calumny with patience through love of Christ. I live in a celebrated university, in a well-famed city, in a respectable bishopric, in a powerful duchy, where all are orthodox, and where, undoubtedly, so wicked a heretic would not be tolerated."

Luther did not publish the *Asterisks*; he communicated them solely to his friends. They were not given to the public till long after.⁶

This rupture between the two doctors of Ingolstadt and Wittenberg made a great sensation in Germany. They had many friends in common. Scheurl especially, who appears to have been the man by whom the two doctors had been connected, was alarmed. He was one of those who desired to see a thorough reform in the German Church by means of its most distinguished organs. But if, at the very outset, the most eminent theologians of the day should fall to blows; if, while Luther came forward with novelties, Eck became the representative of antiquity, what disruption might not be feared! Would not numerous partisans rally round each of these two chiefs, and would not two hostile camps be formed in the bosom of the empire?

Scheurl endeavoured therefore to reconcile Eck and Luther. The latter declared his willingness to forget everything; that he loved the genius, that he admired the learning of Doctor Eck,⁷ and that what his old friend had done had caused him more pain than anger. "I am ready," said he to Scheurl, "for peace and for war: but I prefer peace. Apply yourself to the task; grieve with us that the devil has thrown among us this beginning of discord, and afterwards rejoice that Christ in his mercy has crushed it." About the same time he wrote Eck a letter full of affection:⁸ but Eck made no reply; he did not even send him any message.⁹ It was no longer a season for reconciliation. The contest daily grew warmer. Eck's pride and implacable spirit soon broke entirely the last ties of that friendship which every day grew weaker.

¹ Longe ergo impudentissima omnium temeritas est, aliquid in ecclesia asserere, et inter Christianos, quod non docuit Christus. Asterisk, Opp. L. Lat. I. 136.

² Cum privatim dederim Asteriscos in eos non sit ei respondendi necessitas. L. Epp. p. 125.

³ Diliguntia hominis ingenium et admiratur eruditionem. L. Epp. ad Scheurlum, 15th June 1518, vol. I. 125.

⁴ Quod ad me attinet, scripsi ad eum ipsum has, ut vides, amplexatissimas et piissimas litteras humilitate erga eum. Ibid.

⁵ Nihil neque litterarum neque veterum me participem fecit. Ibid.

¹ Votum tamen hanc offam Cerbero dignam absorbere potest. L. Epp. I. 100.

² Opuscula scilicet fastidiosissima, opiniosissima, meraque somnia. Asterisk, Opp. L. Lat. I. 132.

³ Id est, summi rei et miserior hominis. Ibid. p. 130.

⁴ Hec est summus pontifex, falli potest. Sed veritas est Deus, qui falli non potest. Ibid. p. 135.

CHAPTER X.

Popular Writings—The Lord's Prayer—Our Father—Who art in Heaven—Hallowed be thy Name—Thy Kingdom come—Thy Will be done—Our Daily Bread—Sermon on Repentance—Remission of sins cometh from Christ.

SUCH were the struggles that the champion of the Word of God had to sustain at the very entrance of his career. But these contests with the leaders of society, these academical disputes, are of little account to the Christian. Human teachers imagine they have gained the noblest triumph, when they succeed in filling a few journals or a few drawing-rooms with the noise of their systems. Since it is with them a mere question of self-love or of party rather than of the welfare of humanity, they are satisfied with this worldly success. Their labours are accordingly like smoke, which, after blinding the eyes, passes away, leaving no trace behind. They have neglected depositing the fire among the masses; they have but skimmed the surface of human society.

It is not so with the Christian; he thinks not of a party, or of academical success, but of the salvation of souls. He therefore willingly neglects the brilliant contest in which he might engage at his ease with the champions of the world, and prefers the obscure labours which carry light and life to the cottages and homes of the people. This was what Luther did, or rather, following the precept of his Divine Master, *he did this, and left not other things undone*. At the time he was combating with inquisitors, university chancellors, and masters of the sacred palace, he endeavoured to diffuse sound knowledge on religious subjects among the multitude. This is the aim of many of the popular works he published about this time, such as his *Sermons on the Ten Commandments*, delivered two years before in the church of Wittenberg, and of which we have already spoken, and his *Explanation of the Lord's Prayer for simple and ignorant laymen*.¹ Who would not be pleased to know how the reformer addressed the people at this period? We will therefore quote some of the expressions that he put forth "to run through the land," as he says in the preface to the latter work.

Prayer, that interior act of the heart, will undoubtedly ever be one of the points by which a true and vital reformation will begin; Luther accordingly occupied himself on this subject without delay. It is impossible to translate his energetic style, and the strength of that language which grew, so to speak, under his pen, as he wrote; we will however make the attempt.

"When thou prayest," said he, "let thy words be few, but thy thoughts and affections many, and above all let them be profound.

The less thou speakest the better thou prayest. Few words and many thoughts, is christian: many words and few thoughts, is heathenish.....

"External and bodily prayer is that buzzing of the lips, that outward babble which is gone through without any attention, and which strikes the eyes and the ears of men; but prayer in spirit and in truth is the inward desire, the motions, the sighs, which issue from the depths of the heart. The former is the prayer of hypocrites, and of all those who trust in themselves: the latter is the prayer of the children of God, who walk in his fear."

Then passing on to the first words of the Lord's Prayer, *Our Father*, he expresses himself thus:—

"There is no name among all names which more inclines us towards God, than the name of Father. We should not feel so much happiness and consolation in calling him our Lord, or God, or Judge.....By this word Father the bowels of the Lord are moved; for there is no voice more lovely or more endearing to a father than that of his child.

"*Who art in heaven*.—He who confesses that he has a Father in heaven, acknowledges himself a stranger upon earth. Hence there arises an ardent longing in his heart, like that of a child who dwells far from his father's country, among strangers, in wretchedness and in mourning. It is as if he said: Alas! my Father! thou art in heaven, and I, thy unhappy child, am on the earth, far from thee, in the midst of danger, necessity, and tribulation.

"*Hallowed be thy name*.—He who is passionate, envious, an evil-speak-er, a calumniator, dishonours the name of God in which he was baptized. Putting to an impious use the vessel that God hath consecrated to himself, he is like a priest who would take the holy cup and with it give drink to a sow, or gather dung.....

"*Thy kingdom come*.—Those who amass wealth, who build sumptuous houses, who seek all that the world can give, and pronounce this prayer with their lips, resemble large organ-pipes which peal loudly and incessantly in the churches, without either speech, feeling, or reason....."

Further on Luther attacks the then very popular error of pilgrimages: "One goes to Rome, another to St. James'; this man builds a chapel, that one endows a religious foundation, in order to attain the kingdom of God; but all neglect the essential point, which is to become His kingdom themselves. Why goest thou beyond the sea in search of God's kingdom?.....It is in thine own heart that it should be found.

"It is a terrible thing," continues he, "to hear this prayer offered up: *Thy will be done!* Where in the Church do we see this will of God performed?.....One bishop rises up against another bishop, one church against

¹ Opp. (Leips.) vii. 1088.

church. Priests, monks, and nuns, fight, and battle. In every place nought but discord. And yet each claim that their meaning is good, tention upright; and thus to the and glory of God they all together a work of the devil.....

Therefore do we say *Our bread?*" conceive in explanation of the words, *Give day our daily bread.* "Because we it to have the ordinary bread that eat, and which God gives to all men, *our bread, ours* who are children of heavenly father.

What, then, is this bread of God? Jesus Christ our Lord: *I am the living which cometh down from heaven, and fe unto the world.* For this reason (us not deceive ourselves), all second all instructions that do not set Christ before us and teach us to know must not be the daily bread and the ment of our souls.....

What use will such bread have been for us, if it is not offered to us, and unnot taste it?.....It is as if a magbanquet had been prepared, and us no one to serve the bread, to hand he dishes, to pour out the wine, so guests must feed themselves on the and the smell of the viands.....For use we must preach Jesus Christ

What is it, then, to know Jesus Christ? thou, and what advantage is from it?.....I reply: To learn and Jesus Christ is to understand what he says: *Christ is made unto us of whom, and righteousness, and sanctification, redemption.* Now this you understand: you acknowledge all your wisdom condemnable folly, your own righteousness a condemnable iniquity, your own a condemnable impurity, your own a miserable condemnation; if that you are really before God and all creatures a fool, a sinner, an imcondemned man, and if you show, by your words, but from the bottom heart, and by your works, that you consolation and no salvation remain in Jesus Christ. To believe is other than to eat this bread from

did Luther remain faithful to his on of opening the eyes of a blind whom the priests were leading at leisure. His writings, circulating through all Germany, called up a right, and scattered abundantly the truth in a soil well prepared for it. He thinking of those who were afar did not forget those who were near

every pulpit the Dominicans condemn the infamous heretic. Luther, the the people, and who, had he been

willing, might with a few words have aroused the popular waves, always disdained such triumphs, and thought only of instructing his hearers.

His reputation, which extended more and more, and the courage with which he raised the banner of Christ in the midst of the enslaved Church, caused his sermons to be listened to with ever increasing interest. Never had the crowd of hearers been so great. Luther went straight to the mark. One day, having gone into the pulpit at Wittemberg, he undertook to establish the doctrine of repentance, and on this occasion, he delivered a sermon which afterwards became very celebrated, and in which he laid many of the foundations of the evangelical doctrine.

He first contrasts the pardon of men with the pardon of Heaven. "There are two kinds of remission," said he, "remission of the penalty, and remission of the sin. The first reconciles man externally with the Christian Church. The second, which is the heavenly indulgence, reconciles man to God. If a man does not experience within himself that peace of conscience, that joy of heart which proceeds from the remission of God, there are no indulgences that can aid him, even should he purchase all that have ever been offered upon earth."

He continues thus: "They desire to do good works before their sins are forgiven, whilst it is necessary for sin to be forgiven before men can perform good works. It is not the works that expel sin; but the sin once expelled, good works will follow! For good works must be performed with a joyful heart, with a good conscience towards God, that is, with remission of sins."

He then comes to the principal object of his sermon, and it was also the great aim of the entire Reformation. The Church had been set in the place of God and of his Word; he challenges this claim, and makes every thing depend on faith in the Word of God.

"The remission of the sin is in the power neither of the pope, nor of the bishop, nor of the priest, nor of any other man, but reposes solely on the Word of Christ, and on your own faith. For Christ designed not to build our consolation, our salvation, on the word or on the work of man, but solely on himself, on His work and on His Word.....Thy repentance and thy works may deceive thee, but Christ, thy God, will not deceive thee. He will not falter, and the devil shall not overthrow his words."

"A pope or a bishop has no more power than the lowliest priest, as regards remission of sins. And even were there no priest, each Christian, even a woman or a child,² can de

¹ Nicht die Werke treiben die Sünde aus; sondern die Austreibung der Sünde thut gute Werke. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 102.

² Christus dein Gott wird dir nicht lügen, noch wanken.

Ibid.

³ Ob es schon ein Weib oder ein Kind wäre. Ibid.

the same thing. For if a simple Christian says to you, 'God pardons sin in the name of Jesus Christ,' and you receive this word with a firm faith, and as if God himself were addressing you, you are absolved.....

"If you do not believe your sins are forgiven, you make God a liar, and you put more confidence in your own vain thoughts, than in God and his Word.....

"Under the Old Testament, neither prophet, priest, nor king had the power of proclaiming remission of sins. But under the New, each believer has this power. The Church is overflowing with remission of sins!¹ If a pious Christian consoles thy conscience with the word of the cross, let it be man or woman, young or old, receive this consolation with such faith as rather to die many deaths than to doubt that it will be so before God.....Repent, do all the works in thy power; but let the faith thou hast in pardon through Jesus Christ be in the foremost rank, and command alone on the field of battle."²

Thus spoke Luther to his astonished and enraptured hearers. All the scaffolding that impudent priests had raised to their profit between God and the soul of man, was thrown down, and man was brought face to face with his God. The word of forgiveness descended pure from on high, without passing through a thousand corrupting channels. In order that the testimony of God should be efficacious, it was no longer necessary for men to set their delusive seal to it. The monopoly of the sacerdotal caste was abolished; the Church was emancipated.

CHAPTER XI.

Apprehensions of his Friends—Journey to Heidelberg—Bibra Palace—Palatine Palace—Rupture—The Paradoxes—Disputation—The Audience—Ruer—Brenta—Snef—Conversations with Luther—Labours of these young Doctors—Effects on Luther—The aged Professor—The True Light—Arrival.

MEANWHILE it had become necessary for the fire that had been lighted at Wittenberg to be kindled in other places. Luther, not content with announcing the Gospel truth in the place of his residence, both to the students of the academy and to the people, was desirous of scattering elsewhere the seed of sound doctrine. In the spring of 1518, a general chapter of the Augustine order was to be held at Heidelberg. Luther was summoned to it as one of the most distinguished men of the order. His friends did all they could to dissuade him from undertaking this journey. In truth, the monks had endeavoured to

render Luther's name odious in all through which he would have to insults they added menaces. It quire but little to excite a popular his journey of which he might be. "Or else," said his friends, "they by fraud and stratagem, what they do by violence."¹ But Luther never himself to be hindered in the accom of a duty by the fear of danger, imminent. He therefore closed in the timid observations of his friends pointed to Him in whom he trusted under whose guardianship he was undertake so formidable a journey diately after the festival of Easter, calmly on foot,² the 13th April 151

He took with him a guide named who carried his little baggage, and to accompany him as far as W. What thoughts must have crowded heart of this servant of the Lord d journey! At Weissenfels, the pas he did not know, immediately recog as the Wittenberg doctor, and g hearty welcome.³ At Erfurt, the brothers of the Augustine order jo At Judenberg, they fell in with the privy councillor, Degenhard Pfeffin entertained them at the inn where found him. "I had the pleasur Luther to Spalatin, "of making thi a few groats poorer; you know how every opportunity to levy contrib the rich for the benefit of the poor, if the rich are my friends."⁴ He Coburg, overwhelmed with fatigu goes well, by God's grace," wrote he that I acknowledge having sinned taking this journey on foot. But sin I have no need, I think, of the of indulgences; for my contrition i and the satisfaction plenary. I am with fatigue, and all the convey full. Is not this enough, and n enough, of penance, contrition, and tion?"⁵

The reformer of Germany, unab room in the public conveyances, at being willing to give up his place, pelled, notwithstanding his wear leave Coburg the next morning h foot. He reached Wurtzburg th Sunday after Easter, towards evenir he sent back his guide.

In this city resided the Bishop who had received his theses with approbation. Luther was the b letter to him from the Elector of The bishop, delighted at the oppo becoming personally acquainted bold champion of the truth, immed vited him to the episcopal palace. and met him at the door, conversed

¹ Also steht du daas die ganze Kirche voll von Vergebung der Sünden ist. L. Opp. (L.) vii. 102.
² Und Hauptmann im Felde blieb. Ibid.

³ L. Opp. i. 80.
⁴ Pedester veniam. Ibid.
⁵ Ibid. 102. Ibid. 104.

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ably with him, and offered to provide him with a guide to Heidelberg. But at Wurtzburg Luther had met his two friends, the vicar-general Staupitz, and Lange, the prior of Erfarth, who had offered him a place in their carriage. He therefore thanked Bibra for his kindness; and on the morrow the three friends quitted Wurtzburg. They thus travelled together for three days, conversing with one another. On the 21st April they arrived at Heidelberg. Luther went and lodged at the Augustine convent.

The Elector of Saxony had given him a letter for the Count Palatine Wolfgang, duke of Bavaria. Luther repaired to his magnificent castle, the situation of which excites, even to this day, the admiration of strangers. The monk from the plains of Saxony had a heart to admire the situation of Heidelberg, where the two beautiful valleys of the Rhine and the Neckar unite. He delivered his letter to James Simler, steward of the household. The latter on reading it observed: "In truth you have here a valuable letter of credit."¹ The count-palatine received Luther with much kindness, and frequently invited him to his table, together with Lange and Staupitz. So friendly a reception was a source of great comfort to Luther. "We were very happy, and amused one another with agreeable and pleasant conversation," said he; "eating and drinking, examining all the beauties of the palatine palace, admiring the ornaments, arms, cuirasses; in fine, everything remarkable contained in this celebrated and truly regal castle."²

But Luther had another task to perform. He must work while it is yet day. Having arrived at a university which exercised great influence over the west and south of Germany, he was there to strike a blow that should shake the churches of these countries. He began, therefore, to write some theses which he purposed maintaining in a public disputation. Such discussions were not unusual; but Luther felt that this one, to be useful, should lay forcible hold upon men's minds. His disposition, besides, naturally led him to present truth under a paradoxical form. The professors of the university would not permit the discussion to take place in their large theatre; and Luther was obliged to take a hall in the Augustine convent. The 26th April was the day appointed for the disputation.

Heidelberg, at a later period, received the evangelical doctrine: those who were present at the conference in the convent might have foreseen that it would one day bear fruit.

Luther's reputation had attracted a large audience; professors, students, courtiers, citizens, came in crowds. The following are some of the doctor's *Paradoxes*; for so he designated his theses. Perhaps even in our

days they would still bear this name; it would, however, be easy to translate them into obvious propositions:—

1. "The law of God is a salutary doctrine of life. Nevertheless, it cannot aid man in attaining to righteousness; on the contrary, it impedes him.

3. "Man's works, however fair and good they may be, are, however, to all appearance, nothing but deadly sins.

4. "God's works, however unsightly and bad they may appear, have however an everlasting merit.

7. "The works of the righteous themselves would be mortal sins, unless, being filled with a holy reverence for the Lord, they feared that their works might in truth be mortal sins.³

9. "To say that works done out of Christ are truly dead, but not deadly, is a dangerous forgetfulness of the fear of God.

13. "Since the fall of man, free-will is but an idle word; and if man does all he can, he still sins mortally.

16. "A man who imagines to arrive at grace by doing all that he is able to do, adds sin to sin, and is doubly guilty.

18. "It is certain that man must altogether despair of himself, in order to be made capable of receiving Christ's grace.

21. "A theologian of the world calls evil good, and good evil; but a theologian of the cross teaches aright on the matter.

22. "The wisdom which endeavours to learn the invisible perfections of God in his works, puffs up, hardens, and blinds a man.

23. "The law calls forth God's anger, kills, curses, accuses, judges, and condemns whatsoever is not in Christ.⁴

24. "Yet this wisdom (§ 22) is not evil; and the law (§ 23) is not to be rejected; but the man who studies not the knowledge of God under the cross, turns to evil whatever is good.

25. "That man is not justified who performs many works; but he who, without works, has much faith in Christ.

26. "The law says, Do this! and what it commands is never done. Grace says, Believe in Him! and immediately all things are done.⁵

28. "The love of God finds nothing in man, but creates in him what he loves. The love of man proceeds from his well-beloved."⁶

Five doctors of divinity attacked these theses. They had read them with all the astonishment that novelty excites. Such theology appeared very extravagant; and yet they discussed these points, according to Luther's own testimony, with a courtesy that inspired him with much esteem for

¹ Justorum opera essent mortalia, nisi pro Dei timore, ab ipsismet ipsis, ut mortalia timerentur. l. Op. Lat. i. 56.

² Lex trem del operatur, occidit, malegicit, reum facit, judicat, damnat, quicquid non est in Christo. Ibid.

³ Lex dicit: Fac hoc! et nunquam sit. Gratia dicit: Crede in hunc! et jam facta sunt omnia. Ibid.

⁴ Amor del non invenit, sed creat suum diligibile, amor hominis sit a suo diligibili. Ibid.

⁵ Er habet bei Gott einen köstlichen Credenz. L. Fpp. i. 11.

⁶ Ibid.

them, but at the same time with earnestness and discernment. Luther, on his side, displayed wonderful mildness in his replies, unrivalled patience in listening to the objections of his adversaries, and all the quickness of St. Paul in solving the difficulties opposed to him. His replies were short, but full of the Word of God, and excited the admiration of his hearers. "He is in all respects like Erasmus," said many; "but surpasses him in one thing: he openly professes what Erasmus is content merely to insinuate."¹

The disputation was drawing to an end. Luther's adversaries had retired with honour from the field; the youngest of them, Doctor George Niger, alone continued the struggle with the powerful champion. Alarmed at the daring propositions of the monk, and not knowing what further arguments to have recourse to, he exclaimed, with an accent of fear: "If our peasants heard such things, they would stone you to death!"² At these words the whole auditory burst into a loud laugh.

Never had an assembly listened with so much attention to a theological discussion. The first words of the reformer had aroused their minds. Questions which shortly before would have been treated with indifference, were now full of interest. On the countenances of many of the hearers a look-on might have seen reflected the new ideas which the bold assertions of the Saxon doctor had awakened in their minds.

Three young men in particular were deeply moved. One of them, Martin Bucer by name, was a Dominican, twenty-seven years of age, who, notwithstanding the prejudices of his order, appeared unwilling to lose one of the doctor's words. He was born in a small town of Alsace, and had entered a convent at sixteen. He soon displayed such capacity that the most enlightened monks entertained the highest expectations of him:³ "He will one day be the ornament of our order," said they. His superiors had sent him to Heidelberg to study philosophy, theology, Greek, and Hebrew. At that period Erasmus published several of his works, which Bucer read with avidity.

Soon appeared the earliest writings of Luther. The Alsatian student hastened to compare the reformer's doctrines with the Holy Scriptures. Some misgivings as to the truth of the Popish religion arose in his mind.⁴ It was thus that the light was diffused in those days. The elector-palatine took particular notice of the young man. His strong and sonorous voice, his graceful manners and eloquent language, the freedom with which he attacked the vices of the day, made him a

distinguished preacher. He was appointed chaplain to the court, and was fulfilling his functions when Luther's journey to Heidelberg was announced. What joy for Bucer! No one repaired with greater eagerness to the hall of the Augustine convent. He took with him paper, pens, and ink, intending to take down what the doctor said. But while his hand was swiftly tracing Luther's words, the finger of God, in more indelible characters, wrote on his heart the great truths he heard. The first gleams of the doctrine of grace were diffused through his soul during this memorable hour.¹ The Dominican was gained over to Christ.

Not far from Bucer stood John Brentz or Brentius, then nineteen years of age. He was the son of a magistrate in a city of Swabia, and at thirteen had been entered as student at Heidelberg. None manifested greater application. He rose at midnight and began to study. This habit became so confirmed, that during his whole life he could not sleep after that hour. In later years he consecrated these tranquil moments to meditation on the Scriptures. Brentz was one of the first to perceive the new light then dawning on Germany. He welcomed it with a heart abounding in love.² He eagerly perused Luther's works. But what was his delight when he could hear the writer himself at Heidelberg! One of the doctor's propositions more especially startled the youthful scholar; it was this: "That man is not justified before God who performs many works; but he who, without works, has much faith in Jesus Christ."

A pious woman of Heilbronn on the Neckar, wife of a senator of that town, named Sneyf, had imitated Hannah's example, and consecrated her first-born son to the Lord, with a fervent desire to see him devote himself to the study of theology. This young man, who was born in 1495, made rapid progress in learning; but either from taste, or from ambition, or in compliance with his father's wishes, he applied to the study of jurisprudence. The pious mother was grieved to behold her child, her Ehrhard, pursuing another career than that to which she had consecrated him. She admonished him, entreated him, prayed him continually to remember the vow she had made on the day of his birth.³ Overcome at last by his mother's perseverance, Ehrhard Sneyf gave way. Ere long he felt such a taste for his new studies, that nothing in the world could have diverted him from them.

He was very intimate with Bucer and Brentz, and they were friends until death; "for," says one of their biographers, "friendships based on the love of letters and of

¹ Bucer, in Scultet's *Annal. Evang. Renovat.* p. 72.

² Si rusticus hæc audirent, certe lapidibus vos obruerent et interirent. *l. Epp.* l. iii.

³ Prædicatoribus monachis apertè de se præclaram excitavit. *Melch. Adam. Vit. Buceri.* p. 311.

⁴ Cum doctrinam in eis traditam cum sacris litteris contulisset, quædam in pontificia religione suspecta habere cepit. *Ibid.*

¹ Primum lucem purioris sententiæ de justificatione in suo pectore sensit. *Melch. Adam. Vit. Buceri.* p. 311.

² Ingens dei beneficium letus Brentius agnovit, et grata mente amplexus est. *Ibid.*

³ Crebris interpellationibus eum voti quod de nato ipse fecerat, admoneret; et a studio juris ad theologiam quasi convellere avocaret. *Melch. Adam. Sneydi Vita.*

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was never fail." He was present with his friends at the Heidelberg discussion. The Paradoxes and courage of the Wittenberg doctor gave him a new impulse. Rejecting the vain opinion of human merits, he embraced the doctrine of the free justification of the sinner.

The next day Bucer went to Luther. "I had a familiar and private conversation with him," said Bucer; "a most exquisite repast, not of dainties, but of truths that were set before me. To whatever objection I made, the doctor had a reply, and explained everything with the greatest clearness. Oh! I said to God that I had time to write more!"¹ Luther himself was touched with Bucer's sentiments. "He is the only labourer of his time," wrote he to Spalatin, "who is sincere; is a young man of great promise. He received me with simplicity, and conversed with me very earnestly. He is worthy of confidence and love."²

Brentz, Snepf, and many others, excited by the new truths that began to dawn upon their minds, also visited Luther; they talked with him; they begged for explanations on what they did not understand. The reformer replied, strengthening arguments by the Word of God. Each sentence imparted fresh light to their minds. A new world was opening before them.

After Luther's departure, these noble-minded men began to teach at Heidelberg. They felt it their duty to continue what the work of God had begun, and not allow the flame to expire which he had lighted up. The scholars will speak, when the teachers are silent. Brentz, although still so young, explained the Gospel of St. Matthew, at first in his own room, and afterwards, when the number became too small, in the theatre of philosophy. The theologians, envious at the crowd of hearers this young man drew around him, became irritated. Brentz then took his lecture, and transferred his lectures to the lecture of the Canons of the Holy Ghost. The fire already kindled up in Saxony now glowed in Heidelberg. The centres of the movement increased in number. This period has been denominated the seedtime of the Palatinate.

But it was not the Palatinate alone that produced the fruits of the Heidelberg disputation. These courageous friends of the truth became shining lights in the Church. They all attained to exalted stations, and took part in many of the debates which the Reformation occasioned. Strasburg, and England a little later, were indebted to Bucer for clearer knowledge of the truth. Snepf first laboured at Marburg, then at Stuttgart, Bingen, and Jona. Brentz, after having laboured at Heidelberg, continued his labours a long period at Tübingen, and at Halle in Saxony. We shall meet with these three again in the course of our history.

Introduction, Monument, Antiqu. &c. 2 L. Epp. I. 412.

This disputation carried forward Luther himself. He increased daily in the knowledge of the truth. "I belong to those," said he, "who improve by writing and by teaching others, and not to those who from nothing become on a sudden great and learned doctors."

He was overjoyed at seeing with what avidity the students of the schools received the dawning truth, and this consoled him when he found the old doctors so deeply rooted in their opinions. "I have the glorious hope," said he, "that as Christ, when rejected by the Jews, turned to the Gentiles, we shall now also behold the new theology, that has been rejected by these graybeards with their empty and fantastical notions, welcomed by the rising generation."³

The chapter being ended, Luther thought of returning to Wittenberg. The count-palatine gave him a letter for the elector, dated 1st of May, in which he said "that Luther had shown so much skill in the disputation, as greatly to contribute to the renown of the university of Wittenberg." He was not allowed to return on foot.⁴ The Nuremberg Augustines conducted him as far as Wurtzburg, from whence he proceeded to Erfurt with the friars from that city. As soon as he arrived he repaired to the house of his old teacher, Jodocus. The aged professor, much grieved and scandalized at the path his disciple had taken, was in the habit of placing before all Luther's propositions a *thema*, the letter employed by the Greeks to denote condemnation.⁵ He had written to the young doctor in terms of reproach, and the latter desired to reply in person to these letters. Not having been admitted, he wrote to Jodocus: "All the university, with the exception of one licentiate, think as I do. More than this; the prince, the bishop, many other prelates, and all our most enlightened citizens, declare with one voice, that up to the present time they had neither known nor understood Jesus Christ and his Gospel. I am ready to receive your corrections; and although they should be severe, they will appear to me very gentle. Open your heart, therefore, without fear; unburden your anger. I will not and I cannot be vexed with you. God and my conscience are my witnesses!"⁶

The old doctor was moved by these expressions of his former pupil. He was willing to try if there were no means of removing the damnatory *thema*. They conversed on the matter, but the result was unfavourable. "I made him understand at least," said Luther, "that all their sentences were like that beast which is said to devour itself. But talking to a deaf man is labour in vain. These doc-

¹ L. Epp. I. 112.

² Veni autem curru, qui iterum pedestes. Ibid. 110.

³ Omnia sua placita mea nigrum thema præfigit. Ibid. 111. The Greeks used to place the initial letter of the word *ἔσθω*, death, opposite the names of criminals condemned to die.

⁴ Ibid.

tors obstinately cling to their petty distinctions, although they confess there is nothing to confirm them but the light of natural reason, as they call it—a dark chaos truly to us who preach no other light than Jesus Christ, the true and only light."¹

Luther quitted Erfurt in the carriage belonging to the convent, which took him to Eisleben. From thence the Augustines of the place, proud of a doctor who had shed such glory on their order and on their city, his native place, conveyed him to Wittem-

berg with their own horses and at their own expense. Every one desired to bestow some mark of affection and esteem on this extraordinary man, whose fame was constantly increasing.

He arrived on the Saturday after Ascension day. The journey had done him good, and his friends thought his improved in appearance and stronger than before his departure.¹ They were delighted at all he had to tell them. Luther rested some time after the fatigues of his journey and his dispute at Heidelberg; but this rest was only a preparation for severer toils.

¹ *Vixi dictamine : attenti naturalis, quod exord nos idem est, quod chaos tenebrarum, qui non prediximus aliam lucem, quam Christum Jesum lucem veram et solam.* L. Epp. 1. l. iii.

¹ *Ita ut non facile videar factus habitior et corpulentior.* L. Epp. 1. l. iii.

BOOK IV.

LUTHER BEFORE THE LEGATE.—MAY TO DECEMBER 1518.

CHAPTER I.

The Resolutions—Repentance—Papacy—Leo X.—Luther to his Bishop—Luther to the Pope—Luther to the Vicar-General—Eulvers to the Elector—Sermon on Ecclesiastes—Lamentation—Indecency and Strength of Luther.

Truth at last had raised her head in the midst of Christendom. Victorious over the inferior ministers of the papacy, she was now to enter upon a struggle with its chief in person. We are about to contemplate Luther contending with Rome.

It was after his return from Heidelberg that he took this bold step. His early theses on the indulgences had been misunderstood. He determined to explain their meaning with greater clearness. From the clamours that a blind hatred extorted from his enemies, he had learnt how important it was to win over the most enlightened part of the nation to the truth: he therefore resolved to appeal to its judgment, by setting forth the bases on which his new convictions were founded. It was requisite at once to challenge the decision of Rome: he did not hesitate to send his explanations thither. While he presented them with one hand to the enlightened and impartial readers of his nation, with the other he laid them before the throne of the sovereign pontiff.

These explanations of his theses, which he styled *Resolutions*,¹ were written in a very moderate tone. Luther endeavoured to subvert down the passages that had occasioned the greatest irritation, and thus gave proof of

genuine humility. But at the same time he showed himself to be unshaken in his convictions, and courageously defended all the propositions which truth obliged him to maintain. He repeated once more, that every truly penitent Christian possesses remission of sins without papal indulgences; that the pope, like the meanest priest, can do no more than simply declare what God has already pardoned; that the treasury of the merits of the saints, administered by the pope, was a pure chimera, and that the Holy Scriptures were the sole rule of faith. But let us hear his own statement on some of these points.

He begins by establishing the nature of real repentance, and contrasts that act of God which regenerates man with the mummeries of the Church of Rome. "The Greek word *μετανοειν*," said he, "signifies, put on a new spirit, a new mind, take a new nature, so that ceasing to be earthly, you may become heavenly..... Christ is a teacher of the spirit and not of the letter, and his words are spirit and life. He teaches therefore a repentance in spirit and in truth, and not those outward penances that can be performed by the proudest sinners without humiliation; he wills a repentance that can be effected in every situation of life,—under the kingly purple, under the priest's cassock, under the prince's hat,—in the midst of those pomps of Babylon where a Daniel lived, as well as under the monk's frock and the beggar's rags."¹

Further on we meet with this bold lan-

¹ *Luth. Opp. (Leips.) xvii. 28-112.*

¹ *On the first Thesis.*

gauge: "I care not for what pleases or displeases the pope. He is a man like other men. There have been many popes who loved not only errors and vices, but still more extraordinary things. I listen to the pope as pope, that is to say, when he speaks in the canons, according to the canons, or when he decrees some article in conjunction with a council, but not when he speaks after his own ideas. Were I to do otherwise, ought I not to say with those who know not Christ, that the horrible massacres of Christians by which Julius II. was stained, were the good deeds of a gentle shepherd towards Christ's flock?"

"I cannot help wondering," continues Luther, "at the simplicity of those who have asserted that the two swords of the Gospel represent, one the spiritual, the other the secular power. Yes! the pope wields a sword of iron; it is thus he exhibits himself to Christendom, not as a tender father, but as a formidable tyrant. Alas! an angry God has given us the sword we longed for, and taken away that which we despised. In no part of the world have there been more terrible wars than among Christians..... Why did not that acute mind which discovered this fine commentary, interpret in the same subtle manner the history of the two keys intrusted to St. Peter, and lay it down as a doctrine of the Church, that one key serves to open the treasures of heaven, the other the treasures of the earth?"¹

"It is impossible," says Luther in another place, "for a man to be a Christian without having Christ; and if he has Christ, he possesses at the same time all that belongs to Christ. What gives peace to our consciences is this—by faith our sins are no longer ours, but Christ's, on whom God has laid them all; and, on the other hand, all Christ's righteousness belongs to us, to whom God has given it. Christ lays his hand on us, and we are healed. He casts his mantle over us, and we are sheltered; for he is the glorious Saviour, blessed for evermore."²

With such views of the riches of salvation by Jesus Christ, there was no longer any need of indulgences.

While Luther attacks the papacy, he speaks honourably of Leo X. "The times in which we live are so evil," said he, "that even the most exalted individuals have no power to help the Church. We have at present a very good pope in Leo X. His sincerity, his learning, inspire us with joy. But what can be done by this one man, amiable and gracious as he is? He was worthy of being pope in better days. In our age we deserve none but such men as Julius II. and Alexander VI."

He then comes to the point: "I will say what I mean, boldly and briefly: the Church needs a reformation. And this cannot be the

work either of a single man, as the pope, or of many men, as the cardinals and councils; but it must be that of the whole world, or rather it is a work that belongs to God alone. As for the time in which such a reformation should begin, he alone knows who has created all time..... The dike is broken, and it is no longer in our power to restrain the impetuous and overwhelming billows."

This is a sample of the declarations and ideas which Luther addressed to his enlightened fellow-countrymen. The festival of Whitsuntide was approaching; and at the same period in which the apostles gave to the risen Saviour the first testimony of their faith, Luther, the new apostle, published this spirit-stirring book, in which he ardently called for a resurrection of the Church. On Saturday, 22d May 1518, the eve of Pentecost, he sent the work to his ordinary the bishop of Brandenburg with the following letter:—

"Most worthy Father in God! It is now some time since a new and unheard-of doctrine touching the apostolic indulgences began to make a noise in this country; the learned and the ignorant were troubled by it; and many persons, some known, some personally unknown to me, begged me to declare by sermon or by writing what I thought of the novelty, I will not say the impudence, of this doctrine. At first I was silent and kept in the background. But at last things came to such a pass, that the pope's holiness was compromised.

"What could I do? I thought it my duty neither to approve nor condemn these doctrines, but to originate a discussion on this important subject, until the Holy Church should decide.

"As no one accepted the challenge I had given to the whole world, and since my theses have been considered, not as matters for discussion, but as positive assertions,¹ I find myself compelled to publish an explanation of them. Condescend therefore to receive these trifles,² which I present to you, most merciful bishop. And that all the world may see that I do not act presumptuously, I entreat your reverence to take pen and ink, and blot out, or even throw into the fire and burn, anything that may offend you. I know that Jesus Christ needs neither my labours nor my services, and that he will know how to proclaim his glad tidings to the Church without my aid. Not that the bulls and the threats of my enemies alarm me; quite the contrary. If they were not so impudent, so shameless, no one should hear of me; I would hide myself in a corner, and there study alone for my own good. If this affair is not God's, it certainly shall no longer be mine or any other man's, but a thing of nought. Let the honour and the glory be his to whom alone they belong!"

¹ Thesis 24.

² Thesis 28.

³ Thesis 37.

¹ Non ut disputabilia sed asserta acceptentur. L. Epp. I. 114.

² Insuper.

Luther was still filled with respect for the head of the Church. He supposed Leo to be a just man and a sincere lover of the truth. He resolved, therefore, to write to him. A week after, on Trinity Sunday, 30th May 1518, he penned a letter, of which we give a few specimens.

"To the most blessed Father Leo X. sovereign bishop, Martin Luther, an Augustine friar, wishes eternal salvation.

"I am informed, most holy Father, that wicked reports are in circulation about me, and that my name is in bad odour with your holiness. I am called a heretic, apostate, traitor, and a thousand other insulting names. What I see fills me with surprise, what I learn fills me with alarm. But the only foundation of my tranquillity remains,—a pure and peaceful conscience. Deign to listen to me, most holy Father,—to me who am but a child and unlearned."

After relating the origin of the whole matter, Luther thus continues:—

"In all the taverns nothing was heard but complaints against the avarice of the priests, and attacks against the power of the keys and of the sovereign bishop. Of this the whole of Germany is a witness. When I was informed of these things, my zeal was aroused for the glory of Christ, as it appeared to me; or, if another explanation be sought, my young and warm blood was inflamed.

"I forewarned several princes of the Church; but some laughed at me, and others turned a deaf ear. The terror of your name seemed to restrain every one. I then published my disputation.

"And behold, most holy Father, the conflagration that is reported to have set the whole world on fire.

"Now what shall I do? I cannot retract, and I see that this publication draws down upon me an inconceivable hatred from every side. I have no wish to appear before the world; for I have no learning, no genius, and am far too little for such great matters; above all, in this illustrious age, in which Cicero himself, were he living, would be compelled to hide himself in some dark corner.

"But in order to quiet my adversaries, and to reply to the solicitations of many friends, I here publish my thoughts. I publish them, holy Father, that I may be in greater safety under the shadow of your wings. All those who desire it will thus understand with what simplicity of heart I have called upon the ecclesiastical authority to instruct me, and what respect I have shown to the power of the keys.¹ If I had not behaved with propriety, it would have been impossible for the most serene lord

Frederick, duke and elector of Saxony, who shines among the friends of the apostolic and christian truth, to have ever endured in his university of Wittenberg a man so dangerous as I am asserted to be.

"For this reason, most holy Father, I fall at the feet of your holiness, and submit myself to you, with all that I have and with all that I am. Destroy my cause, or espouse it: declare me right or wrong; take away my life or restore it, as you please. I shall acknowledge your voice as the voice of Jesus Christ, who presides and speaks through you. If I have merited death, I shall not refuse to die;² the earth is the Lord's, and all that is therein. May he be praised through all eternity! Amen. May he uphold you for ever! Amen.

"Written the day of the Holy Trinity, in the year 1518.

"MARTIN LUTHER, Augustine Friar."

What humility and truth in Luther's fear, or rather in the avowal he makes that his warm young blood was perhaps too hastily inflamed! In this we behold the sincerity of a man who, presuming not on himself, dreads the influence of his passions in the very acts most in conformity with the Word of God. This language is widely different from that of a proud fanatic. We behold in Luther an earnest desire to gain over Leo to the cause of truth, to prevent all schism, and to cause the Reformation, the necessity of which he proclaims, to proceed from the head of the church. Assuredly it is not he who should be accused of destroying that unity in the Western Church which so many persons of all parties have since regretted. He sacrificed everything to maintain it;—everything except the truth. It was not he, it was his adversaries, who, by refusing to acknowledge the fulness and sufficiency of the salvation wrought by Jesus Christ, rent our Saviour's vesture, even at the foot of the cross.

After writing this letter, and on the very same day, Luther wrote to his friend Staupitz, vicar-general of his order. It was by his instrumentality that he desired the Solutions and letter should reach Leo.

"I beg of you," says he, "to accept with kindness these trifles³ that I send you, and to forward them to the excellent Pope Leo X. Not that I desire by this to draw you into the peril in which I am involved; I am determined to encounter the danger alone. Jesus Christ will see if what I have said proceeds from Him or from me—Jesus Christ, without whose will the pope's tongue cannot move, and the hearts of kings cannot decide.

"As to those who threaten me, I reply in the words of Reuchlin: 'He who is poor has

¹ Luther adds: but necessity compels me to cackle like a goose among swans. Sed origo necessitas me anserem strepere inter oves. L. Epp. i. 121.

² Quam pure simpliciterque ecclesiasticam potestatem et reverentiam clavium quaesierim et coluerim. Ibid.

³ Quare, beatissime Pater, prostratum me pedibus tuis beatitudinis offero, cum omnibus que sum et habeo: viscera, oculos; voca, revoca: approba, repudia, ut placuerit. Vocem tuam, vocem Christi in te presidentis et loquentis agnoscam. Si mortem merui, morti non recusabo. L. Epp. i. 121.

⁴ His Solutions.

nothing to fear, since he has nothing to lose."¹ I have neither property nor money, and I do not desire any. If formerly I possessed any honour, any reputation, let Him who has begun to deprive me of them complete his task. All that is left to me is a wretched body, weakened by many trials. Should they kill me by stratagem or by force, to God be the glory! They will thus, perhaps, shorten my life by an hour or two. It is enough for me that I have a precious Redeemer, a powerful High Priest, Jesus Christ my Lord. As long as I live will I praise him. If another will not unite with me in these praises, what is that to me?"

In these words we read Luther's innermost heart.

While he was thus looking with confidence towards Rome, Rome already entertained thoughts of vengeance against him. As early as the 3d of April, Cardinal Raphael of Ferrara had written to the Elector Frederick, in the pope's name, intimating that his orthodoxy was suspected, and cautioning him against protecting Luther. "Cardinal Raphael," said the latter, "would have had great pleasure in seeing me burnt by Frederick."² Thus was Rome beginning to sharpen her weapons against Luther. It was through his protector's mind that she resolved to aim the first blow. If she succeeded in destroying that shelter under which the monk of Wittenberg was reposing, he would become an easy prey to her.

The German princes were very tenacious of their reputation for orthodoxy. The slightest suspicion of heresy filled them with alarm. The court of Rome had skillfully taken advantage of this disposition. Frederick, moreover, had always been attached to the religion of his forefathers, and hence Raphael's letter made a deep impression on his mind. But it was a rule with the elector never to act precipitately. He knew that truth was not always on the side of the strongest. The disputes between the empire and Rome had taught him to mistrust the interested views of that court. He had found out that to be a christian prince, it was not necessary to be the pope's slave.

"He was not one of those profane persons," said Melancthon, "who order all changes to be arrested at their very commencement."³ Frederick submitted himself to God. He carefully perused the writings that appeared, and did not allow that to be destroyed which he believed to be true.⁴ It was not from want of power; for, besides being sovereign in his own states, he enjoyed in the empire a respect very little inferior to that which was paid to the emperor himself.

It is probable that Luther gained some information of this letter of Cardinal Raphael's, transmitted to the elector on the 7th July. Perhaps, it was the prospect of excommunication which this Roman missive seemed to forbid, that induced him to enter the pulpit of Wittenberg on the 15th of the same month, and to deliver a sermon on that subject, which made a deep impression. He drew a distinction between external and internalexcommunication; the former excluding only from the services of the Church, the latter from communion with God. "No one," said he, "can reconcile the fallen sinner with God, except the Eternal One. No one can separate man from God, except man himself by his own sins. Blessed is he who dies under an unjust excommunication! While he suffers a grievous punishment at the hands of men for righteousness' sake, he receives from the hand of God the crown of everlasting happiness."

Some of the hearers loudly commended this bold language; others were still more exasperated by it.

But Luther no longer stood alone; and although his faith required no other support than that of God, a phalanx which defended him against his enemies had grown up around him. The German people had heard the voice of the reformer. From his sermons and writings issued those flashes of light which aroused and illumined his contemporaries. The energy of his faith poured forth in torrents of fire on their frozen hearts. The life that God had placed in this extraordinary mind communicated itself to the dead body of the Church. Christendom, motionless for so many centuries, became animated with religious enthusiasm. The people's attachment to the Romish superstitions diminished day by day; there were always fewer hands that offered money to purchase forgiveness;⁵ and at the same time Luther's reputation continued to increase. The people turned towards him, and saluted him with love and respect, as the intrepid defender of truth and liberty.⁶ Undoubtedly, all men did not see the depth of the doctrines he proclaimed. For the greater number it was sufficient to know that he stood up against the pope, and that the dominion of the priests and monks was shaken by the might of his word. In their eyes, Luther's attack was like those beacon fires kindled on the mountains, which announce to a whole nation that the time to burst their chains has arrived. The reformer was not aware of what he had done, until the noble minded portion of the nation had already hailed him as their leader. But for a great number also, Luther's coming was something more than this. The Word of God, which he so skillfully wielded, pierced

¹ Qui pauper est nihil timet, nihil potest perdere. L. Epp. t. 112.

² L. Opp. (W.) iv. 338.

³ Non profana jura sequens que tenera initia omnium

scilicet eorum celeremque offitium jubeat. Mel. Vit. Luth.

⁴ Devergeheit, et eo quod vera esse judicavit, deleri non voluit. Ibid.

⁵ Rarecebant manus largientium. Cochleus, 7.

⁶ Lutherus autem contra anachoritas non solum, sed, etiam, famam quod tam liber acceperet viam rectam veritatis assertor. Ibid.

their hearts like a two-edged sword. In many bosoms was kindled an earnest desire of obtaining the assurance of pardon and eternal life. Since the primitive ages, the Church had never witnessed such hungering and thirsting after righteousness. If the eloquence of Peter the Hermit and of St. Bernard had inspired the people of the Middle Ages to assume a perishable cross, the eloquence of Luther prevailed on those of his day to take up the real cross,—the truth which saves. The scaffolding which then encumbered the Church had stifled everything; the form had destroyed the life. The powerful language given to this man diffused a quickening breath over the soil of Christendom. At the first outburst, Luther's writings had carried away believers and unbelievers alike: the unbelievers, because the positive doctrines that were afterwards to be settled had not been as yet fully developed; the believers, because their germs were found in that living faith which his writings proclaimed with so much power. Accordingly, the influence of these writings was immense; they filled in an instant Germany and the world. Every where prevailed a secret conviction that men were about to witness, not the establishment of a sect, but a new birth of the Church and of society. Those who were then born of the breath of the Holy Ghost rallied around him who was its organ. Christendom was divided into two parties: the one contended with the spirit against the form, and the other with the form against the spirit. On the side of the form were, it is true, all the appearances of strength and grandeur; on the side of the spirit were helplessness and insignificance. But form, void of spirit, is but a feeble body, which the first breath of wind may throw down. Its apparent power serves but to excite hostility and to precipitate its destruction. Thus, the simple Word of truth had raised a powerful army for Luther.

CHAPTER II.

Diet at Augsburg—The Emperor to the Pope—The Elector to Rome—Luther summoned to Rome—Luther's Peace—Intercession of the University—Papal Brief—Luther's Indignation—The Pope to the Elector.

This army was very necessary, for the nobles began to be alarmed, and the empire and the Church were already uniting their power to get rid of this troublesome monk. If a strong and courageous prince had then filled the imperial throne, he might have taken advantage of this religious agitation, and in reliance upon the Word of God and upon the nation, have given a fresh impulse to the ancient opposition against the papacy. But Maximilian was too old, and he had determined besides on making every sacrifice in

order to attain the great object of his life, the aggrandizement of his house, and consequently the elevation of his grandson. The emperor was at that time holding an imperial diet at Augsburg. Six electors had gone thither in person at his summons. All the Germanic states were there represented. The kings of France, Hungary, and Poland had sent their ambassadors. These princes and emperors displayed great magnificence. The Turkish war was one of the causes for which the diet had been assembled. The legate of Leo X. earnestly urged the meeting on this point. The states, learning wisdom from the bad use that had formerly been made of their contributions, and wisely counselled by the Elector Frederick, were satisfied with declaring they would reflect on the matter, and at the same time produced fresh complaints against Rome. A Latin discourse, published during the diet, boldly pointed out the real danger to the German princes. "You desire to put the Turk to flight," said the author. "This is well; but I am very much afraid that you are mistaken in the person. You should look for him in Italy, and not in Asia."¹

Another affair of no less importance was to occupy the diet. Maximilian desired to have his grandson Charles, already king of Spain and Naples, proclaimed king of the Romans, and his successor in the imperial dignity. The pope knew his own interests too well to desire to see the imperial throne filled by a prince whose power in Italy might be dangerous to himself. The emperor imagined he had already won over most of the electors and of the states; but he met with a vigorous resistance from Frederick. His solicitations proved unavailing; in vain did the ministers and the best friends of the emperor unite their entreaties to those of the emperor; he was immovable, and showed on this occasion (as it has been remarked) that he had firmness of mind not to swerve from a resolution which he had once acknowledged to be just. The emperor's design failed.

Henceforward this prince sought to gain the good-will of the pope, in order to render him favourable to his plans; and, to give a more striking proof of his attachment, he wrote to him as follows, on the 5th August: "Most holy Father, we have learnt these few days since that a friar of the Augustine order, named Martin Luther, has presumed to maintain certain propositions on the traffic of indulgences; a matter that displeases us the more because this friar has found many protectors, among whom are persons of exalted station.² If your holiness and the very reverend fathers of the Church (i.e. the cardinals) do not soon exert your authority to put an end to these scandals, these pernicious

¹ Schrock, K. Gesch. n. d. R. I. 154.

² Defensores et patronos etiam potentos quos dictum Luther consecutus est. Raynald ad an. 1518.

teachers will not only seduce the simple people, but they will involve great princes in their destruction. We will take care that whatever your holiness may decree in this matter for the glory of God Almighty shall be enforced throughout the whole empire."

This letter must have been written immediately after some warm discussion between Maximilian and Frederick. On the same day, the elector wrote to Raphael of Rovera. He had learnt, no doubt, that the emperor was writing to the Roman pontiff, and to parry the blow, he put himself in communication with Rome.

"I shall never have any other desire," says he, "than to show my submission to the universal Church."

"Accordingly, I have never defended either the writings or the sermons of Doctor Martin Luther. I learn, besides, that he has always offered to appear, under a safe-conduct, before impartial, learned, and christian judges, in order to defend his doctrine, and to submit, in case he should be convicted of error by the Scriptures themselves."¹

Leo X., who up to this time had let the business follow its natural course, aroused by the clamours of the theologians and monks, nominated an ecclesiastical commission at Rome empowered to try Luther, and in which Sylvester Priero, the reformer's great enemy, was at once accuser and judge. The case was soon prepared, and the court summoned Luther to appear before it in person within sixty days.

Luther was tranquilly awaiting at Wittenberg the good effects that he imagined his submissive letter to the pope would produce, when on the 7th August, two days only after the letters of Maximilian and of Frederick were sent off, he received the summons of the Roman tribunal. "At the very moment I was expecting a blessing," said he, "I saw the thunderbolt fall upon me. I was the lamb that troubled the water the wolf was drinking. Tetzel escaped, and I was to permit myself to be devoured."

This summons caused general alarm in Wittenberg; for whatever course Luther might take he could not escape danger. If he went to Rome, he would there become the victim of his enemies. If he refused to appear, he would be condemned for contumacy, as was usual, without the power of escaping; for it was known that the legate had received orders to do every thing he could to exasperate the emperor and the German princes against the doctor. His friends were filled with consternation. Shall the preacher of truth risk his life in that great city *drunk with the blood of the saints and of the martyrs of Jesus*? Shall a head be raised in the midst of enslaved Christendom, only to fall? Shall this man also be struck down—this man whom God appears to have

formed to withstand a power that hitherto nothing had been able to resist? Luther himself saw that no one could save him but the elector; yet he would rather die than compromise his prince. At last his friends agreed on an expedient that would not endanger Frederick. Let him refuse Luther a safe-conduct, and then the reformer would have a legitimate excuse for not appearing at Rome.

On the 8th August, Luther wrote to Spalatin begging him to employ his influence with the elector to have his cause heard in Germany. "See what snares they are laying for me," wrote he also to Staupitz, "and how I am surrounded with thorns. But Christ lives and reigns, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. My conscience assures me that I have been teaching the truth, although it appears still more odious because I teach it. The Church is the womb of Rebecca. The children must struggle together, even to the risk of the mother's life." As for the rest, pray the Lord that I feel not too much joy in this trial. May God not lay this sin to their charge."

Luther's friends did not confine themselves to consultations and complaints. Spalatin wrote, on the part of the elector, to Renner the emperor's secretary: "Doctor Martin Luther willingly consents to be judged by all the universities of Germany, except Leipsic, Erfurth, and Frankfort-on-the-Oder, which have shown themselves partial. It is impossible for him to appear at Rome in person."²

The university of Wittenberg wrote a letter of intercession to the pope: "The weakness of his frame," they said, speaking of Luther, "and the dangers of the journey, render it difficult and even impossible for him to obey the order of your holiness. His distress and his prayers incline us to sympathize with him. We therefore entreat you, most holy Father, as obedient children, to look upon him as a man who has never been tainted with doctrines opposed to the tenets of the Roman Church."

The university, in its solicitude, wrote the same day to Charles of Miltitz, a Saxon gentleman and the pope's chamberlain, in high estimation with Leo X. In this letter they gave Luther a more decided testimony than they had ventured to insert in the first. "The reverend father Martin Luther, an Augustine," it ran, "is the noblest and most distinguished member of our university. For many years we have seen and known his talents, his learning, his profound acquaintance with the arts and literature, his irreproachable morals, and his truly christian behaviour."³

This active charity shown by all who surrounded Luther is his noblest panegyric.

¹ *Uterus Rebecca est: parvulus in eo collidi necesse est, etiam usque ad periculum matris.* L. Epp. I. 126.

² L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 173.

³ L. Opp. Lat. I. 154, 154. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 171, 172.

While men were anxiously looking for the result of this affair, it was terminated more easily than might have been expected. The legate De Vio, mortified at his ill success in the commission he had received to excite a general war against the Turks, wished to exalt and give lustre to his embassy in Germany by some other brilliant act. He thought that if he could extinguish heresy he should return to Rome with honour. He therefore entreated the pope to intrust this business to him. Leo for his part was highly pleased with Frederick for his strong opposition to the election of the youthful Charles. He felt that he might yet stand in need of his support. Without farther reference to the summons, he commissioned the legate, by a brief dated 23d August, to investigate the affair in Germany. The pope lost nothing by this course of proceeding; and even if Luther could not be prevailed on to retract, the noise and scandal that his presence at Rome must have occasioned would be avoided.

"We charge you," said Leo, "to summon personally before you, to prosecute and constrain without any delay, and as soon as you shall have received this paper from us, the said Luther, who has already been declared a heretic by our dear brother Jerome, bishop of Ascoli."

The pope then proceeded to utter the severest threats against Luther:

"Invoke for this purpose the arm and the aid of our very dear son in Christ, Maximilian, and of the other princes of Germany, and of all the communities, universities, and potentates, ecclesiastic or secular. And, if you get possession of his person, keep him in safe custody, that he may be brought before us."

We see that this indulgent concession from the pope was only a surer way of inveigling Luther to Rome. Next followed milder measures:

"If he return to his duty, and beg forgiveness for so great a misdeed, of his own accord and without solicitation, we give you power to receive him into the unity of our holy mother the Church."

The pope soon returned to his maledictions:

"If he persist in his obstinacy, and you cannot secure his person, we authorize you to proscribe him in every part of Germany; to banish, curse, and excommunicate all those who are attached to him; and to order all Christians to flee from their presence."

Still this was not enough:

"And in order that this contagious disease may be the more effectually eradicated," continued the pope, "you will excommunicate all prelates, religious orders, universi-

ties, communities, counts, dukes, and potentates (the Emperor Maximilian always excepted), who shall not aid in seizing the said Martin Luther and his adherents, and send them to you under good and safe guard.—And if, which God forbid, the said princes, communities, universities, and potentates, or any belonging to them, shall in any manner offer an asylum to the said Martin and his adherents, give him privately or publicly, by themselves or by others, succour and counsel, we lay under interdict all these princes, communities, universities, and potentates, with their cities, towns, countries and villages, as well as the cities, towns, countries, and villages in which the said Martin may take refuge, so long as he shall remain there, and three days after he shall have quitted them."

This audacious *see*, which claims to be the earthly representative of him who said: *God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved*, continues its anathemas; and after pronouncing the penalties against ecclesiastics, goes on to say:

"As for the laymen, if they do not immediately obey your orders without delay or opposition, we declare them infamous (the most worthy emperor always excepted), incapable of performing any lawful act, deprived of christian burial, and stripped of all theiefs they may hold either from the apostolic *see*, or from any lord whatsoever."

Such was the fate destined for Luther. The monarch of Rome has invoked every thing for his destruction. Nothing was spared, not even the quiet of the grave. His ruin appears certain. How can he escape from this vast conspiracy? But Rome was deceived; the movement, begun by the Spirit of God, cannot be checked by the decrees of her chancery.

The pope had not even preserved the appearances of a just and impartial examination. Luther had been declared a heretic, not only before he had been heard, but even before the expiration of the time allowed for his appearance. The passions, and never do they show themselves more violently than in religious discussions, overleap all forms of justice. It is not only in the Roman church, but in the Protestant churches that have turned aside from the Gospel, and wherever the truth is not found, that we meet with such strange proceedings in this respect. Every thing is lawful against the Gospel. We frequently see men who in every other case would scruple to commit the least injustice, not fearing to trample under foot all rule and law, whenever Christianity, or the testimony that is paid to it, is concerned.

When Luther became acquainted with this brief, he thus expressed his indignation:

¹ Dictum Lutherum hæreticum per predictum auditorem jam declaratum. Breve Leonis X. ad Thomam.
² Brachio coram atque compellat, et eo in potestate tua subdito eum sub fidei custodia retinere, ut coram nobis compareat. Ibid.

¹ Infamie et inhabilitatis ad omnes actus legitimos, ecclesiasticæ sepulture, civitatis quoque fœdorum. Breve Leonis X. ad Thomam.

"This is the most remarkable part of the affair: the brief was issued on the 23d August—I was summoned on the 7th—so that between the brief and the summons sixteen days elapsed. Now, make the calculation, and you will find that my Lord Jerome, bishop of Ascoli, proceeded against me, pronounced judgment, condemned me, and declared me a heretic, before the summons reached me, or at the most within sixteen days after it had been forwarded to me. Now, where are the sixty days accorded me in the summons? They began on the 7th August, they should end on the 7th October.....Is this the style and fashion of the Roman court, which on the same day summons, exhorts, accuses, judges, condemns, and declares a man guilty who is so far from Rome, and who knows nothing of all these things? What reply can they make to this? No doubt they forgot to clear their brains with helibore before having recourse to such trickery."¹

But while Rome secretly deposited her thunders in the hands of her legate, she sought by sweet and flattering words to detach from Luther's cause the prince whose power she dreaded most. On the same day (23d August 1518), the pope wrote to the Elector of Saxony. He had recourse to the wiles of that ancient policy which we have already noticed, and endeavoured to flatter the prince's vanity.

"Dear son," wrote the pontiff, "when we think of your noble and worthy family; of you who are its ornament and head; when we call to mind how you and your ancestors have always desired to uphold the christian faith, and the honour and dignity of the holy see, we cannot believe that a man who abandons the faith can rely upon your highness's favour, and daringly give the rein to his wickedness. Yet it is reported to us from every quarter that a certain friar, Martin Luther, hermit of the order of St. Augustine, has forgotten, like a child of the evil one and despiser of God, his habit and his order, which consist in humility and obedience, and that he boasts of fearing neither the authority nor the punishment of any man, being assured of your favour and protection."

"But as we know that he is deceived, we have thought fit to write to your highness, and to exhort you in the Lord to watch over the honour of your name, as a christian prince, the ornament, glory, and sweet savour of your noble family; to defend yourself from these calumnies; and to guard yourself not only from so serious a crime as that imputed to you, but still further even from the suspicion that the rash presumption of this friar tends to bring upon you."

Leo X. at the same time informed the elector that he had commissioned the cardi-

nal of St. Sixtus to investigate the matter, and requested him to deliver Luther into the legate's hands, "for fear," added he, still returning to his first argument, "the pious people of our own or of future times should one day lament and say: The most pernicious heresy with which the Church of God has been afflicted sprung up under the favour and support of that high and worthy family."¹

Thus had Rome taken her measures. With one hand she scattered the intoxicating incense of flattery; in the other she held concealed her terrors and revenge.

All the powers of the earth, emperor, pope, princes, and legates, began to rise up against this humble friar of Erfurth, whose internal struggles we have already witnessed. *The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel against the Lord, and against his anointed.*

CHAPTER III.

The Armourer Schwartzerd—His Wife—Philip—His Genius and Studies—The Bible—Call to Wittenberg—Melancthon's Departure and Journey—Leipzig—Mistake—Luther's Joy—Parallel—Revolution in Education—Study of Greek.

BEFORE this letter and the brief had reached Germany, and while Luther was still afraid of being compelled to appear at Rome, a fortunate event brought consolation to his heart. He needed a friend into whose bosom he could pour out his sorrows, and whose faithful affection would comfort him in his hours of dejection. God gave him such a friend in Melancthon.

George Schwartzerd was a skilful master-armourer of Bretten, a small town in the palatinate. On the 14th of February 1497, his wife bore him a son, who was named Philip, and who became famous in after-years under the name of Melancthon. George, who was highly esteemed by the palatine princes, and by those of Bavaria and Saxony, was a man of perfect integrity. Frequently he would refuse from purchasers the price they offered him; and if he found they were poor, would compel them to take back their money. It was his habit to leave his bed at midnight, and offer a fervent prayer upon his knees. If the morning came without his having performed this pious duty, he was dissatisfied with himself all the rest of the day. His wife Barbara was the daughter of a respectable magistrate named John Reuter. She possessed a tender disposition, rather inclined to superstition, but in other respects discreet and prudent. To her we are indebted for these well-known German rhymes:—

¹ *Leath. Opp. (L.)* xvii. 176.

¹ *Leath. Opp. (L.)* xvii. 172.

Alms-giving impoverisheth not.
Church-going hindereth not.
To grease the ear delayeth not.
Ill-gotten wealth prutteth not.
God's book deceiveth not.

And the following rhymes also:—

Those who love to squander
More than their fields render,
Will surely come to ruin,
Or a rope be their undoing.¹

Philip was not eleven years old when his father died. Two days before he expired, George called his son to his bedside, and exhorted him to have the fear of God constantly before his eyes. "I foresee," said the dying armorer, "that terrible tempests are about to shake the world. I have witnessed great things, but greater still are preparing. May God direct and guide thee!" After Philip had received his father's blessing, he was sent to Spire that he might not be present at his parent's death. He departed weeping bitterly.

The lad's grandfather, the worthy bailiff Reuter, who himself had a son, performed a father's duty to Philip, and took him and his brother George into his own house. Shortly after this he engaged John Hungarus to teach the three boys. The tutor was an excellent man, and in after-years proclaimed the Gospel with great energy, even to an advanced age. He overlooked nothing in the young man. He punished him for every fault, but with discretion: "It is thus," said Melancthon in 1554, "that he made a scholar of me. He loved me as a son, I loved him as a father; and we shall meet, I hope, in heaven."²

Philip was remarkable for the excellence of his understanding, and his facility in learning and explaining what he had learnt. He could not remain idle, and was always looking for some one to discuss with him the things he had heard.³ It frequently happened that well-educated foreigners passed through Bretten and visited Reuter. Immediately the bailiff's grandson would go up to them, enter into conversation, and press them so hard in the discussion that the hearers were filled with admiration. With strength of genius he united great gentleness, and thus won the favour of all. He stammered; but like the illustrious Grecian orator, he so diligently set about correcting this defect, that in after-life no traces of it could be perceived.

On the death of his grandfather, the youthful Philip with his brother and his young uncle John, was sent to the school at Pforzheim. These lads resided with one of their relations, sister to the famous Reuchlin. Eager in the pursuit of knowledge, Philip, under the tuition of George Simmler, made

rapid progress in learning, and particularly in Greek, of which he was passionately fond. Reuchlin frequently came to Pforzheim. At his sister's house he became acquainted with her young boarders, and was soon struck with Philip's replies. He presented him with a Greek Grammar and a Bible. These two books were to be the study of his whole life.

When Reuchlin returned from his second journey to Italy, his young relative, then twelve years old, celebrated the day of his arrival by representing before him, with the aid of some friends, a Latin comedy which he had himself composed. Reuchlin, charmed with the young man's talents, tenderly embraced him, called him his dear son, and placed sportively upon his head the red hat he had received when he had been made doctor. It was at this time that Reuchlin changed the name of Schwartzerd into that of Melancthon; both words, the one in German and the other in Greek, signifying *black earth*. Most of the learned men of that age thus translated their names into Greek or Latin.

Melancthon, at twelve years of age, went to the University of Heidelberg, and here he began to slake his ardent thirst for knowledge. He took his bachelor's degree at fourteen. In 1512, Reuchlin invited him to Tubingen, where many learned men were assembled. He attended by turns the lectures of the theologians, doctors, and lawyers. There was no branch of knowledge that he deemed unworthy his study. Praise was not his object, but the possession and the fruits of learning.

The Holy Scriptures especially engaged his attention. Those who frequented the church of Tubingen had remarked that he frequently held a book in his hands, which he was occupied in reading between the services. This unknown volume appeared larger than the prayer books, and a report was circulated that Philip used to read profane authors during those intervals. But the suspected book proved to be a copy of the Holy Scriptures, printed shortly before at Basle by John Frobenius. All his life he continued this study with the most unceasing application. He always carried this precious volume with him, even to the public assemblies to which he was invited.⁴ Rejecting the empty systems of the schoolmen, he adhered to the plain word of the Gospel. "I entertain the most distinguished and splendid expectations of Melancthon," wrote Erasmus to Ecolampadius about this time; "God grant that this young man may long survive us. He will entirely eclipse Erasmus."⁵ Nevertheless, Melancthon shared in the errors of his age. "I shudder," he observed at an advanced period of his life,

¹ Almosen geben arm't nicht, etc. Wer mehr will verschren, etc. Müller's Reliquien.

² Diligit me ut filium, et ego cum ut patrem; et convalescam, spero, in vita eterna. Melancthon, Explicit. Evang.

³ Quiescere non poterat, sed querebat ubique aliquem cum quo de auditis disputaret. Camer. Vit. Mel. p. 7.

⁴ Camer. Vita Phil. Mel. p. 74.

⁵ Is prorsus observandi. Erasmus. Err. L. j. l. 1. 2.

"when I think of the honour I paid to images, while I was yet a papist."¹

In 1514, he was made doctor of philosophy, and then began to teach. He was seventeen years old. The grace and charm that he imparted to his lessons, formed the most striking contrast to the tasteless method which the doctors, and above all the monks, had pursued till then. He took an active part in the struggle in which Reuchlin was engaged with the learning-haters of the day. Agreeable in conversation, mild and elegant in his manners, beloved by all who knew him, he soon acquired great authority and solid reputation in the learned world.

It was at this time that the elector formed the design of inviting some distinguished scholar to the university of Wittenberg, as professor of the ancient languages. He applied to Reuchlin, who recommended Melancthon. Frederick foresaw the celebrity that this young man would confer on an institution so dear to him, and Reuchlin, charmed at beholding so noble a career opening before his young friend, wrote to him these words of the Almighty to Abraham: "*Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, and I will make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing.* Yea," continued the old man, "I hope that it will be so with thee, my dear Philip, my handiwork and my consolation."² In this invitation Melancthon acknowledged a call from God. At his departure the university was filled with sorrow; yet it contained individuals who were jealous and envious of him. He left his native place, exclaiming: "The Lord's will be done!" He was then twenty-one years of age.

Melancthon travelled on horseback, in company with several Saxon merchants, as a traveller joins a caravan in the deserts; for, says Reuchlin, he was unacquainted both with the roads and the country.³ He presented his respects to the elector, whom he found at Augsburg. At Nuremberg he saw the excellent Pirckheimer, whom he had known before; at Leipsic he formed an acquaintance with the learned hellenist Mosellanus. The university of this last city gave a banquet in his honour. The repast was academical. The dishes succeeded one another in great variety, and at each new dish one of the professors rose and addressed Melancthon in a Latin speech he had prepared before hand. The latter immediately replied extemporaneously. At last, wearied with so much eloquence, he said: "Most illustrious men, permit me to reply to your harangues once for all; for, being unprepared, I cannot put such varieties into my answers as you have done in your addresses."

After this, the dishes were brought in without the accompaniment of a speech.⁴

Reuchlin's youthful relative arrived in Wittenberg on the 25th August 1518, two days after Leo X. had signed the brief addressed to Cajetan, and the letter to the elector.

The Wittenberg professors did not receive Melancthon so favourably as those of Leipsic had done. The first impression he made on them did not correspond with their expectations. They saw a young man, who appeared younger than he really was, of small stature, and with a feeble and timid air. Was this the illustrious doctor whom Erasmus and Reuchlin, the greatest men of the day, extolled so highly? Neither Luther, with whom he first became acquainted, nor his colleagues, entertained any great hopes of him when they saw his youth, his shyness, and his diffident manners.

On the 29th August, four days after his arrival, he delivered his inaugural discourse. All the university was assembled. This lad, as Luther calls him,⁵ spoke in such elegant latinity, and showed so much learning, an understanding so cultivated, and a judgment so sound, that all his hearers were struck with admiration.

When the speech was finished, all crowded round him with congratulations; but no one felt more joy than Luther. He hastened to impart to his friends the sentiments that filled his heart. "Melancthon," wrote he to Spalatin on the 31st August, "delivered four days after his arrival so learned and so beautiful a discourse, that every one listened with astonishment and admiration. We soon recovered from the prejudices excited by his stature and appearance; we now praise and admire his eloquence; we return our thanks to you and to the prince for the service you have done us. I ask for no other Greek master. But I fear that his delicate frame will be unable to support our mode of living, and that we shall be unable to keep him long on account of the smallness of his salary. I hear that the Leipsic people are already boasting of their power to take him from us. O my dear Spalatin, beware of despising his age and his personal appearance. He is a man worthy of every honour."⁶

Melancthon began immediately to lecture on Homer and the Epistle of St. Paul to Titus. He was full of ardour. "I will make every effort," wrote he to Spalatin, "to conciliate the favour of all those in Wittenberg who love learning and virtue."⁷ Four days after his inauguration, Luther wrote again to Spalatin: "I most particularly recommend to you the very learned and very amiable Grecian, Philip. His lecture-room is always full. All

¹ *Cohærens quando nullo quomodo ipse accesserim ad matrem in pectus. Gen. x. Evangel.*

² *Mem. de la vie de Melancthon. Corp. Ref. I. 22.*

³ *Das Weg und der Ort unbekant. Ibid. 22.*

⁴ *Camer. Vita Mel. 26.*

⁵ *Puer et adolescentulus, si statim consideres. L. Epp. I. 141.*

⁶ *Ibid. 138.*

⁷ *Ut Wittenbergam literatæ ac bonæ omnibus condition. Corp. Ref. I. 21.*

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the theologians in particular go to hear him. He is making every class, upper, lower, and middle, begin to read Greek."¹

Melancthon was able to respond to Luther's affection. He soon found in him a kindness of disposition, a strength of mind, a courage, a discretion, that he had never found till then in any man. He venerated, he loved him. "If there is any one," said he, "whom I dearly love, and whom I embrace with my whole heart, it is Martin Luther."²

Thus did Luther and Melancthon meet; they were friends until death. We cannot too much admire the goodness and wisdom of God, in bringing together two men so different, and yet so necessary to one another. Luther possessed warmth, vigour, and strength; Melancthon clearness, discretion, and mildness. Luther gave energy to Melancthon, Melancthon moderated Luther. They were like substances in a state of positive and negative electricity, which mutually act upon each other. If Luther had been without Melancthon, perhaps the torrent would have overflowed its banks; Melancthon, when Luther was taken from him by death, hesitated and gave way, even where he should not have yielded.³ Luther did much by power; Melancthon perhaps did no less by following a gentler and more tranquil method. Both were upright, open-hearted, generous; both ardently loved the Word of eternal life, and obeyed it with a fidelity and devotion that governed their whole lives.

Melancthon's arrival at Wittenberg effected a revolution not only in that university, but in the whole of Germany and in all the learned world. The attention he had bestowed on the Greek and Latin classics and on philosophy had given a regularity, clearness, and precision to his ideas, which shed a new light and an indescribable beauty on every subject that he took in hand. The mild spirit of the Gospel fertilized and animated his meditations, and in his lectures the driest pursuits were clothed with a surpassing grace that captivated all hearers. The barrenness that scholasticism had cast over education was at an end. A new manner of teaching and of studying began with Melancthon. "Thanks to him," says an illustrious German historian,⁴ "Wittenberg became the school of the nation."

It was indeed highly important that a man who knew Greek thoroughly should teach in that university, where the new developments of theology called upon masters and pupils to study in their original language the earliest documents of the christian faith. From

this time Luther zealously applied to the task. The meaning of a Greek word, of which he had been ignorant until then, suddenly cleared up his theological ideas. What consolation and what joy did he not feel, when he saw, for instance, that the Greek word *μετάνοια*, which, according to the Latin Church, signifies a *penance*, a satisfaction required by the Church, a human expiation, really meant in Greek a transformation or conversion of the heart! A thick mist was suddenly rolled away from before his eyes. The two significations given to this word suffice of themselves to characterize the two Churches.

The impulse Melancthon gave to Luther in the translation of the Bible is one of the most remarkable circumstances of the friendship between these two great men. As early as 1517, Luther had made some attempts at translation. He had procured as many Greek and Latin books as were within his reach. And now, with the aid of his dear Philip, he applied to his task with fresh energy. Luther compelled Melancthon to share in his researches; consulted him on the difficult passages; and the work, which was destined to be one of the great labours of the reformer, advanced more safely and more speedily.

Melancthon, on his side, became acquainted with the new theology. The beautiful and profound doctrine of justification by faith filled him with astonishment and joy; but he received with independence the system taught by Luther, and moulded it to the peculiar form of his mind; for, although he was only twenty-one years old, he was one of those precocious geniuses who attain early to a full possession of all their powers, and who think for themselves from the very first.

The zeal of the teachers was soon communicated to the disciples. It was decided to reform the method of instruction. With the elector's consent, certain courses that possessed a merely scholastic importance were suppressed; at the same time the study of the classics received a fresh impulse. The school of Wittenberg was transformed, and the contrast with other universities became daily more striking. All this, however, took place within the limits of the Church, and none suspected they were on the eve of a great contest with the pope.

CHAPTER IV.

Sentiments of Luther and Staupitz—Summons to appear—Alarm and Courage—The Elector with the Legate—Departure for Augsburg—Sojourn at Weimar—Nuremberg—Arrival at Augsburg.

No doubt Melancthon's arrival at a moment so critical brought a pleasing change

¹ Summos cum mediis et infimis, studiosos facit Græcè loqui. L. Epp. i. 160.

² Martinum, si omnino in rebus humanis quidquam, vehementissime diligo, et animo integerrimo complector. Mel. Epp. i. 411.

³ Calvin writes to Sleidan: Dominus cum fortiore spiritu lastruit, ne gravem ex ejus timiditate lactorum sentiat posteritas. May the Lord give him a more determined spirit, lest through his timidity our posterity suffer a serious injury.

⁴ Fluck.

to the current of Luther's thoughts; no doubt, in the sweet outpourings of a dawning friendship, and in the midst of the biblical labours to which he devoted himself with fresh zeal, he sometimes forgot Rome, Priorio, Leo, and the ecclesiastical court before which he was to appear. Yet these were but fugitive moments, and his thoughts always returned to that formidable tribunal before which his implacable enemies had summoned him. With what terror would not such thoughts have filled a soul whose object had been any thing else than the truth! But Luther did not tremble; confident in the faithfulness and power of God, he remained firm, and was ready to expose himself alone to the anger of enemies more terrible than those who had kindled John Huss's pile.

A few days after Melancthon's arrival, and before the resolution of the pope transferring Luther's citation from Rome to Augsburg could be known, the latter wrote thus to Spalatin: "I do not require that our sovereign should do the least thing in defence of my theses; I am willing to be given up and thrown into the hands of my adversaries. Let him permit all the storm to burst upon me. What I have undertaken to defend, I hope to be able to maintain, with the help of Christ. As for violence, we must needs yield to that, but without abandoning the truth."¹

Luther's courage was infectious: the mildest and most timid men, as they beheld the danger that threatened this witness to the truth, found language full of energy and indignation. The prudent, the pacific Staupitz wrote to Spalatin on the 7th September: "Do not cease to exhort the prince, your master and mine, not to allow himself to be frightened by the roaring of the lions. Let him defend the truth, without anxiety either about Luther, Staupitz, or the order. Let there be one place at least where men may speak freely and without fear. I know that the plague of Babylon, I was nearly saying of Rome, is let loose against whoever attacks the abuses of those who sell Jesus Christ. I have myself seen a preacher thrown from the pulpit for teaching the truth; I saw him, although it was a festival, bound and dragged to prison. Others have witnessed still more cruel sights. For this reason, dearest Spalatin, prevail upon his highness to continue in his present sentiments."²

At last the order to appear before the cardinal-legate at Augsburg arrived. It was now with one of the princes of the Roman Church that Luther had to deal. All his friends entreated him not to set out.³ They feared that even during the journey snares might be laid for his life. Some busied

themselves in finding an asylum for him. Staupitz himself, the timid Staupitz, was moved at the thought of the dangers to which brother Martin would be exposed—that brother whom he had dragged from the seclusion of the cloister, and whom he had launched on that agitated sea in which his life was now endangered. Alas! would it not have been better for the poor brother to have remained for ever unknown! It was too late. At least he would do everything in his power to save him. Accordingly he wrote from his convent at Salzburg, on the 15th September, soliciting Luther to flee and seek an asylum with him. "It appears to me," said he, "that the whole world is enraged and combined against the truth. The crucified Jesus was hated in like manner. I do not see that you have anything else to expect but persecution. Erelong no one will be able without the pope's permission to search the Scriptures, and therein look for Jesus Christ, which Jesus Christ however commands. You have but few friends: I would to God that fear of your adversaries did not prevent those few from declaring themselves in your favour! The wisest course is for you to abandon Wittenberg for a season and come to me. Then we shall live and die together. This is also the prince's opinion," adds Staupitz.¹

From different quarters Luther received the most alarming intelligence. Count Albert of Mansfeldt bid him beware of undertaking the journey, for several powerful lords had sworn to seize his person, and strangle or drown him.² But nothing could frighten him. He had no intention of profiting by the vicar-general's offer. He will not go and conceal himself in the obscurity of a convent at Salzburg; he will remain faithfully on that stormy scene where the hand of God has placed him. It is by persevering in despite of his adversaries, by proclaiming the truth aloud in the midst of the world, that the reign of this truth advances. Why then should he flee? He is not one of those who draw back to perish, but of those who keep the faith to the saving of their souls. This expression of the Master whom he desires to serve, and whom he loves more than life, re-echoes incessantly in his heart: *Whoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father who is in heaven.* At all times do we find in Luther and in the Reformation this intrepid courage, this exalted morality, this infinite charity, which the first advent of Christianity had already made known to the world. "I am like Jeremiah," says Luther at the time of which we are speaking, "a man of strife and contention; but the more their threats increase, the more my joy is multiplied. My wife and my children are well provided for; my fields, my

¹ L. Epp. i. 128.

² Jen. Aug. i. 364.

³ *Contra omnium amicorum consilium comparuit.*

¹ Epp. i. 61.

² *Uel stranguler, vel baptizer ad mortem.* L. Epp. i.

129.

houses, and my goods are in order.¹ They have already destroyed my honour and my reputation. One single thing remains; it is my wretched body: let them take it; they will thus shorten my life by a few hours. But as for my soul, they cannot take that. He who desires to proclaim the Word of Christ to the world, must expect death at every moment; for our husband is a bloody husband to us.²

The elector was then at Augsburg. Shortly before quitting the diet in that city, he had paid the legate a visit. The cardinal, highly flattered with this condescension from so illustrious a prince, promised Frederick, that if the monk appeared before him, he would listen to him in a paternal manner, and dismiss him kindly. Spalatin, by the prince's order, wrote to his friend, that the pope had appointed a commission to hear him in Germany; that the elector would not permit him to be dragged to Rome; and that he must prepare for his journey to Augsburg. Luther resolved to obey. The notice he had received from the count of Mansfeldt induced him to ask a safe-conduct from Frederick. The latter replied that it was unnecessary, and sent him only letters of recommendation to some of the most distinguished councillors of Augsburg. He also provided him with money for the journey; and the poor defenceless reformer set out on foot to place himself in the hands of his enemies.³

What must have been his feelings as he quitted Wittenberg and took the road to Augsburg, where the pope's legate awaited him! The object of this journey was not like that to Heidelberg, a friendly meeting; he was about to appear before the Roman delegate without a safe-conduct; perhaps he was going to death. But his faith was not one of mere outward show; with him it was a reality. Hence it gave him peace, and he could advance without fear, in the name of the Lord of hosts, to bear his testimony to the Gospel.

He arrived at Weimar on the 28th September, and lodged in the Cordeliers' monastery. One of the monks could not take his eyes off him; it was Myconius. He then saw Luther for the first time; he wished to approach him, to say that he was indebted to him for peace of mind, and that his whole desire was to labour with him. But Myconius was too strictly watched by his superiors: he was not allowed to speak to Luther.⁴

The Elector of Saxony was then holding his court at Weimar, and it is on this account probably that the Cordeliers gave the doctor a welcome. The day following his arrival

was the festival of St. Michael. Luther said mass, and was invited to preach in the palace-chapel. This was a mark of favour his prince loved to confer on him. He preached extempore, in presence of the court, selecting his text (Matthew, chap. xviii. verses 1 to 11) from the gospel of the day. He spoke forcibly against hypocrites, and those who boast of their own righteousness. But he said not a word about angels, although such was the custom on St. Michael's day.

The courage of the Wittenberg doctor, who was going quietly and on foot to answer a summons which had terminated in death to so many of his predecessors, astonished all who saw him. Interest, admiration, and sympathy prevailed by turns in their hearts. John Kestner, purveyor to the Cordeliers, struck with apprehension at the thought of the dangers which awaited his guest, said to him: "Brother, in Augsburg you will meet with Italians, who are learned men and subtle antagonists, and who will give you enough to do. I fear you will not be able to defend your cause against them. They will cast you into the fire, and their flames will consume you."¹ Luther solemnly replied: "Dear friend, pray to our Lord God who is in heaven, and put up a *paternoster* for me and for his dear Son Jesus, whose cause is mine, that he may be favourable to him. If He maintain his cause, mine is maintained; but if he will not maintain it, of a truth it is not I who can maintain it, and it is he who will bear the dishonour."

Luther continued his journey on foot, and arrived at Nuremberg. As he was about to present himself before a prince of the Church, he wished to appear in a becoming dress. His own was old, and all the worse for the journey. He therefore borrowed a frock from his faithful friend Wenceslas Link, preacher at Nuremberg.

Luther doubtless did not confine his visits to Link; he saw in like manner his other Nuremberg friends, Scheurl the town-clerk, the illustrious painter Albert Durer (to whose memory that city has recently erected a statue), and others besides. He derived strength from the conversation of these excellent ones of the earth, while many monks and laymen felt alarmed at his journey, and endeavoured to shake his resolution, beseeching him to retrace his steps. The letters he wrote from this city show the spirit which then animated him: "I have met," said he, "with pusillanimous men who wish to persuade me not to go to Augsburg; but I am resolved to proceed. The Lord's will be done! Even at Augsburg, even in the midst of his enemies, Christ reigns. Let Christ live; let Luther die,² and every sinner, ac-

¹ Uxor mea et liberi mei provisus sunt. L. Epp. l. 129. He had neither wife nor children at this time.

² Sic enim sponsum noster, sponsus sanguinum nobis est. Ibid. See Exodus iv. 25.

³ Venit igitur pedester et pauper Augustam. L. Opp. Lat. in Pref.

⁴ Ibi Myconius primum videt Lutherum; sed ab accessu et colloquio ejus tunc est prohibitus. M. Adami Vita Myconii, p. 176.

¹ Profecto in ignem te conficient et flammis eruent. Melch. Adam. Vit. Myc. p. 176. Myconius Ref. Hist. p. 31.

² Vivat Christus, moriatur Martinus. Weismann, Hist. Sac. Nov. Test. p. 162. Weismann had read this letter in manuscript. It is not to be found in the collection of M. de Wette.

ording as it is written! May the God of my salvation be exalted! Farewell! persevere, stand fast; for it is necessary to be rejected either by God or by man: but God is true, and man is a liar."

Link and an Augustine monk named Leonard could not make up their minds to permit Luther to go alone to face the dangers that threatened him. They knew his disposition, and were aware that, abounding as he did in determination and courage, he would probably be wanting in prudence. They therefore accompanied him. When they were about five leagues from Augsburg, Luther, whom the fatigues of the journey and the various agitations of his mind had probably exhausted, was seized with violent pains in the stomach. He thought he should die. His two friends in great alarm hired a waggon in which they placed the doctor. On the evening of the 7th October they reached Augsburg, and alighted at the Augustine convent. Luther was very tired; but he soon recovered. No doubt his faith and the vivacity of his mind speedily recruited his weakened body.

CHAPTER V.

De Vio—His Character—Serra Longa—Preliminary Conversation—Visit of the Councillors—Return of Serra Longa—The Prior—Luther's Discretion—Luther and Serra Longa—The Safe-conduct—Luther to Melancthon.

IMMEDIATELY on his arrival, and before seeing any one, Luther, desirous of showing the legate all due respect, begged Link to go and announce his presence. Link did so, and respectfully informed the cardinal, on the part of the Wittenberg doctor, that the latter was ready to appear before him whenever he should give the order. The legate was delighted at this news. At last he had this impetuous heretic within his reach, and promised himself that the reformer should not quit the walls of Augsburg as he had entered them. At the same time that Link waited upon the legate, the monk Leonard went to inform Staupitz of Luther's arrival. The vicar-general had written to the doctor that he would certainly come and see him as soon as he knew that he had reached Augsburg. Luther was unwilling to lose a minute in informing him of his presence.¹

The diet was over. The emperor and the electors had already separated. The emperor, it is true, had not yet quitted the place, but was hunting in the neighbourhood. The ambassador of Rome remained alone in Augsburg. If Luther had gone

thither during the diet, he would have met with powerful supporters; but everything now seemed destined to bend beneath the weight of the papal authority.

The name of the judge before whom Luther was to appear was not calculated to encourage him. Thomas de Vio, surnamed Cajetan, from the town of Gaeta in the kingdom of Naples, where he was born in 1469, had given great promise from his youth. At sixteen, he had entered the Dominican order, contrary to the express will of his parents. He had afterwards become general of his order, and cardinal of the Roman Church. But what was worse for Luther, this learned doctor was one of the most zealous defenders of that scholastic theology which the reformer had always treated so unmercifully. His mother, we are informed, had dreamt during her pregnancy that St. Thomas in person would instruct the child to which she was about to give birth, and would introduce him into heaven. Accordingly De Vio, when he became a Dominican, had changed his name from James to Thomas. He had zealously defended the prerogatives of the papacy, and the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, whom he looked upon as the pearl of theologians.¹ Fond of pagantry and show, he construed almost seriously the Roman maxim, that legates are above kings, and surrounded himself with a brilliant train. On the 1st August, he had performed a solemn mass in the cathedral of Augsburg, and, in presence of all the princes of the empire, had placed the cardinal's hat on the head of the Archbishop of Mentz, who knelt before him, and had delivered to the emperor himself the hat and sword which the pope had consecrated. Such was the man before whom the Wittenberg monk was about to appear, dressed in a frack that did not belong to him. Further, the legate's learning, the austerity of his disposition, and the purity of his morals, ensured him an influence and authority in Germany that other Roman courtiers would not easily have obtained. It was no doubt to this reputation for sanctity that he owed this mission. Rome perceived that it would admirably forward her designs. Thus even the good qualities of Cajetan rendered him still more formidable. Besides, the affair intrusted to him was by no means complicated. Luther was already declared a heretic. If he would not retract, the legate must send him to prison; and if he escaped, whoever should give him an asylum was to be excommunicated. This was what the dignity of the Church before whom Luther was summoned, had to perform on behalf of Rome.²

Luther had recovered his strength during the night. On Saturday morning (8th October), being already reinvigorated after his journey, he began to consider his strange

¹ *Dei Thomæ Summa cum Commentariis Thomæ de Vio, Lugdun. 1577.*

² The pope's bull. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 174.

position. He was resigned, and awaited the manifestation of God's will by the course of events. He had not long to wait. A person, unknown to him, sent to say (as if entirely devoted to him) that he was about to pay him a visit, and that Luther should avoid appearing before the legate until after this interview. The message proceeded from an Italian courtier named Urban of Serra Longa, who had often visited Germany as envoy from the Margrave of Montferrat. He had known the Elector of Saxony, to whom he had been accredited, and after the margrave's death, he had attached himself to the Cardinal de Vio.

The art and address of this individual presented the most striking contrast with the noble frankness and generous integrity of Luther. The Italian soon arrived at the Augustine monastery. The cardinal had sent him to sound the reformer, and prepare him for the recantation expected from him. Serra Longa imagined that his sojourn in Germany had given him a great advantage over the other courtiers in the legate's train; he hoped to make short work with this German monk. He arrived attended by two domestics, and professed to have come of his own accord, from friendship towards a favourite of the Elector of Saxony, and from attachment to the holy Church. After having most cordially saluted Luther, the diplomatist added in an affectionate manner:

"I am come to offer you good advice. Be wise, and become reconciled with the Church. Submit to the cardinal without reserve. Retract your offensive language. Remember the Abbot Joachim of Florence: he had published, as you know, many heretical things, and yet he was declared no heretic, because he retracted his errors."

Upon this Luther spoke of justifying what he had done.

SERRA LONGA.—"Beware of that!..... Would you enter the lists against the legate of his holiness?"

LUTHER.—"If they convince me of having taught anything contrary to the Roman Church, I shall be my own judge, and immediately retract. The essential point will be to know whether the legate relies on the authority of St. Thomas more than the faith will sanction. If he does so, I will not yield."

SERRA LONGA.—"Oh, oh! You intend to break a lance then!"

The Italian then began to use language which Luther styles horrible. He argued that one might maintain false propositions, provided they brought in money and filled the treasury; that all discussion in the universities against the pope's authority must be avoided; that, on the contrary, it should be asserted that the pope could, by a single nod, change or suppress articles of faith;¹

and so he ran on, in a similar strain. But the wily Italian soon perceived that he was forgetting himself; and returning to his mild language, he endeavoured to persuade Luther to submit to the legate in all things, and to retract his doctrine, his oaths, and his theses.

The doctor, who was at first disposed to credit the fair professions of the orator Urban (as he calls him in his narrative), was now convinced that they were of little worth, and that he was much more on the legate's side than on his. He consequently became less communicative, and was content to say, that he was disposed to show all humility, to give proofs of his obedience, and render satisfaction in those things in which he might have erred. At these words Serra Longa exclaimed joyfully: "I shall hasten to the legate; you will follow me presently. Everything will go well, and all will soon be settled."²

He went away. The Saxon monk, who had more discernment than the Roman courtier, thought to himself: "This crafty Simon has been badly taught and trained by his Greeks."³ Luther was in suspense between hope and fear; yet hope prevailed. The visit and the strange professions of Serra Longa, whom he afterwards called a bungling mediator,⁴ revived his courage.

The councillors and other inhabitants of Augsburg, to whom the elector had recommended Luther, were all eager to see the monk whose name already resounded throughout Germany. Peutingen, the imperial councillor, one of the most eminent patricians of the city, who frequently invited Luther to his table; the councillor Langemantel; Doctor Auerbach of Leipsic; the two brothers Adelmann, both canons, and many more, repaired to the Augustine convent. They cordially saluted this extraordinary man who had undertaken so long a journey to place himself in the hands of the Roman agents. "Have you a safe conduct?" asked they.—"No," replied the intrepid monk. "What boldness!" they all exclaimed.—"It was a polite expression," says Luther, "to designate my rashness and folly." All unanimously entreated him not to visit the legate before obtaining a safe-conduct from the emperor himself. It is probable the public had already heard something of the pope's brief, of which the legate was the bearer.

"But," replied Luther, "I set out for Augsburg without a safe-conduct, and have arrived safely."

"The elector has recommended you to us; you ought therefore to obey us, and do all that we tell you," answered Langemantel affectionately but firmly.

Doctor Auerbach coincided with these views, and added: "We know that at the

¹ Et ante solo omnia abrogare, etiam ea que fidel essent. L. Epp. i. 144.

¹ L. Opp. (L.) xvi. 179.

² Hunc Simonem parum consulte instructum arte palæagæ. L. Epp. i. 144. See Virgil's *Æneid*, book ii.

³ Mediator ineptus. Ibid.

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of his heart the cardinal is exceedingly irritated against you.¹ One cannot escape Italians."²

canon Adelman urged the same "You have been sent without protection and they have forgotten to provide that which you needed most."³ Friends undertook to obtain the requisite-conduct from the emperor. They told Luther how many persons, even in rank, had a leaning in his favour. The minister of France himself, who left only a few days ago, has spoken of you most honourable manner."⁴ This struck Luther, and he remembered it. Thus several of the most able citizens in one of the first cities of the Empire were already gained over to reformation.

The conversation had reached this point when Serra Longa returned. "Come," said Luther, "the cardinal is waiting for me. I will myself conduct you to him. But first learn how to appear in his presence: when you enter the room in which you will prostrate yourself with your face to the ground; when he tells you to kneel, kneel before him; and you will receive further orders before you stand up.⁵ After you are about to appear before a prince of the Church. As for the rest, fear nothing: all will speedily be settled without delay."

The emperor, who had promised to follow this advice as soon as he was invited, found himself in a dilemma. However, he decided to inform him of the advice of his burg friends, and spoke of a safe-conduct.

When asked, of asking for anything of the kind, the legate immediately replied Serra Longa; do not require one. The legate is disposed towards you, and ready to do business in a friendly manner. If you ask for a safe-conduct, you will ruin nothing."⁶

The gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, replied Luther, "recommended me to honourable men in this city. They advised me to undertake nothing without a safe-conduct: I ought to follow their advice. I did not, and anything should happen, I will write to the elector, my master, and he would not listen to them."

Luther persisted in his determination, and Serra Longa was compelled to return to his master and announce the shoal on which his ship had struck, at the very moment he was about to land himself with success.

The emperor terminated the conferences of that day with the orator of Montferrat.

The next invitation was sent to Luther, from a very different view. John Frosch,

prior of the Carmelites, was an old friend. Two years before, as licentiate in theology, he had defended some theses, under the presidency of Luther. He came to see him, and begged him earnestly to come and stay with him. He claimed the honour of entertaining the doctor of Germany as his guest. Already men did not fear to pay him homage even in the face of Rome; already the weak had become the stronger. Luther accepted the invitation, and left the convent of the Augustines for that of the Carmelites.

The day did not close without serious reflections. Serra Longa's eagerness and the fears of the councillors alike pointed out the difficulties of Luther's position. Nevertheless, he had God in heaven for his protector; guarded by Him he could sleep without fear.

The next day was Sunday,¹ on which he obtained a little more repose. Yet he had to endure fatigues of another kind. All the talk of the city was about Doctor Luther, and everybody desired to see, as he wrote to Melancthon, "this new Erostratus, who had caused so vast a conflagration."² They crowded round him in his walks, and the good doctor smiled, no doubt, at this singular excitement.

But he had to undergo importunities of another kind. If the people were desirous of seeing him, they had a still greater wish to hear him. He was requested on all sides to preach. Luther had no greater joy than to proclaim the Gospel. It would have delighted him to preach Jesus Christ in this large city, and in the solemn circumstances in which he was placed. But he evinced on this occasion, as on many others, a just sentiment of propriety, and great respect for his superiors. He refused to preach, for fear the legate should think he did it to annoy and to brave him. This moderation and this discretion were assuredly as good as a sermon.

The cardinal's people, however, did not permit him to remain quiet. They renewed their persuasions. "The cardinal," said they, "gives you assurances of his grace and favour: what are you afraid of?" They employed a thousand reasons to persuade him to wait upon De Vio. "He is a very merciful father," said one of these envoys. But another approached and whispered in his ear: "Do not believe what they tell you. He never keeps his word."³ Luther persisted in his resolution.

On Monday morning (10th October), Serra Longa again returned to the charge. The courtier had made it a point of honour to succeed in his negotiation. He had scarcely arrived when he said in Latin: "Why do you not wait upon the cardinal? He is ex-

et enim cum in eo exacerbationem intus, qualem fore. L. Epp. l. 143.
pp. (L.) xvii. 221.
ed. p. 144.
pp. (L.) 172.

2 Ibid. 223.
3 Ibid. 220.

1 21h Octob. v.
2 Omnes, qui sunt videre hominem, tanti inmodi heredes.
L. Epp. l. 144.
3 L. Epp. (L.) xvii. 224.

pecting you most indulgently: the whole matter lies in six letters: *Revoca*, retract. Come! you have nothing to fear."

Luther thought to himself that these six letters were very important ones; but without entering into any discussion on the merits of the things to be retracted, he replied: "I will appear as soon as I have a safe-conduct."

Serra Longa lost his temper on hearing these words. He insisted—he made fresh representations; but Luther was immovable. Becoming still more angry, he exclaimed: "You imagine, no doubt, that the elector will take up arms in your defence, and for your sake run the risk of losing the territories he received from his forefathers?"

LUTHER.—"God forbid!"

SERRA LONGA.—"When all forsake you, where will you take refuge?"

LUTHER, looking to heaven with an eye of faith, "Under heaven!"¹

Serra Longa was silent for a moment, struck with the sublimity of this unexpected answer. He then resumed the conversation: "What would you do if you held the legate, pope, and cardinals in your hands, as they have you now in theirs?"

LUTHER.—"I would show them all possible honour and respect. But with me the Word of God is before everything."

SERRA LONGA, smiling, and snapping his fingers in the manner of the Italians: "Eh, eh! all honour!.....I do not believe a word of it."

He then went out, sprung into his saddle, and disappeared.

Serra Longa did not return to Luther; but he long remembered the resistance he had met with from the reformer, and that which his master was soon after to experience in person. We shall find him at a later period loudly calling for Luther's blood.

Serra Longa had not long quitted the doctor when the safe-conduct arrived. Luther's friends had obtained it from the imperial councillors. It is probable that the latter had consulted the emperor on the subject, as he was not far from Augsburg. It would even appear from what the cardinal said afterwards, that from unwillingness to displease him, his consent also had been asked. Perhaps this was the reason why Serra Longa was set to work upon Luther; for open opposition to the security of a safe-conduct would have disclosed intentions that it was desirable to keep secret. It was a safer plan to induce Luther himself to desist from the demand. But they soon found out that the Saxon monk was not a man to give way.

Luther was now to appear. In demanding a safe-conduct, he did not lean upon an arm of flesh; for he was fully aware that an imperial safe-conduct had not preserved John Huss from the stake. He only wished to do his duty by submitting to the advice of his

master's friends. The Lord will decide his fate. If God should require his life, he is ready joyfully to resign it. At this solemn moment, he felt the need of communing once again with his friends, above all with Melancthon, who was so dear to his heart, and he took advantage of a few moments of leisure to write to him.

"Show yourself a man," said he, "as you do at all times. Teach our beloved youths what is upright and acceptable to God. As for me, I am going to be sacrificed for you and for them, if such is the Lord's will.² I would rather die, and even (which would be my greatest misfortune) be forever deprived of your sweet society, than retract what I felt it my duty to teach, and thus ruin perhaps by my own fault the excellent studies to which we are now devoting ourselves."

Italy, like Egypt in times of old, is plunged in darkness so thick that it may be felt. No one in that country knows anything of Christ, or of what belongs to him; and yet they are our lords and our masters in faith and in morals. Thus the wrath of God is fulfilled among us, as the prophet saith: *I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them.* Do your duty to God, my dear Philip, and avert his anger by pure and fervent prayer."

The legate, being informed that Luther would appear before him on the morrow, assembled the Italians and Germans in whom he had the greatest confidence, in order to concert with them the method he should pursue with the Saxon monk. Their opinions were divided. We must compel him to retract, said one; we must seize him and put him in prison, said another; it would be better to put him out of the way, thought a third; they should try to win him over by gentleness and mildness, was the opinion of a fourth. The cardinal seems to have resolved on beginning with the last method.³

CHAPTER VI.

First Appearance—First Words—Conditions of Rome—Propositions to be retracted—Luther's Answer—He withdraws—Impression on both Parties—Arrival of Staupitz.

THE day fixed for the interview arrived at last.⁴ The legate knowing that Luther had declared himself willing to retract everything that could be proved contrary to the truth, was full of hope; he doubted not that it would be easy for a man of his rank and learning to reclaim this monk to obedience to the Church.

Luther repaired to the legate's residence, accompanied by the prior of the Carmelites,

¹ Et ubi manebis....Respondi, Sub celo. L. Opp. in Prem.

² Pro pro illis et vobis vado immolandi. L. Opp. t. i. 44.

³ L. Opp. (L.) t. vii. 183.

⁴ Tuesday, 11th October.

his host and his friend; by two friars of the same convent; by Doctor Link and an Augustine, probably the one that had come from Nuremberg with him. He had scarcely entered the legate's palace, when all the Italians who formed the train of this prince of the Church crowded round him; every one desired to see the famous doctor, and they thronged him so much that he could with difficulty proceed. Luther found the apostolic nuncio and Serra Longa in the hall where the cardinal was waiting for him. His reception was cold, but civil, and conformable with Roman etiquette. Luther, in accordance with the advice he had received from Serra Longa, prostrated himself before the cardinal; when the latter told him to rise, he remained on his knees; and at a fresh order from the legate, he stood up. Many of the most distinguished Italians in the legate's court found their way into the hall in order to be present during the interview; they particularly desired to see the German monk humble himself before the pope's representative.

The legate remained silent. He hated Luther as an adversary of the theological supremacy of St. Thomas, and as the chief of a new, active, and hostile party in a rising university, whose first steps had disquieted the Thomists. He was pleased at seeing Luther fall down before him, and thought, as a contemporary observes, that he was about to recant. The doctor on his part humbly waited for the prince to address him; but as he did not speak, Luther understood this silence as an invitation to begin, and he did so in these words:

"Most worthy Father, in obedience to the summons of his papal holiness, and in compliance with the orders of my gracious lord the Elector of Saxony, I appear before you as a submissive and dutiful son of the holy Christian Church, and acknowledge that I have published the propositions and theses ascribed to me. I am ready to listen most obediently to my accusation, and if I have erred, to submit to instruction in the truth."

The cardinal, who had determined to assume the appearance of a tender and compassionate father towards an erring child, then adopted the most friendly tone; he praised and expressed his delight at Luther's humility, and said to him: "My dear son, you have disturbed all Germany by your dispute on indulgences. I understand that you are a very learned doctor in the Holy Scriptures, and that you have many followers. For this reason, if you desire to be a member of the Church, and to find a gracious father in the pope, listen to me."

After this prelude, the legate did not hesitate to declare at once what he expected of him, so confident was he of Luther's submission. "Here are three articles," said he, "which by the command of our holy Father, Pope Leo X., I have to set before you. First,

You must bethink yourself, own your faults, and retract your errors, propositions, and sermons; *secondly*, You must promise to abstain in future from propagating your opinions; and, *thirdly*, Bind yourself to behave with greater moderation, and avoid everything that may grieve or disturb the Church."

LUTHER.—"Most holy Father, I beg you will show me the pope's brief, by virtue of which you have received full powers to treat of this matter."

Serra Longa and the other Italians opened their eyes with astonishment at this demand, and although the German monk had already appeared to them a very strange kind of man, they could not conceal their amazement at such a daring request. Christians, accustomed to ideas of justice, desire that justice should be observed towards others and towards themselves; but those who act habitually in an arbitrary manner, are surprised when they are called upon to proceed according to the usual rules, formalities, and laws.

DE VIO.—"This request, my dear son, cannot be granted. You must confess your errors, keep a strict watch upon your words for the future, and not return like a dog to his vomit, so that we may sleep without anxiety or disturbance; then, in accordance with the order and authorization of our most holy Father the Pope, I will arrange the whole business."

LUTHER.—"Condescend, then, to inform me in what I have erred."

At this new request, the Italian courtiers, who had expected to see the poor German fall down on his knees and beg pardon, were still more astonished than before. None of them would have deigned to reply to so impertinent a question. But De Vio, who thought it ungenerous to crush this petty monk with the weight of his authority, and who, besides, trusted to gain an easy victory by his learning, consented to tell Luther of what he was accused, and even to enter into discussion with him. We must do justice to the general of the Dominicans. We must acknowledge that he showed more equity, a greater sense of propriety, and less passion, than have been often shown in similar matters since. He replied in a condescending tone:

"Most dear son! here are two propositions that you have advanced, and which you must retract before all: 1st, The treasure of indulgences does not consist of the sufferings and merits of our Lord Jesus Christ; 2d, The man who receives the holy sacrament must have faith in the grace that is presented to him."

Each of these propositions, in truth, struck a mortal blow at the Romish commerce. If the pope had not the power of dispensing at his pleasure the merits of the Saviour; if, in receiving the drafts which the brokers of the Church negotiated, men did not receive a

portion of this infinite righteousness, this paper-money would lose its value, and would be as worthless as a heap of rags. It was the same with the sacraments. Indulgences were more or less an extraordinary branch of Roman commerce; the sacraments were a staple commodity. The revenue they produced was of no small amount. To assert that faith was necessary before they could confer a real benefit on the soul of a Christian, took away all their charms in the eyes of the people; for it is not the pope who gives faith: it is beyond his province; it proceeds from God alone. To declare its necessity was therefore depriving Rome both of the speculation and the profit. By attacking these two doctrines, Luther had imitated Jesus Christ, who at the very beginning of his ministry had overthrown the tables of the money-changers, and driven the dealers out of the temple. *Make not my Father's house a house of merchandise*, he had said.

"In confuting your errors," said Cajetan, "I will not appeal to the authority of St. Thomas and other doctors of the schools; I will rely entirely on Holy Scripture, and talk with you in all friendliness."

But De Vio had scarcely begun to bring forward his proofs before he departed from the rule he had declared that he would follow.¹ He combated Luther's first proposition by an *Extravagance*² of Pope Clement, and the second by all sorts of opinions from the schoolmen. The discussion turned first on this papal constitution in favour of indulgences. Luther, indignant at hearing what authority the legate ascribed to a decree of Rome, exclaimed:—

"I cannot receive such constitutions as sufficient proofs on matters so important. For they pervert the Holy Scriptures, and never quote them to the purpose."

De Vio.—"The pope has power and authority over all things."

LUTHER, *quickly*.—"Except Scripture!"³

De Vio, *sneering*.—"Except Scripture! Do you not know that the pope is above councils; he has recently condemned and punished the Council of Basle."

LUTHER.—"The university of Paris has appealed from this sentence."

De Vio.—"These Paris gentlemen will receive their deserts."

The dispute between the cardinal and Luther then turned upon the second point, namely, the faith that Luther declared necessary for the efficacy of the sacraments. Luther, according to his custom, quoted various passages of Scripture in favour of the opinion he maintained; but the legate treated them with ridicule. "It is of faith in general that you are speaking," said he.—"No," replied Luther.—"One of the Italians,

the legate's master of the ceremonies, irritated at Luther's resistance and replies, was burning with the desire to speak. He continually endeavoured to put in a word, but the legate imposed silence on him. At last he was compelled to reprimand him so sharply, that the master of the ceremonies quitted the hall in confusion."

"As for indulgences," said Luther to the legate, "if it can be shown that I am mistaken, I am very ready to receive instruction. We may pass over that and yet be good Christians. But as to the article of faith, if I made the slightest concession, I should renounce Jesus Christ. I cannot—I will not yield on this point, and with God's grace I will never yield."

De Vio, *growing angry*.—"Whether you will, or whether you will not, you must retract that article this very day, or, upon that article alone, I shall reject and condemn your whole doctrine."

LUTHER.—"I have no will but the Lord's. Let him do with me as seemeth good to him. But if I had four hundred heads, I would rather lose them all than retract the testimony which I have borne to the holy Christian faith."

De Vio.—"I did not come here to dispute with you. Retract, or prepare to suffer the penalty you have deserved."²

Luther saw clearly that it was impossible to put an end to the subject by a conference. His opponent sat before him as if he were himself pope, and pretended that he would receive humbly and submissively all that was said to him; and yet he listened to Luther's replies, even when they were founded on Holy Scripture, with shrugging of shoulders, and every mark of irony and contempt. He thought the wiser plan would be to answer the cardinal in writing. This means, thought he, gives at least one consolation to the oppressed. Others will be able to judge of the matter, and the unjust adversary, who by his clamours remains master of the field of battle, may be frightened at the consequences.³

Luther having shown a disposition to retire, the legate said, "Do you wish me to give you a safe-conduct to go to Rome?"

Nothing would have pleased Cajetan better than the acceptance of this offer. He would thus have been freed from a task of which he now began to perceive the difficulties; and Luther, with his heresy, would have fallen into hands that would soon have arranged everything. But the reformer, who saw the dangers that surrounded him, even in Augsburg, took care not to accept an offer that would have delivered him up, bound hand and foot, to the vengeance of his enemies. He therefore rejected it, as often as De Vio proposed it; and he did so very frequently. The legate dissembled his vexation at Luther's

¹ L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 180.

² A name applied to certain papal constitutions collected and subjoined to the body of the canon law.

³ *Salva Scriptura*.

¹ L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 180.

² *Ibid.* 248.

³ *Ibid.* 180, 183, 202, &c.

refusal; he took refuge in his dignity, and dismissed the monk with a compassionate smile, under which he endeavoured to conceal his disappointment, and at the same time with the politeness of a man who hopes for better success another time.

Luther had scarcely reached the court of the palace before that babbling Italian, the master of the ceremonies, whom his lord's reprimands had compelled to quit the hall of conference, overjoyed at being able to speak without being observed by Cajetan, and burning with desire to confound the abominable heretic with his luminous reasonings, ran after him, and began, as he walked along, to deal out his sophisms. But Luther, disgusted with this foolish individual, replied to him by one of those sarcasms which he had so much at command, and the poor master slunk away abashed, and returned in confusion to the cardinal's palace.

Luther did not carry away a very exalted opinion of his adversary. He had heard from him, as he wrote afterwards to Spalatín, propositions quite opposed to sound theology, and which in the mouth of another would have been considered arch-heresies. And yet De Vio was reckoned the most learned of the Dominicans. Next after him was Frierio. "We may conclude from this," says Luther, "what they must be who are in the tenth or the hundredth rank."¹

On the other hand, the noble and decided bearing of the Wittenberg doctor had greatly surprised the cardinal and his courtiers. Instead of a poor monk asking pardon as a favour, they had found a man of independence, a firm Christian, an enlightened doctor, who required that unjust accusations should be supported by proofs, and who victoriously defended his own doctrine. Every one in Cajetan's palace cried out against the pride, obstinacy, and effrontery of the heretic. Luther and De Vio had learned to know each other, and both prepared for their second interview.

A very agreeable surprise awaited Luther on his return to the Carmelite convent. The vicar-general of the Augustine order, his friend and father, Staupitz, had arrived at Augsburg. Unable to prevent Luther's journey to that city, Staupitz gave his friend a new and touching proof of his attachment by going thither himself in the hope of being useful to him. This excellent man foresaw that the conference with the legate might have the most serious consequences. He was equally agitated by his fears and by his friendship for Luther. After so painful an interview, it was a great comfort to the doctor to embrace so dear a friend. He told him how impossible it had been to obtain an answer of any value, and how the cardinal had insisted solely upon a recantation, without having essayed to convince him. "You

must positively," said Staupitz, "reply to the legate in writing."

After what he had learnt of the first interview, Staupitz entertained but little hopes from another. He therefore resolved upon an act which he now thought necessary; he determined to release Luther from the obligations of his order. By this means Staupitz thought to attain two objects: if, as everything seemed to forebode, Luther should fail in this undertaking, he would thus prevent the disgrace of his condemnation from being reflected on the whole order; and if the cardinal should order him to force Luther to be silent or to retract, he would have an excuse for not doing so.² The ceremony was performed with the usual formalities. Luther saw clearly what he must now expect. His soul was deeply moved at the breaking of those bonds which he had taken upon him in the enthusiasm of youth. The order he had chosen rejects him; his natural protectors forsake him. He is already become a stranger among his brethren. But although his heart was filled with sadness at the thought, all his joy returned when he directed his eyes to the promises of a faithful God, who has said: *I will never leave thee nor forsake thee.*

The emperor's councillors having informed the legate, through the Bishop of Trent, that Luther was provided with an imperial safe-conduct, and having at the same time enjoined him to take no proceedings against the doctor, De Vio lost his temper, and abruptly answered in this truly Romish language: "It is well; but I will execute the pope's orders."³ We know what they were.

CHAPTER VII.

Second Interview—Luther's Declaration—The Legate's Answer—His Volubility—Luther's Request.

The next day⁴ both parties prepared for a second interview, which it seemed would be decisive. Luther's friends, who were resolved to accompany him to the legate's palace, went to the Carmelite convent. Peutingger and the Dean of Trent, both imperial councillors, and Staupitz, arrived successively. Shortly after, the doctor had the pleasure of seeing them joined by the knight Philip of Feilitzsch and Doctor Ruhel, councillors of the elector, who had received their master's order to be present at the conferences, and to protect Luther's liberty. They had reached Augsburg the previous evening. They were to keep close to him, says Ma-

¹ Darin ist Dr Staupitz von dem Kloster-Gehorsam absolviert. Mach. 15.

² L. Opp. (L.) xii. 201.

³ Wednesday, 12th October.

⁴ *Luth. Bep.* i. 272.

theſus, as the knight of Chlum ſtood by John Huſs at Conſtance. The doctor moreover took a notary, and, accompanied by all his friends, he repaired to the legate's palace.

At this moment Staupitz approached him: he fully comprehended Luther's poſition; he knew that unleſs his eyes were fixed on the Lord, who is the deliverer of his people, he muſt fall. "My dear brother," ſaid he, ſeriously, "bear conſtantly in mind that you have begun theſe things in the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt."¹ Thus did God environ his humble ſervant with conſolation and encouragement.

When Luther arrived at the cardinal's, he found a new adverſary: this was the prior of the Dominicans of Augſburg, who ſat beſide his chief. Luther, conformably with the reſolution he had taken, had written his answer. The cuſtomary ſalutations being finiſhed, he read the following declaration with a loud voice:—

"I declare that I honour the holy Roman Church, and that I ſhall continue to honour her. I have ſought after truth in my public diſputations, and every thing that I have ſaid I ſtill conſider as right, true, and chriſtian. Yet I am but a man, and may be deceived. I am therefore willing to receive inſtruction and correction in thoſe things whereſin I may have erred. I declare myſelf ready to reply orally or in writing to all the objections and charges that the lord legate may bring againſt me. I declare myſelf ready to ſubmit my theſes to the four univerſities of Baſle, Friburg in Briſgau, Louvain, and Paris, and to retract, whatever they ſhall declare erroneous. In a word, I am ready to do all that can be required of a Chriſtian. But I ſolemnly proteſt againſt the method that has been purſued in this affair, and againſt the ſtrange pretenſion of compelling me to retract without having refuted me."²

Undoubtedly nothing could be more reaſonable than theſe propoſitions of Luther's, and they muſt have greatly embarrassed a judge who had been tutored beforehand as to the judgment he ſhould pronounce. The legate, who had not expected this proteſt, endeavoured to hide his confuſion by affecting to ſmile at it, and by aſſuming an appearance of mildneſs. "This proteſt," ſaid he to Luther, with a ſmile, "is unneceſſary; I have no deſire to diſpute with you either privately or publicly; but I propoſe arranging this matter with the kindneſs of a parent." The ſum of the cardinal's policy conſiſted in laying aſide the ſtricter forms of juſtice, which protect the accuſed, and treating the whole affair as one of mere adminiſtration between a ſuperior and an inferior: a convenient method, that opens a wider field for arbitrary proceedings.

Continuing with the moſt affectionate air,

De Vio ſaid: "My dear friend I beſeech you, ſo uſeleſs an I beſthink yourſelf, acknowledge I am prepared to reconcile y Church and the ſovereign biſ tract, my friend, retract; ſuch wiſh. Whether you will or will not, is of little conſequence be a hard matter for you to kick pricks."

Luther, who ſaw himſelf tre were already a rebellious child caſt from the Church, exclaim not retract! but I offer to re too in writing. We had deb yesterday."¹

De Vio was irritated at this which reminded him that he h with ſufficient prudence; but himſelf, and ſaid with a ſmile: my dear ſon, I have not debate beſides, I have no wiſh to del pleaſe the moſt ſerene Elector am ready to liſten to you, and t in a friendly and paternal mann

Luther could not underſtand w was ſo much ſcandalized at the employed; for (thought he), I wiſhed to ſpeak with politeneſſ have ſaid, not debated, but arranged, for that is what w yesterday.

De Vio, who felt that in the the reſpectable witneſſes who a conference, he muſt at leaſt ap to convince Luther, reverted to poſitions, which he had pointed mental errors, being firmly reſolv the reformer to ſpeak as little Availing himſelf of his Italian v overwhelmed the doctor with obj out waiting for any reply. At jured, at another ſcolded; h with paſſionate warmth; ming the moſt heterogeneous matters Thomas and Ariſtotle; clamou againſt all who thought diffe himſelf; and apoſtrophized Lu than ten times did the latter t but the legate immediately inte and overwhelmed him with threa retract! this was all that was him. He raved, he domineere was permitted to ſpeak.² Staupi himſelf to check the legate. "brother Martin time to reply to he. But De Vio began again the Extravagances and the opi Thomas; he had reſolved to h talk to himſelf during this inter could not convince, and if he dare he would do his beſt to ſtun by

Luther and Staupitz ſaw very they muſt renounce all hope, no

¹ Beckand, p. 177.
² Loecher, ſ. 221, L. Opp. (G.) xvii. 282, 283.

¹ Digrediatum, beſſet. L. Epp. i. 181.
² Decies ſex epiſt. ut ſuſſer, toties rj notus negabat. L. Opp. (G.) xvii. 281, 282.

CHAPTER VIII.

Third Interview—Treasure of Indulgences—Faith—Humble Petition—Lecate's Reply—Luther's Answer—The Legate's Anger—Luther withdraws—First Defection.

ng De Vio by discussion, but still making any useful confession of Luther therefore reverted to the road he had made at the beginning of the year, and which the cardinal had then

Since he was not permitted to speak, he said that he might at least be permitted to transmit a written reply to the

Staupitz seconded this petition; of the spectators joined their entreaty to his, and Cujetan, notwithstanding ignorance to every thing that was written, he remembered that such writings (*scripta manent*) at length con-

The meeting broke up. The hopes which had been entertained of seeing the matter settled at this interview were deferred; but wait and see the issue of the next

permission which the general of the order had given Luther to take time to reply, and to write his answer, to the imputations touching indulgences, was no more than strict justice, and yet we must give De Vio credit for moderation and impartiality. He quitted the cardinal, delighted that rest had been granted. On his way back, and on his return, he was the object of public attention. All enlightened men were as much interested in his affairs as they were to be tried themselves. It was that the cause of the Gospel, of liberty, was then pleading at Rome. The lower classes alone held Cujetan, and they no doubt gave them some significant proofs of their interest, for he took notice of them.¹

It became more evident every day that the world could hear no other words from Luther than these: "I retract," and Luther resolved not to pronounce them. He will be the issue of so unequal a contest? How can it be imagined that all the power of Rome matched against a single man could fail to crush him? Luther sees that he feels the weight of that terrible order which he has voluntarily placed; he loses all hope of returning to Rome, of seeing his dear Philip again, of living once more with those generous men whose hearts he so delighted to sow the seeds of life. He beholds the decree of excommunication suspended over him, and doubts not that it will soon fall on him.² These prospects afflict his soul, but he is not cast down. His trust in God remains. God can break the instruments; he has been pleased to make use of this hour; but he will uphold the truth.

What may, Luther must defend it. He therefore begins to prepare what he intends presenting to the

It would appear that he devoted the 13th October to this task.

On Friday (14th October) Luther returned to the cardinal, accompanied by the elector's councillors. The Italians crowded around him as usual, and were present at the conference in great numbers. Luther advanced and presented his protest to the cardinal. His courtiers regarded this paper with astonishment—a paper so presumptuous in their eyes. This is what the Wittenberg doctor declared to their master:—³

"You attack me on two points. First, you oppose to me the constitution of Pope Clement VI., in which it is said that the treasure of indulgences is the merit of the Lord Jesus Christ and of the saints—which I deny in my theses.

"Panormitanus⁴ declares in his first book that in whatever concerns the holy faith, not only a general council, but still further, each believer, is above the pope, if he can bring forward the declarations of Scripture and allege better reasons than the pope.⁵ The voice of our Lord Jesus Christ is far above the voice of all men, whatever be the names they bear.

"My greatest cause of grief and of serious reflection is, that this constitution contains doctrines entirely at variance with the truth. It declares that the merits of the saints are a treasure, while the whole of Scripture bears witness that God rewards us far more richly than we deserve. The prophet exclaims: *Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified.*⁶ 'Woe be to men, however honourable and however praiseworthy their lives may have been,' says Augustine, 'if a judgment from which mercy was excluded should be pronounced upon them!'⁷

"Thus the saints are not saved by their merits, but solely by God's mercy, as I have declared. I maintain this, and in it I stand fast. The words of Holy Scripture, which declare that the saints have not merit enough, must be set above the words of men, which affirm that they have an excess. For the pope is not above the Word of God, but below it."

Luther does not stop here: he shows that if indulgences cannot be the merits of the saints, they cannot any the more be the merits of Christ. He proves that indulgences

¹ L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 187.

² By Panormitanus Luther indicates Ives, author of the famous collection of ecclesiastical law entitled *Panormia*, and bishop of Chartres towards the close of the eleventh century.

³ *Interdixit in materia fidei, non modo generale concilium esse super papam, sed etiam quilibet fidelium, si melioribus rationibus auctoritate et ratione quam papa.* L. Opp. Lat. i. 309.

⁴ Psalm cxi. 1.

⁵ Confess. ix.

are barren and fruitless, since their only effect is to exempt men from performing good works, such as prayer and alms-giving. "No," exclaims he, "the merits of Jesus Christ are not a treasure of indulgence exempting man from good works, but a treasure of grace which quickeneth. The merits of Christ are applied to the believer without indulgences, without the keys, by the Holy Ghost alone, and not by the pope. If any one has an opinion better founded than mine," adds he, terminating what referred to this first point, "let him make it known to me, and then will I retract."

"I affirm," said he, coming to the second article, "that no man can be justified before God if he has not faith; so that it is necessary for a man to believe with a perfect assurance that he has obtained grace. To doubt of this grace is to reject it. The faith of the righteous is his righteousness and his life."¹

Luther proves his proposition by a multitude of declarations from Scripture.

"Condescend, therefore, to intercede for me with our most holy father the pope," adds he "in order that he may not treat me with such harshness. My soul is seeking for the light of truth. I am not so proud or so vain-glorious as to be ashamed of retracting if I have taught false doctrines. My greatest joy will be to witness the triumph of what is according to God's Word. Only let not men force me to do anything that is against the voice of my conscience."

The legate took the declaration from Luther's hands. After glancing over it, he said coldly: "You have indulged in useless verbiage: you have penned many idle words; you have replied in a foolish manner to the two articles, and have blackened your paper with a great number of passages from Scripture that have no connexion with the subject." Then, with an air of contempt, De Vio flung Luther's protest aside, as if it were of no value, and recommencing in the tone which had been so successful in the previous interview, he began to exclaim with all his might that Luther ought to retract. The latter was immovable. "Brother! brother!" then cried De Vio in Italian, "on the last occasion you were very tractable, but now you are very obstinate." The cardinal then began a long speech, extracted from the writings of St. Thomas; he again extolled the constitution of Clement VI.; and persisted in maintaining that by virtue of this constitution it is the very merits of Jesus Christ that are dispensed to the believer by means of indulgences. He thought he had reduced Luther to silence: the latter sometimes interrupted him; but De Vio raved and stormed without intermission, and claimed, as on the previous day, the sole right of speaking.

This method had partially su first time; but Luther was not a mit to it on a second occasion. nation burst out at last; it is astonish the spectators, who bel ready conquered by the prelate's He raises his sonorous voice, se cardinal's favourite objection, and pay dearly for his rashness in enter into discussion with him. retract!" repeated De Vio, poin papal constitution. "Well, i proved by this constitution," s "that the treasure of indulgence merits of Jesus Christ, I consen according to your Eminence's g pleasure."

The Italians, who had expecter the kind, opened their eyes in a at these words, and could not e joy at seeing their adversary ca net. As for the cardinal, he was self; he laughed aloud, but wi in which anger and indignation led; he sprang forward, seize which contained this famous c looked for it, found it, and, exul victory he thought certain, read aloud with panting eagerness.¹ were elated; the elector's coun uneasy and embarrassed; Luthe ing for his adversary. At last cardinal came to these words: Jesus Christ has acquired this his sufferings," Luther stopped h worthy father," said he, "pray and weigh these words carefull acquired."² Christ has acquired by his merits; the merits, therof the treasure; for, to speak phil the cause and effect are very di ters. The merits of Jesus Chri quired for the pope the power of tain indulgences to the people; l the very merits of our Lord that the pontiff distributes. Thus, clusion is the true one, and this c which you invoke with so much fies with me to the truth I procla

De Vio still held the book in his eyes resting on the fatal p could make no reply. He was ca very snare he had laid, and Luth there with a strong hand, to th sible astonishment of the Italia around him. The legate would l the difficulty, but had not the me long abandoned the testimony o and of the Fathers; he had takoi this Extravagance of Clement V he was caught. Yet he was too betray his confusion. Desirous of his disgrace, the prince of the C dently quitted this subject, and v tacked other articles. Luther, wh

¹ *Justitia justi et vita ejus, est sicut ejus. L. Opp. Lat. I. vi.*

¹ *Legit ferrens et anhelans. L. Opp.*
² *Acquisivit. Ibid.*

this skilful manœuvre, did not permit him to escape; he tightened and closed on every side the net in which he had taken the cardinal, and rendered all escape impossible. "Most reverend Father," said he, with an ironical, yet very respectful tone, "your eminence cannot, however, imagine that we Germans are ignorant of grammar: to be a treasurer, and to acquire a treasure, are two very different things."

"Retract!" said De Vio; "retract! or if you do not, I shall send you to Rome to appear before judges commissioned to take cognizance of your affair. I shall excommunicate you with all your partisans, with all who are or who may be favourable to you, and reject them from the Church. All power has been given me in this respect by the holy apostolic see.¹ Think you that your protection will stop me? Do you imagine that the pope cares anything for Germany? The pope's little finger is stronger than all the German princes put together."²

"Design," replies Luther, "to forward to Pope Leo X., with my humble prayers, the answer which I have transmitted you in writing."

At these words, the legate, highly pleased at finding a moment's release, again assumed an air of dignity, and said to Luther with pride and anger:

"Retract, or return no more."³

These words struck Luther. This time he will reply in another way than by speeches: he bowed and left the hall, followed by the elector's councillors. The cardinal and the Italians, remaining alone, looked at one another in confusion at such a result.

Thus the Dominican system, covered with the brilliancy of the Roman purple, had laughingly dismissed its humble adversary. But Luther was conscious that there was a power—the Christian doctrine, the truth—that no secular or spiritual authority could ever subdue. Of the two combatants, he who withdrew remained master of the field of battle.

This is the first step by which the Church separated from the papacy.

Luther and De Vio did not meet again; but the reformer had made a deep impression on the legate, which was never effaced. What Luther had said about faith, what De Vio read in the subsequent writings of the Wittenberg doctor, greatly modified the cardinal's opinions. The theologians of Rome beheld with surprise and discontent the sentiments he advanced on justification in his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. The Reformation did not recede, did not retract; but its judge, he who had not ceased from crying, Retract! retract! changed his views, and indirectly retracted his errors. Thus was crowned the unshaken fidelity of the Reformer.

Luther returned to the monastery where he had been entertained. He had stood fast; he had given testimony to the truth; he had done his duty. God will perform the rest! His heart overflowed with peace and joy.

CHAPTER IX.

De Vio and Staupitz—Staupitz and Luther—Luther to Spalatin—Luther to Carlsbad—The Communion—Link and De Vio—Departure of Link and Staupitz—Luther to Cajetan—Cardinal's Silence—Luther's Farewell—Departure—Appeal to Rome.

YET the rumours that reached him were not very encouraging: it was reported in the city, that if he did not retract, he was to be seized and thrown into a dungeon. The vicar-general of his order, Staupitz himself, it was affirmed, had given his consent.¹ Luther cannot believe what is said of his friend. No! Staupitz will not deceive him! As for the cardinal's designs, to judge from his words, there could be no doubt about them. Yet he will not flee from the danger; his life, like the truth itself, is in powerful hands, and, despite the threatening peril, he is resolved not to quit Augsburg.

The legate soon repented of his violence; he felt that he had gone beyond his part, and endeavoured to retrace his steps. Staupitz had scarcely finished his dinner (on the morning of the interview, and the dinner-hour was noon), before he received a message from the cardinal, inviting him to his palace. Staupitz went thither attended by Wenceslas Link.² The vicar-general found the legate alone with Serra Longa. De Vio immediately approached Staupitz, and addressed him in the mildest language. "Endeavour," said he, "to prevail upon your monk, and induce him to retract. Really, in other respects, I am well pleased with him, and he has no better friend than myself."³

STAUPITZ.—"I have already done so, and I will again advise him to submit to the Church in all humility."

DE VIO.—"You will have to reply to the arguments he derives from the Holy Scriptures."⁴

STAUPITZ.—"I must confess, my lord, that is a task beyond my abilities: for Doctor Martin Luther is superior to me both in genius and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures."

The cardinal smiled, no doubt, at the vicar-general's frankness. Besides, he knew himself how difficult it would be to convince Luther. He continued, addressing both Staupitz and Link:—

¹ L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 197.

² Ibid. (W.) xiii. 1331.

³ Service, not non-interactive. Ibid. (L.) xvii. 202.

⁴ L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 210.

⁵ Ibid. 204.

⁶ Ibid. 205.

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"Are you aware, that, as partisans of an heretical doctrine, you are yourselves liable to the penalties of the Church?"

STAUPITZ.—"Condescend to resume the conference with Luther, and order a public discussion on the controverted points."

DE VIO, *alarmed at the very thought*.—"I will no longer dispute with that beast, for it has deep eyes and wonderful speculations in its head."

Staupitz at length prevailed on the cardinal to transmit to Luther in writing what he was required to retract.

The vicar-general returned to Luther. Staggered by the representations of the cardinal, he endeavoured to persuade him to come to an arrangement. "Refute, then," said Luther, "the declarations of Scripture that I have advanced."—"It is beyond my ability," said Staupitz.—"Well then!" replied Luther, "it is against my conscience to retract, so long as these passages of Scripture are not explained differently. What!" continued he, "the cardinal professes, as you inform me, that he is desirous of arranging this affair without any disgrace or detriment to me! Ah! these are Roman expressions, which signify in good German that it will be my eternal shame and ruin. What else can he expect who, through fear of men and against the voice of his conscience, denies the truth?"¹

Staupitz did not persist; he only informed Luther that the cardinal had consented to transmit to him in writing the points which he would be required to retract. He then no doubt informed him also of his intention of quitting Augsburg, where he had no longer anything to do. Luther communicated to him a plan he had formed for comforting and strengthening their souls. Staupitz promised to return, and they separated for a short time.

Alone in his cell, Luther turned his thoughts towards the friends dearest to his heart. His ideas wandered to Weimar and to Wittenberg. He desired to inform the elector of what was passing; and, fearful of being indiscreet by addressing the prince himself, he wrote to Spalatin, and begged the chaplain to inform his master of the state of affairs. He detailed the whole transaction, even to the promise given by the legate to send him the controverted points in writing, and finished by saying: "This is the posture of affairs; but I have neither hope nor confidence in the legate. I will not retract a syllable. I will publish the reply I gave him, in order that, if he should proceed to violence, he may be covered with shame in all Christendom."²

The doctor then profited by the few moments that still remained to write to his Wittenberg friends.

"Peace and happiness," wrote he to Doctor Carlstadt. "Accept these few words as if they were a long letter, for time and events are pressing. At a better opportunity I will write to you and others more fully. Three days my business has been in hand, and matters are now at such a point that I have no longer any hope of returning to you, and I have nothing to look for but excommunication. The legate positively will not allow me to dispute either publicly or privately. He desires not to be a judge," says he, "but a father to me; and yet he will hear no other words from me than these: 'I retract, and acknowledge my error.' And these I will not utter.

"The dangers of my cause are so much the greater that its judges are not only implacable enemies, but, still further, men incapable of understanding it. Yet the Lord God lives and reigns: to his protection I commit myself, and I doubt not that, in answer to the prayers of a few pious souls, he will send me deliverance; I imagine I feel them praying for me.

"Either I shall return to you without having suffered any harm; or else, struck with excommunication, I shall have to seek a refuge elsewhere.

"However that may be, conduct yourself valiantly, stand fast, and glorify Christ boldly and joyfully.....

"The cardinal always styles me his dear son. I know how much I must believe of that. I am nevertheless persuaded that I should be the most acceptable and dearest man to him in the world, if I would pronounce the single word *Revoco*, I retract. But I will not become a heretic by renouncing the faith by which I became a Christian. I would rather be exiled, accursed, and burnt to death.

"Farewell, my dear doctor; show this letter to our theologians, to Amsdorff, to Philip, to Otten, and the rest, in order that you may pray for me and also for yourselves; for it is your cause that I am pleading here. It is that of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the grace of God."³

Sweet thought, which ever fills with consolation and with peace all those who have borne witness to Jesus Christ, to his divinity, to his grace, when the world pours upon them from every side its judgments, its exclusions, and its disgrace: "Our cause is that of faith in the Lord!" And what sweetness also in the conviction expressed by the Reformer: "I feel that they are praying for me!" The Reformation was the work of piety and prayer. The struggle between Luther and De Vio was that of a religious element which reappeared full of life with the expiring relics of the wordy dialectics of the middle ages.

Thus did Luther converse with his absent friends. Staupitz soon returned; Doctor

¹ Ego nolo amplius cum hac bestia disputare. Habet enim profundos oculos et mirabiles speculationes in capite suo. Myconius, 33.

² *L. Opp. (L.)* xlv. 218.

³ *L. Opp. l.* 148.

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Ruhel and the Knight of Feilitzsch, both envoys from the elector, also called upon Luther after taking leave of the cardinal. Some other friends of the Gospel joined them. Luther, seeing thus assembled these generous men, who were on the point of separating, and from whom he was perhaps to part for ever, proposed that they should celebrate the Lord's Supper together. They agreed, and this little band of faithful men communicated in the body and blood of Jesus Christ. What feelings swelled the hearts of the reformer's friends at the moment when, celebrating the Eucharist with him, they thought it was perhaps the last time they would be permitted to do so! What joy, what love animated Luther's heart, as he beheld himself so graciously accepted by his Master at the very moment that men rejected him! How solemn must have been that communion! How holy that evening!¹

The next day,² Luther waited for the articles the legate was to send him; but not receiving any message, he begged his friend Wenceslas Link to go to the cardinal. De Vio received Link in the most affable manner, and assured him that he had no desire but to act like a friend. He said, "I no longer regard Luther as a heretic. I will not excommunicate him this time, unless I receive further orders from Rome. I have sent his reply to the pope by an express." And then, to show his friendly intentions, he added: "If Doctor Luther would only retract what concerns indulgences, the matter would soon be finished; for, as to what concerns faith in the sacraments, it is an article that each one may understand and interpret in his own fashion." Spalatin, who records these words, adds this shrewd but just remark: "It follows clearly that Rome looks to money rather than to the holy faith and the salvation of souls."³

Link returned to Luther: he found Staupitz with him, and gave them an account of his visit. When he came to the unexpected concession of the legate: "It would have been well," said Staupitz, "if Doctor Wenceslas had had a notary and witnesses with him to take down these words in writing; for, if such a proposal were made known, it would be very prejudicial to the Romans."

However, in proportion to the mildness of the prelate's language, the less confidence did these worthy Germans place in him. Many of the good men to whom Luther had been recommended held counsel together: "The legate," said they, "is preparing some mischief by this courier of whom he speaks, and it is very much to be feared that you will all be seized and thrown into prison."

Staupitz and Wenceslas therefore resolved to quit the city; they embraced Luther, who persisted in remaining at Augsburg, and departed hastily for Nuremberg, by two diffe-

rent roads, not without much anxiety respecting the fate of the courageous witness they were leaving behind them.

Sunday passed off quietly enough. But Luther in vain waited for the legate's message: the latter sent none. At last he determined to write. Staupitz and Link, before setting out, had begged him to treat the cardinal with all possible respect. Luther had not yet made trial of Rome and of her envoys: this is his first experiment. If deference did not succeed, he would take a warning from it. Now at least he must make the attempt. For his own part, not a day passed in which he did not condemn himself, and groan over his facility in giving utterance to expressions stronger than the occasion required: why should he not confess to the cardinal what he confessed daily to God? Besides, Luther's heart was easily moved, and he suspected no evil. He took up his pen, and with a sentiment of the most respectful goodwill, wrote to the cardinal as follows:¹—

"Most worthy Father in God, once more I approach you, not in person, but by letter, entreating your paternal goodness to listen to me graciously. The reverend Dr Staupitz, my very dear father in Christ, has called upon me to humble myself, to renounce my own sentiments, and to submit my opinions to the judgment of pious and impartial men. He has also praised your fatherly kindness, and has thoroughly convinced me of your favourable disposition towards me. This news has filled me with joy.

"Now, therefore, most worthy Father, I confess, as I have already done before, that I have not shown (as has been reported) sufficient modesty, meekness, or respect for the name of the sovereign pontiff; and, although I have been greatly provoked, I see that it would have been better for me to have conducted my cause with greater humility, mildness, and reverence, and not to have answered a fool according to his folly, lest I should be like unto him.

"This grieves me very much, and I ask forgiveness. I will publicly confess it to the people from the pulpit, as indeed I have often done before. I will endeavour, by God's grace, to speak differently. Nay more: I am ready to promise, freely and of my own accord, not to utter another word on the subject of indulgences, if this business is arranged. But also, let those who made me begin, be compelled on their part to be more moderate henceforth in their sermons, or to be silent.

"As for the truth of my doctrine, the authority of St. Thomas and other doctors cannot satisfy me. I must hear (if I am worthy to do so) the voice of the bride, which is the Church. For it is certain that she hears the voice of the Bridegroom, which is Christ.

"In all humility and submission, I there-

¹ [C. 2.] 17th Oct.
² [C. 2.] 17th Oct.

³ Saturday, 18th October.

¹ This letter is dated 17th October.

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fore entreat your paternal love to refer all this business, so unsettled up to this day, to our most holy lord Leo X., in order that the Church may decide, pronounce, and ordain, and that I may retract with a good conscience, or believe with sincerity."¹

As we read this letter, another reflection occurs to us. We see that Luther was not acting on a preconceived plan, but solely by virtue of convictions impressed successively on his mind and on his heart. Far from having any settled system, any well arranged opposition, he frequently and unsuspectingly contradicted himself. Old convictions still reigned in his mind, although opposite convictions had already entered it. And yet, it is in these marks of sincerity and truth that men have sought for arguments against the Reformation; it is because it followed the necessary laws of progression which are imposed upon all things in the human mind, that some have written the history of its variations; it is in these very features, that show its sincerity and which consequently make it honourable, that one of the most eminent christian geniuses has found his strongest objections.² Inconceivable perversity of the human mind!

Luther received no answer to his letter. Cajetan and his courtiers, after being so violently agitated, had suddenly become motionless. What could be the reason? Might it not be the calm that precedes the storm? Some persons were of Pallavicini's opinion: "The cardinal was waiting," he observes, "until this proud monk, like an inflated bellows, should gradually lose the wind that filled him, and become thoroughly humble."³ Others, imagining they understood the ways of Rome better, felt sure that the legate intended to arrest Luther, but that, not daring to proceed to such extremities on his own account, because of the imperial safe-conduct, he was waiting a reply from Rome to his message. Others could not believe that the cardinal would delay so long. The Emperor Maximilian, said they (and this may really be the truth), will have no more scruple to deliver Luther over to the judgment of the Church, notwithstanding the safe-conduct, than Sigismund had to surrender Huss to the Council of Constance. The legate is perhaps even now negotiating with the emperor. Maximilian's authorization may arrive every minute. The more he was opposed to the pope before, the more will he seem to flatter him now, until the imperial crown encircles his grandchild's head. There is not a moment to be lost. "Draw up an appeal to the pope," said the noble-minded men who surrounded Luther, "and quit Augsburg without delay."

Luther, whose presence in this city had been useless during the last four days, and who had sufficiently proved, by his remain-

ing after the departure of the Saxon councillors sent by the elector to watch over his safety, that he feared nothing, and that he was ready to answer any charge, yielded at length to his friends' solicitations. But first he resolved to inform De Vio of his intention: he wrote to him on Tuesday, the eve of his departure. This second letter is in a firmer tone than the other. It would appear that Luther, seeing all his advances were unavailing, began to lift up his head in the consciousness of his integrity and of the injustice of his enemies.

"Most worthy Father in God," wrote he to De Vio, "your paternal kindness has witnessed,—I repeat it, witnessed and sufficiently acknowledged my obedience. I have undertaken a long journey, through great dangers, in great weakness of body, and despite of my extreme poverty; at the command of our most holy lord, Leo X., I have appeared in person before your eminence; lastly, I have thrown myself at the feet of his holiness, and I now wait his good pleasure, ready to submit to his judgment, whether he should condemn or acquit me. I therefore feel that I have omitted nothing which it becomes an obedient child of the Church to do.

"I think, consequently, that I ought not uselessly to prolong my sojourn in this town; besides, it would be impossible; my resources are failing me; and your paternal goodness has loudly forbidden me to appear before you again, unless I will retract.

"I therefore depart in the name of the Lord, desiring, if possible, to find some spot where I may dwell in peace. Many persons, of greater importance than myself, have requested me to appeal from your paternal kindness, and even from our most holy lord, Leo X., ill informed, to the pope when better informed.⁴ Although I know that such an appeal will be far more acceptable to our most serene highness the elector than a retraction, nevertheless, if I had consulted my own feelings only, I should not have done so.....I have committed no fault; I ought therefore to fear nothing."

Luther having written this letter, which was not given to the legate until after his departure, prepared to quit Augsburg. God had preserved him till this hour, and he praised the Lord for it with all his heart; but he must not tempt God. He embraced his friends Pentinger, Langemantel, the Adelmans, Auerbach, and the prior of the Carmelites, who had shown him such christian hospitality. On Wednesday, before day-break, he was up and ready to set out. His friends had recommended him to take every precaution for fear that he should be prevented, if his intentions were known. He followed their advice as far as possible. A

¹ L. Opp. (L.) p. 196.

² Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations*. Liv. I. 25, &c.

³ *Ut tollit lile rentosa elationes distentus*, p. 40.

⁴ *Ut a R. P. tua, immo a Sanctissimo Domino nostro Leone X. male informato ad melius informandum appellerem*. L. Opp. I. 161.

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pony, that Staupitz had left for him, was brought to the door of the convent. Once more he bids his brethren adieu; he then mounts and sets off, without a bridle for his horse, without boots or spurs, and unarmed. The magistrate of the city had sent him as a guide one of the horse-police who was well acquainted with the roads. This servant conducts him in the dark through the silent streets of Augsburg. They direct their course to a small gate in the wall of the city. One of the councillors, Langemantel, had given orders that it should be opened. He is still in the power of the legate. The hand of Rome may grasp him yet. No doubt, if the Italians knew their prey was escaping them, they would utter a cry of rage. Who can say that the intrepid adversary of Rome will not yet be seized and thrown into a dungeon?.....At length Luther and his guide arrive at the little gate; they pass through. They are out of Augsburg; and soon they put their horses to a gallop, and ride speedily away.

Luther, on his departure, had left his appeal to the pope in the hands of the prior of Pomesaw. His friends had recommended that it should not be transmitted to the legate. The prior was commissioned to have it posted upon the cathedral gates two or three days after the doctor's departure, in the presence of a notary and witnesses. This was done.

In this paper, Luther declares that he appeals from the most holy Father the Pope, ill informed, to the most holy lord and Father in Christ, Leo X. of that name, by the grace of God, better informed.¹ This appeal had been drawn up in the customary form and style, by aid of the imperial notary, Gall of Herbrachtingen, in presence of two Augustine monks, Bartholomew Utmair, and Wenzel Steinbies. It was dated the 16th October.

When the cardinal was informed of Luther's departure, he was thunderstruck, and even frightened and alarmed, as he assured the elector in his letter. Indeed there was good cause to be annoyed. This departure, which so abruptly terminated the negotiations, disconcerted the hopes with which he had so long flattered his pride. He had been ambitious of the honour of healing the wounds of the Church, of restoring the tottering influence of the pope in Germany; and the heretic had escaped not only unpunished, but even without being humbled. The conference had served only to exhibit in a stronger light, on the one hand, Luther's simplicity, integrity, and firmness; and, on the other, the imperious and unreasonable proceedings of the pope and his ambassador. Since Rome had gained nothing, she had lost; her authority, not having been strengthened, had received a fresh check. What will

they say in the Vatican? What messages will be received from Rome? The difficulties of his position will be forgotten; the unlucky issue of this affair will be attributed to his want of skill. Serra Longa and the Italians were furious at seeing themselves with all their dexterity, outwitted by a German monk. De Vio could hardly conceal his irritation. Such an insult called for vengeance, and we shall soon witness him breathing out his wrath in a letter to the elector.

CHAPTER X.

Luther's Flight—Admiration—Luther's Desire—The Legate to the Elector—The Elector to the Legate—Prosperity of the University.

LUTHER and his guide continued their flight far from the walls of Augsburg. He spurred his horse, and galloped as fast as the poor animal's strength would permit. He called to mind the real or supposed flight of John Huss, the manner in which he was caught, and the assertion of his adversaries, who pretended that Huss having by his flight annulled the emperor's safe-conduct, they had the right of condemning him to the flames.¹ These anxious thoughts, however, did not long occupy Luther's mind. Having escaped from a city in which he had passed ten days under the terrible hand of Rome, which had already crushed so many thousand witnesses to the truth, and sprinkled all around it with blood,—now that he is free, now that he inhales the fresh breezes of the country, traverses the villages and rural districts, and beholds himself wonderfully delivered by the arm of the Lord, his whole being returns thanks to the Almighty. It is truly he who can now say: *Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken, and we are escaped. Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.*² Thus was Luther's heart overflowing with joy. But his thoughts were turned on De Vio also: "The cardinal would have liked to have me in his hands to send me to Rome. He is vexed, no doubt, at my escape. He imagined I was in his power at Augsburg; he thought he had me; but he was holding an eel by the tail. Is it not disgraceful that these people set so high a value upon me? They would give a heap of crowns to have me in their clutches, while our Lord Jesus Christ was sold for thirty pieces of silver."³

The first day he travelled fourteen leagues. When he reached the inn where he was to pass the night, he was so fatigued (his horse was a very hard trotter, an historian tells

¹ *Stilling's Informandum*. L. Opp. Lat. i. 282.

¹ Weismann, *Hist. Zool.* l. 1357.

² Psalm cxxiv. 7.

³ L. Opp. (L.) xlv. 122.

us) that, when he dismounted, he could not stand upright, and lay down upon a bundle of straw. He nevertheless obtained some repose. On the morrow he continued his journey. At Nuremberg he met with Staupitz, who was visiting the convents of his order. It was in this city that he first saw the brief sent by the pope to Cajetan about him. He was indignant at it, and it is very probable that if he had seen this brief before leaving Wittenberg, he would never have gone to the cardinal. "It is impossible to believe," said he, "that any thing so monstrous could have proceeded from any sovereign pontiff."¹

All along the road Luther was an object of general interest. He had not yet yielded in any one point. Such a victory, gained by a mendicant monk over the representative of Rome, filled every heart with admiration. Germany seemed avenged of the contempt of Italy. The eternal Word had received more honour than the word of the pope. This vast power, which for so many centuries tyrannized over the world, had received a formidable check. Luther's journey was like a triumph. Men rejoiced at the obstinacy of Rome, in the hope that it would lead to her destruction. If she had not insisted on preserving her shameful gains; if she had been wise enough not to despise the Germans; if she had reformed crying abuses: perhaps, according to human views, all would have returned to that death-like state from which Luther had awakened. But the papacy will not yield; and the doctor will see himself compelled to bring to light many other errors, and to go forward in the knowledge and manifestation of the truth.

On the 26th of October Luther reached Gräfenthal, on the verge of the Thuringian forests. Here he met with Count Albert of Mansfeldt, the same person who had so strongly dissuaded him from going to Augsburg. The count, laughing heartily at his singular equipage, compelled him to stop and be his guest. Luther soon resumed his journey.

He hastened forward, desiring to be at Wittenberg on the 31st October, under the impression that the elector would be there for the festival of All-Saints, and that he should see him. The brief which he had read at Nuremberg had disclosed to him all the perils of his situation. In fact, being already condemned at Rome, he could not hope either to stay at Wittenberg, to obtain an asylum in a convent, or to find peace and security in any other place. The elector's protection might perhaps be able to defend him; but he was far from being sure of it. He could no longer expect anything from the two friends whom he had possessed hitherto at the court of this prince. Staupitz had lost the favour he had so long enjoyed, and was

quitting Saxony. Spalatin was beloved by Frederick, but had not much influence over him. The elector himself was not sufficiently acquainted with the doctrine of the Gospel to encounter manifest danger for its sake. Luther thought, however, that he could not do better than return to Wittenberg, and there await what the eternal and merciful God would do with him. If, as many expected, he were left unmolested, he resolved to devote himself entirely to study and to the education of youth.¹

Luther re-entered Wittenberg on the 30th of October. All his expedition had been to no purpose. Neither the elector nor Spalatin had come to the feast. His friends were overjoyed at seeing him again amongst them. He hastened to inform Spalatin of his arrival. "I returned to Wittenberg to-day safe and sound, by the grace of God," said he, "but how long I shall stay here I do not know... I am filled with joy and peace, and can hardly conceive that the trial which I endure can appear so great to so many distinguished personages."

De Vio had not waited long after Luther's departure to pour forth all his indignation to the elector. His letter breathes vengeance. He gives Frederick an account of the conference with an air of assurance. "Since brother Martin," says he in conclusion, "cannot be induced by paternal measures to acknowledge his error, and remain faithful to the catholic Church, I beg your highness will send him to Rome, or expel him from your states. Be assured that this difficult, mischievous, and envenomed business cannot be protracted much longer; for so soon as I have informed our most holy lord of all this artifice and wickedness, it will be brought to an end." In a postscript, written with his own hand, the cardinal entreates the elector not to tarnish his honour and that of his illustrious ancestors for the sake of a miserable little friar.²

Never perhaps did Luther's soul feel a nobler indignation than when he read the copy of this letter forwarded to him by the elector. The thought of the sufferings he is destined to undergo, the value of the truth for which he is contending, contempt inspired by the conduct of the Roman legate,—all agitated his heart together. His reply, written in the midst of this agitation, is full of that courage, sublimity, and faith which he always displayed in the most trying circumstances of his life. He gives, in his turn, an account of the Augsburg conference; and after describing the cardinal's behaviour, he continues thus:—

"I should like to answer the legate in the place of the elector:

"Prove that you speak of what you understand," I would say to him; "let the whole matter be committed to writing: then I will

¹ Tale gaud monstri a summo Pontifice agredi. L. Epp. 166.

² L. Opp. (L.) viii. 183.

² Ibid. 206.

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; he took refuge in his dignity, and sed the monk with a compassionate under which he endeavoured to con- is disappointment, and at the same ith the politeness of a man who hopes ter success another time.

er had scarcely reached the court of ace before that babbling Italian, the of the ceremonies, whom his lord's ands had compelled to quit the hall of nce, overjoyed at being able to speak t being observed by Cajetan, and g with desire to confound the abomi- heretic with his luminous reasonings, er him, and began, as he walked along, l out his sophisms. But Luther, dis- with this foolish individual, replied to : one of those sarcasms which he had h at command, and the poor master away abashed, and returned in con- to the cardinal's palace.

er did not carry away a very exalted of his adversary. He had heard from s he wrote afterwards to Spulatin, pro- ns quite opposed to sound theology, hich in the mouth of another would been considered arch-heresies. And : Vio was reckoned the most learned : Dominicans. Next after him was . "We may conclude from this," says r, "what they must be who are in the or the hundredth rank."¹

the other hand, the noble and decided g of the Wittenberg doctor had greatly ed the cardinal and his courtiers. In- of a poor monk asking pardon as a , they had found a man of indepen- a firm Christian, an enlightened , who required that unjust accusations be supported by proofs, and who vic- ly defended his own doctrine. Every Cajetan's palace cried out against the obstinacy, and effrontery of the heretic. and De Vio had learned to know each and both prepared for their second ew.

ry agreeable surprise awaited Luther return to the Carmelite convent. The vernal of the Augustine order, his and father, Staupitz, had arrived at urg. Unable to prevent Luther's y to that city, Staupitz gave his friend and touching proof of his attachment g thither himself in the hope of being to him. This excellent man foresaw he conference with the legate might the most serious consequences. He qually agitated by his fears and by his ship for Luther. After so painful an ew, it was a great comfort to the : to embrace so dear a friend. He told ow impossible it had been to obtain an r of any value, and how the cardinal asisted solely upon a recantation, with- aving assayed to convince him. "You

must positively," said Staupitz, "reply to the legate in writing."

After what he had learnt of the first inter- view, Staupitz entertained but little hopes from another. He therefore resolved upon an act which he now thought necessary; he determined to release Luther from the obligations of his order. By this means Staupitz thought to attain two objects: if, as everything seemed to forebode, Luther should fail in this undertaking, he would thus prevent the disgrace of his condemnation from being reflected on the whole order: and if the cardinal should order him to force Luther to be silent or to retract, he would have an excuse for not doing so.¹ The ceremony was performed with the usual formalities. Luther saw clearly what he must now expect. His soul was deeply moved at the breaking of those bonds which he had taken upon him in the enthusiasm of youth. The order he had chosen rejects him; his natural protectors forsake him. He is already become a stranger among his brethren. But although his heart was filled with sadness at the thought, all his joy returned when he directed his eyes to the promises of a faithful God, who has said: *I will never leave thee nor forsake thee.*

The emperor's councillors having informed the legate, through the Bishop of Trent, that Luther was provided with an imperial safe-conduct, and having at the same time enjoined him to take no proceedings against the doctor, De Vio lost his temper, and abruptly answered in this truly Romish language: "It is well; but I will execute the pope's orders."² We know what they were.

CHAPTER VII.

Second Interview—Luther's Declaration—The Legate's Answer—His Volubility—Luther's Request.

THE next day³ both parties prepared for a second interview, which it seemed would be decisive. Luther's friends, who were resolved to accompany him to the legate's palace, went to the Carmelite convent. Peutingger and the Dean of Trent, both imperial councillors, and Staupitz, arrived successively. Shortly after, the doctor had the pleasure of seeing them joined by the knight Philip of Feilitzsch and Doctor Ruhel, councillors of the elector, who had received their master's order to be present at the conferences, and to protect Luther's liberty. They had reached Augsburg the previous evening. They were to keep close to him, says Ma-

¹ Darin ihn Dr Staupitz von dem Kloster-Gehorsam ab- solviret. *Meib. 1A.*

² *L. Opp. (L.) xvi. 201.*

³ Wednesday, 12th October.

whose teaching appeared to open a new era to religion and learning. These youths who came from every province, halted as soon as they discovered the steeples of Wittenberg in the distance; they raised their hands to heaven, and praised God for having caused the light of truth to shine forth from this city, as from Sion in times of old, and whence it spread even to the most distant countries.¹ A life and activity till then unknown animated the university. "Our students here are as busy as ants," wrote Luther.²

CHAPTER XI.

Thoughts on Departure—Farewell to the Church—Critical Moment—Deliverance—Luther's Courage—Disaffection at Rome—Bail—Appeal to a Council.

LUTHER, imagining he might soon be expelled from Germany, was engaged in publishing a report of the Augsburg conference. He desired that it should remain as a testimony of the struggle between him and Rome. He saw the storm ready to burst, but did not fear it. He waited from day to day for the anathemas that were to be sent from Italy; and he put everything in order, that he might be prepared when they arrived. "Having tucked up my robe and girt my loins," said he, "I am ready to depart, like Abraham, without knowing whither I go; or rather well knowing, since God is every where."³ He intended leaving a farewell letter behind him. "Be bold enough," wrote he to Spalatin, "to read the letter of an accused and excommunicated man."

His friends felt great anxiety and fear on his account. They entreated him to deliver up himself as a prisoner into the elector's hands, in order that this prince might keep him somewhere in security.⁴

His enemies could not understand whence he derived this confidence. One day as the conversation turned upon him at the court of the Bishop of Brandenburg, and it was asked on what support he could rely: "On Erasmus," said some; "on Capito, and other learned men who are in his confidence."—"No, no," replied the bishop, "the pope would care very little about those folks. It is in the university of Wittenberg and the Duke of Saxony that he trusts." Thus both parties were ignorant of the stronghold in which the reformer had taken refuge.

Thoughts of departure passed through Luther's mind. They did not originate in fear of danger, but in foresight of the continually increasing obstacles that a free con-

fession of the truth would meet with in Germany. "If I remain here," said he, "the liberty of speaking and writing many things will be torn from me. If I depart, I shall freely pour forth the thoughts of my heart, and devote my life to Christ."¹

France was the country where Luther hoped to have the power of announcing the truth without opposition. The liberty enjoyed by the doctors and university of Paris, appeared to him worthy of envy. Besides, he agreed with them on many points. What would have happened had he been removed from Wittenberg to France? Would the Reformation have been established there, as in Germany? Would the power of Rome have been dethroned there; and would France, which was destined to see the hierarchical principles of Rome and the destructive principles of an irreligious philosophy long contend within her bosom, have become a great centre of evangelical light? It is useless to indulge in vain conjectures on this subject; but perhaps Luther at Paris might have changed in some degree the destinies of Europe and of France.

Luther's soul was deeply moved. He used to preach frequently in the city church, in the room of Simon Heyens Pontanus, pastor of Wittenberg, who was almost always sick. He thought it his duty, at all events, to take leave of that congregation to whom he had so frequently announced salvation. He said in the pulpit one day: "I am a very unstable and uncertain preacher. How often already have I not left you without bidding you farewell?.....If this case should happen again, and that I cannot return, accept my farewell now." Then, after adding a few words, he concluded by saying with moderation and gentleness: "Finally, I warn you not to be alarmed, should the papal censures be discharged upon me. Do not blame the pope, or bear any ill-will, either to him or to any other man; but trust all to God."²

The moment seemed to have come at last. The prince informed Luther that he desired him to leave Wittenberg. The wishes of the elector were too sacred for him not to hasten to comply with them. He therefore made preparations for his departure, without well knowing whither he should direct his steps. He desired however to see his friends once more around him, and with this intent prepared a farewell repast. Seated at the same table with them, he still enjoys their sweet conversation, their tender and anxious friendship. A letter is brought to him..... It comes from the court. He opens it and reads; his heart sinks; it contains a fresh order for his departure. The prince inquires, "why he delays so long." His soul was overwhelmed with sadness. Yet he resumed his courage, and raising his head, said firmly

¹ Boullet, *Annal.* l. 17.

² *Studium nostrum more fornicarum ferret.* L. Epp. l. 152.

³ *Quia Deus ubique.* Ibid. 155.

⁴ *Ut principium me in captivitatem darent.* Ibid. 155.

¹ *Si vero totum effundam et vitam offeram Christo.* E.

Epp. l. 150.

² *Deo rem committerent.* Ibid. 151.

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and joyfully, as he turned his eyes on those about him: "Father and mother abandon me, but the Lord takes me up."¹ Leave he must. His friends were deeply moved.—What would become of him? If Luther's protector rejects him, who will receive him? And the Gospel, the truth, and this admirable work.....all will doubtless perish with its illustrious witness. The Reformation seems to hang upon a thread, and at the moment Luther quits the walls of Wittemberg, will not this thread break? Luther and his friends said little. Struck with the blow that had fallen upon their brother, tears roll down their cheeks. But shortly after, a new messenger arrives. Luther opens the letter, not doubting that it contains a fresh order. But, O powerful hand of the Lord! for a time he is saved. Everything is changed. "Since the pope's new envoy hopes that all may be arranged by a conference, remain for the present."² How important was this hour! and what would have happened if Luther, ever anxious to obey his sovereign's will, had left Wittemberg immediately on receiving the first letter? Never were Luther and the cause of the Reformation lower than at this moment. It appeared that their fate was decided: an instant sufficed to change it. Having reached the lowest degree of his career, the Wittemberg doctor rose rapidly, and his influence from this time continued increasing. The Almighty commands (in the language of the prophet), and his servants go down to the depths, and mount up again to heaven.

By Frederick's order, Spalatin summoned Luther to Lichtenberg, to have an interview with him. They conversed a long time on the situation of affairs. "If the censures arrive from Rome," said Luther, "certainly I shall not stay at Wittemberg."³ "Beware," said Spalatin, "of being too precipitate in going to France!"⁴ He left him, telling him to wait for further orders. "Only commend myself to Christ," said Luther to his friends. "I see that my adversaries are still more determined in their designs to ruin me; but meanwhile Christ strengthens me in my resolution to concede nothing."⁵

Luther now published his *Report of the Conference at Augsburg*. Spalatin had written to him, on the part of the elector, not to do so; but the letter came too late. As soon as the publication had taken place, the prince gave his sanction: "Great God!" said Luther in his preface, "what a new, what an amazing crime to seek for light and truth!and above all in the Church, that is to say, in the kingdom of truth."—"I send you my *Report*," wrote he to Link: "it is keener no doubt than the legate expects; but my pen is ready to produce much greater things.

I do not know myself whence these thoughts arise. In my opinion, the work is not yet begun," so far are the great ones at Rome mistaken in looking for the end. I will send you what I have written, in order that you may judge whether I have guessed rightly that the Antichrist of whom St. Paul speaks now reigns in the court of Rome. I think I shall be able to show that he is worse now a-days than the Turks themselves.

Sinister reports reached Luther from every side. One of his friends wrote to him that the new envoy from Rome had received an order to lay hold of him and deliver him up to the pope. Another related, that while travelling he had met with a courtier, and that the conversation turning on the matters that were now occupying all Germany, the latter declared that he had undertaken to deliver Luther into the hands of the sovereign pontiff. "But the more their fury and their violence increase," wrote the reformer, "the less I tremble."⁶

At Rome they were much displeased with Cajetan. The vexation felt at the ill-success of this business was at first vented on him. The Roman courtiers thought they had reason to reproach him for having been deficient in that prudence and address which, if we must believe them, were the chief qualities in a legate, and for not having relaxed, on so important an occasion, the strictness of his scholastic theology. It is all his fault, said they. His clumsy pedantry spoiled all. Why did he exasperate Luther by insults and threats, instead of alluring him by the promise of a rich bishopric, or even of a cardinal's hat?⁷ These mercenaries judged of the reformer by themselves. Still the failure must be retrieved. On the one hand, Rome must declare herself; on the other, she must conciliate the elector, who might be very serviceable to her in the choice they would soon have to make of an emperor. As it was impossible for Roman ecclesiastics to suspect whence Luther derived his courage and his strength, they imagined that the elector was implicated more deeply in the affair than he really was. The pope therefore resolved to pursue another course. He caused a bull to be published in Germany by his legate, in which he confirmed the doctrine of indulgences, precisely in the points attacked, but in which he made no mention either of Luther or of the elector. As the reformer had always declared that he would submit to the decision of the Roman church, the pope imagined that he would now either keep his word, or exhibit himself openly as a disturber of the peace of the Church, and a contemner of the holy apostolic see. In either case, the pope could not but gain; no advantage however is derived by obstinately opposing the

¹ Vater und Mutter verlassen mich, aber der Herr nimmt mich auf.

² L. Opp. xv. 284.

³ Et iam cito in Galliam itur. L. Opp. i. 162.

⁴ Permet Christus prospectum non cedendi in me. *Ibid.*

⁵ Res ista necdum habet initium suum meo iudicio. L. Opp. i. 153.

⁶ Quo illi magis furunt, et vi affectant viam eo minus ego terreo. *Ibid.* 191.

⁷ *Serpt.* Council of Trent, p. 2.

truth. In vain had the pope threatened with excommunication whoever should teach otherwise than he ordained; the light is not stopped by such orders. It would have been wiser to moderate by certain restrictions the pretensions of the sellers of indulgences. This decree from Rome was therefore a new fault. By legalizing crying abuses, it irritated all wise men, and rendered Luther's reconciliation impossible. "It was thought," says a Roman-catholic historian, a great enemy to the Reformation,¹ "that this bull had been issued solely for the benefit of the pope and the begging friars, who began to find that no one would purchase their indulgences."

Cardinal De Vio published the decree at Lintz, in Austria, on the 13th December 1518; but Luther had already placed himself beyond its reach. On the 28th November, he had appealed, in the chapel of *Corpus Christi*, at Wittemberg, from the pope to a general council of the Church. He foresaw the storm that was about to burst upon him; he knew that God alone could disperse it; but he did what it was his duty to do. He must, no doubt, quit Wittemberg, if only on the elector's account, as soon as the Roman anathemas arrive: he would not, however, leave Saxony and Germany without a striking protest. He therefore drew one up, and that it might be ready for circulation as soon

as the Roman thunders reached him, as he expresses it, he had it printed under the express condition that the bookseller should deposit all the copies with him. But this man, covetous of gain, sold almost every one, while Luther was calmly waiting to receive them. The doctor was vexed, but the thing was done. This bold protest was soon circulated every where. In it Luther declared anew that he had no intention of saying any thing against the holy Church or the authority of the apostolic see, and of the pope when well-advised. "But," continues he, "seeing that the pope, who is God's vicar upon earth, may, like any other man, err, sin, and lie, and that an appeal to a general council is the only means of safety against that injustice which it is impossible to resist, I am obliged to have recourse to this step."¹

Here we see the Reformation launched on a new career. It is no longer made dependent on the pope and on his resolutions, but on a general council. Luther addresses the whole Church, and the voice that proceeds from the chapel of *Corpus Christi* must be heard throughout all the Lord's fold. The reformer is not wanting in courage; of this he has just given a new proof. Will God be wanting to him? This we shall learn from the different periods of the Reformation that still remain to be displayed before our eyes.

¹ Kalmbourg, p. 23.

¹ Loecher, *Ref. Act.*

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

VOLUME SECOND.

BOOK V.

THE LEIPSIK DISPUTATION.—1519.

CHAPTER I.

Luther's Danger—God preserves Luther—The Pope sends a Chamberlain—The Legate's Journey—Roman Briefs—Circumstances favourable to the Reform—Miltitz with Gasolin—Tetzel's Alarm—Miltitz's Flattery—Demands a Retraction—Luther refuses, but offers to keep Silence—Agreement between Luther and the Nuncio—The Legate's Kiss—Tetzel reproached by the Legate—Luther to the Pope—Nature of the Reformation—Luther opposes Separation—De Vis and Miltitz at Treves—Luther's Cause extends over various Countries—Luther's Writings begin the Reformation.

DANGERS had gathered round Luther and the Reformation. The appeal of the Wittemberg doctor to a general council was a new assault upon the papal power. A bull of Pius II. had pronounced the greater excommunication even against the emperors who should dare be guilty of such an act of revolt. Frederick of Saxony, as yet weak in the evangelical doctrine, was ready to banish Luther from his states.¹ A new message from Leo X. would therefore have driven the reformer among strangers, who might have feared to compromise themselves by receiving a monk lying under the anathema of Rome. And if any of the nobles had drawn the sword in his defence, these simple knights, despised by the mighty princes of Germany, would soon have been crushed in their perilous enterprise.

But at the very moment that the courtiers of Leo X. were urging him to measures of severity, and when another blow would have placed his adversary in his hands, this pope suddenly changed his policy, and entered upon a course of conciliation and apparent

mildness.¹ We may reasonably presume that he was deceived as to the elector's sentiments, and thought them more favourable to Luther than they really were; we may admit that the public voice and the spirit of the age—powers then quite new—appeared to surround Luther with an impregnable rampart; we may suppose, as one of his historians has done,² that he followed the impulses of his judgment and of his heart, which inclined to mildness and moderation; but this new mode of action, adopted by Rome at such a moment, is so strange, that it is impossible not to recognise in it a higher and a mightier hand.

A Saxon noble, the pope's chamberlain, and canon of Mentz, Treves, and Meissen, was then at the Roman court. He had contrived to make himself of importance. He boasted of being distantly related to the Saxon princes, so that the Roman courtiers sometimes gave him the title of Duke of Saxony. In Italy, he made a foolish display of his German nobility; in Germany, he was an awkward imitator of the elegance and manners of the Italians. He was fond of wine,³ and his residence at the court of Rome had increased this vice. The Roman courtiers, however, entertained great expectations of him. His German origin, his insinuating manners, his skill in business,—all led them to hope that Charles of Miltitz (for such was his name) would by his pru-

¹ *Rationem agendi prorsus oppositam inire statuit. Cardinal Pallavicini, Hist. Concil. Trident. l. 61.*

² *Escoe, Life of Leo X., chap. 21.*

³ *Nec ab usu immoderato vini abstinuit. Pallavicini, Hist. Concil. Trid. l. 62.*

¹ Letter from the Elector to his envoy at Rome. *L. Opp. (L.)* xvii. 222.

dence succeed in arresting the mighty revolution that threatened to shake the world.

It was of importance to conceal the real object of the mission of the Roman chamberlain. This was effected without difficulty. Four years previously, the pious elector had petitioned the pope for the Golden Rose. This rose, the most beautiful of flowers, represented the body of Jesus Christ; it was consecrated yearly by the sovereign pontiff, and sent to one of the chief princes in Europe. It was resolved to give it this year to the elector. Miltitz departed with a commission to examine the state of affairs, and to gain over Spalatin and Pfeflinger, the elector's councillors. He carried private letters for them. In this manner, by seeking to conciliate those who surrounded the prince, Rome hoped ere long to have her formidable adversary in her power.

The new legate, who arrived in Germany in December 1518, was engaged during his journey in sounding the public opinion. To his great surprise he found, that wherever he went, the majority of the inhabitants were partisans of the Reformation.¹ They spoke of Luther with enthusiasm. For one person favourable to the pope, there were three favourable to the reformer.² Luther has transmitted to us one of the incidents of his mission. "What do you think of the papal chair?" the legate would frequently ask the landladies and maidservants at the inns. On one occasion one of these poor women artlessly replied: "What can we know of the papal chair, whether it is of wood or of stone?"³

The mere rumour of the new legate's arrival filled the elector's court, the university and town of Wittenberg, and the whole of Saxony, with suspicion and distrust. "Thanks be to God, Luther is still alive," wrote Melancthon in affright.⁴ It was affirmed that the Roman legate had received orders to get Luther into his power either by violence or stratagem. Every one recommended the doctor to be on his guard against the treachery of Miltitz. "He is coming," said they, "to seize you and give you up to the pope. Trustworthy persons have seen the briefs he is bringing with him."—"I await God's will," replied Luther.⁵

Miltitz indeed came bearing letters for the elector, for his councillors, and for the bishops and the burgomaster of Wittenberg. He brought with him seventy apostolical briefs. If the flattery and the favours of Rome attained their end,—if Frederick delivered Luther into his hands, these seventy briefs were, in some measure, to serve as passports.

He would produce and post up one in each of the cities through which he would have to pass, and by this means he hoped to succeed in dragging his prisoner to Rome without opposition.⁶

The pope appeared to have taken every precaution. Already in the electoral court they did not know what course to adopt. They would have resisted violence; but how could they oppose the head of Christendom, who spoke with so much mildness, and with so great an appearance of reason? Would it not be desirable, they said, for Luther to conceal himself, until the storm had passed over? An unexpected event extricated Luther, the elector, and the Reformation, from this difficult position. The aspect of the world suddenly changed.

On the 12th of January 1519, Maximilian, emperor of Germany, expired. Frederick of Saxony, in conformity with the Germanic constitution, became administrator of the empire. Henceforth the elector no longer feared the projects of nuncios. New interests began to agitate the court of Rome, which forced it to be cautious in its negotiations with Frederick, and arrested the blow that Miltitz and De Vio undoubtedly were meditating.

The pope earnestly desired to prevent Charles of Austria, already king of Naples, from filling the imperial throne. He thought that a neighbouring king was more to be feared than a German monk. Desirous of securing the elector, who might be of great use to him in this affair, he resolved to let the monk rest, that he might the better oppose the king; but both advanced in despite of him. Thus changed Leo X.

Another circumstance also contributed to turn aside the storm that threatened the Reformation. Political troubles broke out immediately after Maximilian's death. In the south of the empire, the Swabian confederation desired to punish Ulric of Wurtemberg, who had been unfaithful to it; in the north, the Bishop of Hildesheim threw himself with an armed force upon the bishopric of Minden and on the territories of the Duke of Brunswick. In the midst of all this agitation, how could the great ones of the age attach any importance to a dispute about the remission of sins? But God especially advanced the cause of the Reformation by the wisdom of the elector, now become vicar of the empire, and by the protection he granted to the new teachers. "The tempest suspended its rage," says Luther, "the papal excommunication began to fall into contempt. Under the shadow of the elector's vicereignty, the Gospel circulated far and wide, and popery suffered great damage in consequence."⁷

Besides, during an interregnum the severest prohibitions naturally lost their force.

¹ *Selectatus per viam Miltitatus quam esset in estimatione Lutherus... sensit de eo cum admiratione homines loqui.* Pallavicini, *Hist. Concil. Trid.* i. 61.

² *Eccē ubi unum pro papa stare inveni, tres pro te contra papam stabant.* L. Opp. Lat. in Pref.

³ *Quid nos scire possumus quales vos Rome habeatis scilicet, lignumne an lapideum?* *Ibid.*

⁴ *Martinus nosse, Deo gratias, adhuc sperat. Corpus Reformatorem edidit Bretschneider.* i. 61.

⁵ *Especto consilium Dei.* L. Opp. i. 191.

⁶ *Per singula oppida affigeret unum, et ita tutus me perduceret Romam.* L. Opp. Lat. in Pref.

⁷ *Tunc cessit paululum servire tempestas, &c.* *Ibid.*

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ne easier and more free. The ray that shone upon these beginnings formation powerfully developed the plant; and already it might have how favourable political liberty to the progress of evangelical Chris-

who had reached Saxony before the death of Maximilian, had hastened to the old friend Spalatín; but he had no success in his complaints against Luther, and the Latin broke out against Tetzel. He then, as a nuncio acquainted with the false and blasphemous of the indulgences, and declared that all Germany was to be given to the Dominican the divisions by the Church was rent.

He was astonished. Instead of being the user, he found himself the accused. His anger was immediately directed at Tetzl. He summoned him to appear at Altenburg and justify his conduct.

dominican, as cowardly as he was fearing the people whom his imposition exasperated, had discontinued passage from town to town, and had hidden himself in the college of St. Paul at Leipsic. He was pale on receiving Milnitz's letter. He abandoned him; she threatens to leave him; she wishes to draw him to the only asylum in which he thinks himself secure, and to expose him to the hands of his enemies. Tetzl refused to obey the emperor's summons. "Certainly," wrote Milnitz on the 31st of December 1518, "I did not care about the fatigue of the journey, if I could leave Leipsic without danger to my life; but the Augustine Martin has so excited and aroused the men against me, that I am nowhere safe. I am a number of Luther's partisans have been killed by death; I cannot, therefore, come."

What a striking contrast is here these two men, the one residing in the cloister of St. Paul at Leipsic, the other in the Augustinian cloister at Wittemberg! The one was intrepid in the presence of danger; the other, a contemptible cowardice.

z had been ordered to employ per-
measures in the first instance; and
uly when these failed that he was to
his seventy briefs, and at the same
ke use of all the favours of Rome to
the elector to restrain Luther. He
e intimated his desire to have an in-
with the reformer. Their common
spalatin, offered his house for that
and Luther quitted Wittenberg on
r 3d of January to visit Altenburg.
s interview Miltitz exhausted all the
of a diplomatist and of a Roman
Luther had scarcely arrived when
cio approached him with great de-
clarations of friendship. "Oh!" thought

Luther, "how his violence is changed into gentleness! This new Saul came to Germany, armed with more than seventy apostolical briefs, to drag me alive and in chains to that murderous Rome; but the Lord has thrown him to the ground by the way."¹

"My dear Martin," said the pope's chamberlain, in a fawning tone, "I thought you were an old theologian now, seated quietly at his fireside, was labouring under some theological crotchet; but I see you are still a young man and in the prime of life."² Do you know," continued he, assuming a graver tone, "that you have drawn away everybody from the pope and attached them to yourself?"³ Milnitz was not ignorant that the best way of seducing mankind is to flatter their pride; but he did not know the man he had to deal with. "If I had an army of 25,000 men," added he, "I do not think I should be able to carry you to Rome."⁴ Rome with all her power was sensible of her weakness compared with this poor monk; and the monk felt strong compared with Rome. "God stays the waves of the sea upon the shore," said Luther, "and he stays them—with sand!"⁵

The nuncio, believing he had now prepared his adversary's mind, continued in these terms: "Bind up the wound that you yourself have inflicted on the Church, and that you alone can heal. Beware," said he, dropping a few tears, "beware of raising a tempest that would cause the destruction of Christendom."⁶ He then gradually proceeded to hint that a retraction alone could repair the mischief; but he immediately softened down whatever was objectionable in this word, by giving Luther to understand that he felt the highest esteem for him, and by storming against Tetzel. The snare was laid by a skilful hand: how could it fail to catch the prey? "If, at the outset, the Archbishop of Mentz had spoken to me in this manner," said the reformer afterwards, "this business would not have created so much disturbance."⁷

Luther then replied, and set forth with calmness, but with dignity and force, the just complaints of the Church; he did not conceal his great indignation against the Archbishop of Mentz, and complained in a noble manner of the unworthy treatment he had received from Rome, notwithstanding the purity of his intentions. Militz, who had not expected to hear such decided language, was able however to suppress his anger.

¹ Sed per viam a Domino prostratus.....mutavit violentiam in benevolentiam fallacissime simulatam. L. Epp. I. 206.

2 O Martine, ego credebam te esse senem aliquem theologum, qui post fornacem sedens (sitting behind the stove), &c. L. Opp. Lat. in Præf.

³ Quod orbem totum mihi conjunkerim et papae abstraxerim. L. Epp. I. 231.

⁴ Si haberem xxv. millia armatorum, non considerem te posse a me Romam perducī. L. Opp. Lat. in Pref.

⁵ L. Opp. (W.) xlii.
⁶ Profusus lacrymis ipsum oravit, ne tam perniciosam
 Christiano generi tempestatem cleret. Pallavicini, l. 22.
⁷ Non evasisset res in tantum tumultum. L. Opp. loc.
 in Praef.

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"I offer," resumed Luther, "to be silent for the future on this matter, and to let it lie away of itself,¹ provided my opponents are silent on their part; but if they continue attacking me, a serious struggle will soon arise out of a trifling quarrel. My weapons are quite prepared."²—"I will do still more," he added a moment after; "I will write to his holiness, acknowledging I have been a little too violent, and I will declare to him that it is as a faithful son of the Church that I opposed discourses which drew upon them the mockeries and insults of the people. I even consent to publish a writing desiring all those who read my works not to see in them any attacks upon the Roman Church, and to continue under its authority. Yes! I am willing to do and to bear everything; but as for a retraction, never expect one from me."

Miltitz saw by Luther's firm tone that the wisest course would be to appear satisfied with what the reformer so readily promised. He merely proposed they should choose an archbishop to arbitrate on some points that were still to be discussed. "Be it so," said Luther; "but I am very much afraid that the pope will not accept any judge; in that case I will not abide by the pope's decision, and then the struggle will begin again. The pope will give the text, and I shall make my own comments upon it."

Thus ended the first interview between Luther and Miltitz. They had a second meeting, in which the truce or rather the peace was signed. Luther immediately informed the elector of what had taken place. "Most serene prince and most gracious lord," wrote he, I hasten most humbly to acquaint your electoral highness that Charles of Miltitz and myself are at last agreed, and have terminated this matter by deciding upon the following articles:—

1. Both parties are forbidden to preach, write, or do anything further in the discussion that has been raised.

2. Miltitz will immediately inform the holy Father of the state of affairs. His holiness will empower an enlightened bishop to investigate the matter, and to point out the erroneous articles I should retract. If they prove me to be in error I shall willingly recant, and will do nothing derogatory to the honour or authority of the holy Roman Church."³

When the agreement had been thus effected, Miltitz appeared overjoyed. "These hundred years past," exclaimed he, "no question has occasioned more anxiety to the cardinals and Roman courtiers than this. They would rather have given ten thousand ducats than consent to its being prolonged."⁴

The pope's chamberlain spared no marks

of attention to the monk of Witte one time he manifested his joy, he shed tears. This show of moved the reformer but little; still showing what he thought of it, tended not to understand the these crocodile's tears," said he.⁵

Miltitz gave Luther an inviter, which the latter accepted laid aside all the severity connection, and Luther indulged cheerfulness of his disposition. was joyous,⁶ and when the moment was come, the legate arms to the heretical doctor, and "A Judas kiss," thought Luther, tended not to understand these fices," wrote he to Staupitz.⁷

Was that kiss destined to recall and the dawning Reformation hoped so, and was delighted at it for he had a nearer view than courtiers of the terrible consequence papacy might suffer from the If Luther and his adversaries a thought he, the dispute will be Rome, by calling up a favourable will regain all her former influence, then, that the terminus contest was at hand. Rome had arms, and the reformer seemed to himself into them. But this was of man, but of God. The error in regarding as a mere monkish was in reality an awakening of The kisses of a papal chamberlain check the renewal of Christendom

Miltitz being of opinion that this means reclaim the erring, behaved most graciously to all accepted their invitations, and satable with the heretics; but soon inebriated (it is a pope who relate pontifical nuncio was no longer his tongue. The Saxons led him the pope and the court of Rome, confirming the old proverb, *in vi* gave an account in the openness of all the practices and disorders papacy.⁸ His companions smiled and pressing him to continue; was exposed; they took notes said; and these scandals were made matter of public reproach Romans, at the Diet of Worms, sence of all Germany. Pope Pat

¹ Ego disamulabam has crocodilli lacrym. lgt. L. Epp. i. 216. The crocodile is said to cannot seize his prey.

² Atque vesperi, me accepto, convivio latus.

³ Sic amice discessimus etiam cum osculo.

⁴ Ibid. 216.

⁵ Has itallitates. Ibid. 231.

⁶ Saepè perturbatus vino. Instructio data tunc Pauli III. nuntio, 24th October 1536. T covered by Hanks in a library at Rome.

⁷ When the wine is in, the wit comes e Prov.

⁸ En effusio de pontifice et Romana curi inducebatur. Instructio, &c.

¹ Und die Sache sich zu Tode bluten. L. Epp. i. 207.
² Ibid. 209.
³ Ab integro jam seculo nullum negotium Ecclesie contigisse quod majorem illi sollicitudinem incutisset. Pallavicini, l. 22.

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eging they had put things in mouth that were utterly destitute of, and in consequence ordered whenever they were invited out, retence of accepting the invitation graciously, and to be guarded reservation.¹

ithful to the arrangement he had ed, went from Altenburg to Leipzig was residing. There was to silence him, for sooner than ould have concealed himself if he centre of the earth. But the ved to vent all his anger on him. e reached Leipzig, he summoned i Tetzel before him, overwhelmed roaches, accused him of being of all his trouble, and threatened e pope's displeasure.² This was

An agent from the house of o was then in the city, was con him. Miltitz laid before the the accounts of this establish- pers he had himself signed, and he had squandered or stolen con- ums of money. The unhappy in the day of his triumph nothing bent under the weight of these ions: he fell into despair, his red, he knew not where to hide

Luther was informed of the nition of his old adversary, and as affected by it. "I am sorry wrote he to Spalatin.³ He did himself to words: it was not the actions that he hated. At the at that Rome was venting her e Dominican, Luther sent him a f consolation. But all was un- etzel, a prey to remorse, terrified oaches of his best friends, and e pope's anger, died very miser- after. It was believed that ated his death.⁴

accordance with the promise he iltitz, wrote the following letter on the 3d March:—

Father! May your holiness con- incline your paternal ear, which rist himself, towards your poor listen kindly to his bleating. I do, most holy Father? I can- lightnings of your anger, and I ow to escape them. I am called act. I would most readily do so, lead to the desired result. But ions of my adversaries have cir- writtings far and wide, and they ly graven on the hearts of men, y possibility erased. A recanta- only still more dishonour the

Church of Rome, and draw from the lips of all a cry of accusation against her. Most holy Father! I declare in the presence of God and of all His creatures, that I have never desired, and that I shall never desire, to weaken, either by force or stratagem, the power of the Roman Church or of your holiness. I confess that nothing in heaven or in earth should be preferred above that Church, except Jesus Christ alone—the Lord of all."¹

These words might appear strange and even reprehensible in Luther's mouth, did we not remember that he reached the light not suddenly, but by a slow and progressive course. They are a very important evidence, that the Reformation was not simply an opposition to the papacy, it was not a war waged against certain forms; nor was it the result of a merely negative tendency. Opposition to the pope was in the second line of the battle: a new life, a positive doctrine was the generating principle. "Jesus Christ, the Lord of all, and who must be preferred above all," even above Rome itself, as Luther writes at the end of his letter, was the essential cause of the Revolution of the sixteenth century.

It is probable that shortly before this time the pope would not have passed over unnoticed a letter in which the monk of Wittemberg plainly refused to retract. But Maximilian was dead: men's minds were occupied with the choice of his successor, and in the midst of the intrigues which then agitated the pontifical city, Luther's letter was disregarded.

The reformer made a better use of his time than his powerful adversary. Whilst Leo X. was occupied with his interests as a temporal prince, and was making every exertion to exclude a formidable neighbour from the throne, Luther grew each day in knowledge and in faith. He studied the papal decrees, and the discoveries he made therein greatly modified his ideas. "I am reading the decrees of the pontiffs," wrote he to Spalatin, "and (I whisper this in your ear) I do not know whether the pope is Antichrist himself, or his apostle,"² so greatly is Christ misrepresented and crucified in them."

Yet he still felt esteem for the ancient Church of Rome, and had no thought of separating from it. "That the Roman Church," said he in the explanation which he had promised Miltitz to publish, "is honoured by God above all others is what we cannot doubt. Saint Peter, Saint Paul, forty-six popes, many hundreds of thousands of martyrs, have shed their blood in its bosom, and have overcome hell and the world, so that God's eye regards it with especial favour. Although every thing is now in a very

om vultu accipere et sequi invitationes, que pontificis ita fregit hominem hactenus, ut et imperterritum stentorem. L. Opp. in

stima. L. Opp. i. 223.
notis indignitate Pape forte occubuit. L.

¹ Præter unum Jesum Christum Dominum omnium. L. Opp. i. 224.
² Nescio an Papa sit Antichristus ipse vel apostolus ejus. Ibid. 225.

wretched state there, this is not a sufficient reason for separating from it. On the contrary, the worse things are going on within it, the more should we cling to it; for it is not by separation that we shall make it better. We must not desert God on account of the devil; or abandon the children of God who are still in the Roman communion, because of the multitude of the ungodly. There is no sin, there is no evil that should destroy charity or break the bond of union. For charity can do all things, and to unity nothing is difficult."¹

It was not Luther who separated from Rome: it was Rome that separated from Luther, and thus rejected the ancient faith of the Catholic Church, of which he was then the representative. It was not Luther who deprived Rome of her power, and made her bishop descend from a throne which he had usurped: the doctrines he proclaimed, the word of the apostles which God manifested anew in the Universal Church with great power and admirable purity, could alone prevail against that dominion which had for centuries enslaved the Church.

These declarations, which were published by Luther at the end of February, did not entirely satisfy Miltitz and De Vio. These two vultures, who had both seen their prey escape from their talons, had retired within the ancient walls of Treves. There, assisted by the prince-archbishop, they hoped to accomplish together the object in which each of them had failed separately. The two nuncios felt clearly that nothing more was to be expected from Frederick, now invested with supreme power in the empire. They saw that Luther persisted in his refusal to retract. The only means of success were to deprive the heretical monk of the elector's protection, and entice him into their hands. Once at Treves, in the states of an ecclesiastical prince, the reformer will be very skilful if he escapes without having fully satisfied the demands of the sovereign pontiff. They immediately applied themselves to the task. "Luther," said Miltitz to the Elector-archbishop of Treves, "has accepted your Grace as arbitrator. Summon him before you." The Elector of Treves accordingly wrote on the 3d May to the Elector of Saxony, requesting him to send Luther to him. De Vio, and afterwards Miltitz himself, wrote also to Frederick, informing him that the Golden Rose had arrived at Augsburg. This (thought they) is the moment for striking a decisive blow.

But circumstances had changed: neither Frederick nor Luther permitted himself to be shaken. The elector comprehended his new position. He no longer feared the pope, much less his agents. The reformer, seeing Miltitz and De Vio united, foresaw the fate that awaited him if he complied with their

invitation. "Everywhere," said he, "and in every manner they seek after my life."² Besides, he had appealed to the pope, and the pope, busied in intrigues with crowned heads, had not replied. Luther wrote to Miltitz: "How can I set out without an order from Rome, in the midst of the troubles by which the Empire is agitated? How can I encounter so many dangers, and incur such heavy expense, seeing that I am the poorest of men?"

The Elector of Treves, a prudent and moderate man, and a friend of Frederick's, was desirous of keeping on good terms with the latter. Besides, he had no desire to interfere in this matter, unless he was positively called upon. He therefore arranged with the Elector of Saxony to put off the inquiry until the next diet, which did not take place until two years after, when it assembled at Worms.

Whilst a providential hand thus warded off, one by one, the dangers by which Luther was threatened, he himself was boldly advancing towards a goal which he did not suspect. His reputation increased; the cause of truth grew in strength; the number of students at Wittenberg was augmented, and among them were the most distinguished young men of Germany. "Our town," wrote Luther, "can hardly receive all those who are flocking to it;"—and on another occasion: "The number of students increases considerably, like an overflowing river."³

But it was no longer in Germany alone that the reformer's voice was heard. It had passed the frontiers of the empire, and begun to shake, among the different nations of Europe, the foundations of the Romish power. Frobenius, a celebrated printer at Basle, had published a collection of Luther's works. It was rapidly circulated. At Basle, the bishop himself commended Luther. The cardinal of Sion, after reading his works, exclaimed with a slight tone of irony, playing upon his name: "O Luther! thou art a real Luther!"⁴

Erasmus was at Louvain when Luther's writings reached the Low Countries. The prior of the Augustines of Antwerp, who had studied at Wittenberg, and who, according to the testimony of Erasmus, was a follower of true primitive Christianity, read them with eagerness, as did other Belgians. But those who consulted their own interests only, remarks the sage of Rotterdam, and who fed the people with old wives' tales, broke out into gloomy fanaticism. "I cannot describe to you," wrote Erasmus to Luther, "the emotion, the truly tragic sensation which your writings have occasioned."⁵

Frobenius sent six hundred copies of these

¹ *Viduo ubique, undique, quocunque modo, animam meam queri.* L. Epp. i. 274. Mar 16.

² *Sicut aqua inundans.* Ibid. 276, 277.

³ *Lustror, purifier, refiner.*

⁴ *Nullo sermone consequi queam, quas tragedias hic eccitavit tui libelli.* Eras. Epp. vi. 4.

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works into France and Spain. They were sold publicly in Paris. The doctors of the Sorbonne, as it would appear, read them with approbation. "It is high time," said some of them, "that those who devote themselves to biblical studies should speak out freely." In England these books were received with still greater eagerness. Some Spanish merchants translated them into their mother-tongue, and forwarded them from Antwerp to their own country. "Certainly these merchants must have been of Moorish descent," says Pallavicini.¹

Calvi, a learned bookseller of Pavia, carried a great number of copies to Italy, and circulated them in all the transalpine cities. It was not the love of gain that inspired this man of letters, but a desire of contributing to the revival of piety. The energy with which Luther maintained the cause of Christ filled him with joy. "All the learned men of Italy," wrote he, "will unite with me, and we will send you verses composed by our most distinguished writers."

Frobenius, in transmitting a copy of his publication to Luther, related all these joyful tidings, and added: "I have sold every copy, except ten; and I have never made so good a speculation." Other letters informed Luther of the joy caused by his works. "I am delighted," said he, "that the truth is so pleasing, although she speaks with so little learning and in so barbarous a tone."²

Such was the commencement of the awakening in the various countries of Europe. If we except Switzerland, and even France, where the Gospel had already been preached, the arrival of the Wittenberg doctor's writings every where forms the first page in the history of the Reformation. A printer of Basle scattered the first germs of truth. At the very moment when the Roman pontiff thought to stifle the work in Germany, it began in France, the Low Countries, Italy, Spain, England, and Switzerland. What matters it, even should Rome cut down the parent stem?.....the seeds are already scattered over every land.

CHAPTER II.

Passes in Germany—Eck revives the Contest—Disputation between Eck and Carlostadt—Question of the Pope—Luther replies—Fears of Luther's Friends—Luther's Courage—The Truth triumphs unaided—Refusal of Duke George—Gaiety of Musellanus—Fears of Erasmus.

When the combat was beginning beyond the confines of the empire, it appeared dying away within. The most impetuous of the

Roman champions, the Franciscans of Juterbock, who had imprudently attacked Luther, had hastily become silent after the reformer's vigorous reply. The papal partisans were mute: Tetzel was no longer in a condition to fight. Luther was entreated by his friends not to continue the discussion, and he had promised compliance. The theses were passing into oblivion. This treacherous peace rendered the eloquence of the reformer powerless. The Reformation appeared checked. "But," said Luther somewhat later, when speaking of this epoch, "men imagine vain things; for the Lord awoke to judge the people.—God does not guide me," he said in another place; "he pushes me forward, he carries me away. I am not master of myself. I desire to live in repose; but I am thrown into the midst of tumults and revolutions."³

Eck the scholastic, Luther's old friend, and author of the *Obelisks*, was the man who recommenced the combat. He was sincerely attached to the papacy, but seems to have had no true religious sentiments, and to have been one of that class of men, so numerous in every age, who look upon science, and even theology and religion, as the means of acquiring worldly reputation. Vain glory lies hid under the priest's cassock no less than under the warrior's coat of mail. Eck had studied the art of disputation according to the rules of the schoolmen, and had become a master in this sort of controversy. While the knights of the middle ages and the warriors in the time of the Reformation sought for glory in the tournament, the schoolmen struggled for it in syllogistic disputations,—a spectacle of frequent occurrence in the universities. Eck, who entertained no mean idea of himself, and who was proud of his talents, of the popularity of his cause, and of the victories he had gained in eight universities of Hungary, Lombardy, and Germany, ardently desired to have an opportunity of trying his strength and skill against the reformer. He had spared no exertion to acquire the reputation of being one of the most learned men of the age. He was constantly endeavouring to excite some new discussion, to make a sensation, and aimed at procuring, by means of his exploits, all the enjoyments of life. A journey that he had made to Italy had been, according to his own account, one long series of triumphs. The most learned scholars had been forced to subscribe to his theses. This experienced gladiator fixed his eyes on a new field of battle, in which he thought the victory already secure. The little monk who had suddenly grown into a giant,—that Luther, whom hitherto no one had been able to vanquish, galled his pride

¹ Dominus erigilavit et stat ad iudicandos populos. *l. Opp. Lat. in Pref.*

² Deus rapuit, pellit, nedom ducit me; non sum compos mei; volo esse quietus et rapior in medios tumultus. *l. Opp. l. 221.*

³ Maurorum stirpe prognatis. Pallav. *l. 91.*
⁴ In his id gaudeo, quod veritas tam barbare et indocte homines, alio placet. *l. Opp. l. 255.*

and excited his jealousy.¹ Perhaps in seeking his own glory, Eck might ruin Rome. But his scholastic vanity was not to be checked by such a consideration. Theologians, as well as princes, have more than once sacrificed the general interest to their personal glory. We shall see what circumstances afforded the Ingoldstadt doctor the means of entering the lists with his importunate rival.

The zealous but too ardent Carlstadt was still on friendly terms with Luther. These two theologians were closely united by their attachment to the doctrine of grace, and by their admiration for Saint Augustine. Carlstadt was inclined to enthusiasm, and possessed little discretion: he was not a man to be restrained by the skill and policy of a Miltitz. He had published some theses in reply to Dr. Eck's *Obelisks*, in which he defended Luther and their common faith. Eck had answered him; but Carlstadt did not let him have the last word.² The discussion grew warm. Eck, desirous of profiting by so favourable an opportunity, had thrown down the gauntlet, and the impetuous Carlstadt had taken it up. God made use of the passions of these two men to accomplish His purposes. Luther had not interfered in their disputes, and yet he was destined to be the hero of the fight. There are men who by the force of circumstances are always brought upon the stage. It was agreed that the discussion should take place at Leipsic. Such was the origin of that Leipsic disputation which became so famous.

Eck cared little for disputing with and even conquering Carlstadt: Luther was his great aim. He therefore made every exertion to allure him to the field of battle, and with this view published thirteen theses³ which he pointed expressly against the chief doctrines already set forth by the reformer. The thirteenth was thus drawn up: "We deny that the Roman Church was not raised above the other churches before the time of Pope Sylvester; and we acknowledge in every age, as the successor of St. Peter and the vicar of Jesus Christ, him who has filled the chair and held the faith of St. Peter." Sylvester lived in the time of Constantine the Great; by this thesis, Eck denied, therefore, that the primacy enjoyed by Rome had been conferred on it by that emperor.

Luther, who had reluctantly consented to remain silent, was deeply moved as he read these propositions. He saw that they were aimed at him, and felt that he could not honourably avoid the contest. "This man," said he, "calls Carlstadt his antagonist, and at the same time attacks me. But God reigns. He knows what He will bring out of this tra-

gedy.⁴ It is neither Doctor Eck nor myself that will be at stake: God's purpose will be accomplished. Thanks to Eck, this affair, which hitherto has been mere play, will become serious, and inflict a deadly blow on the tyranny of Rome and of the Roman pontiff."

Rome herself had broken the truce. She did more; in renewing the signal of battle, she began the contest on a point that Luther had not yet attacked. It was the papal supremacy to which Doctor Eck drew the attention of his adversaries. In this he followed the dangerous example that Tetzels had already set.⁵ Rome invited the blows of the gladiator; and, if she left some of her members quivering on the arena, it was because she had drawn upon herself his formidable arm.

The pontifical supremacy once overthrown, the whole edifice would crumble into ruin. The greatest danger was impending over the papacy, and yet neither Miltitz nor Cajetan took any steps to prevent this new struggle. Did they imagine that the Reformation would be vanquished, or were they struck with that blindness which often hurries along the mighty to their destruction?

Luther, who had set a rare example of moderation by remaining silent so long, fearlessly replied to the challenge of his antagonist. He immediately published some new theses in opposition to those of Doctor Eck. The last was conceived in these words: "It is by contemptible decretals of Roman pontiffs, composed within the last four centuries, that they would prove the primacy of the Church of Rome; but this primacy is opposed by all the credible history of eleven centuries,—by the declarations of Holy Scripture,—and by the resolutions of the Council of Nice, the holiest of all councils."⁶

"God knows," wrote he at the same time to the elector, "that I was firmly resolved to keep silence, and that I was glad to see this struggle terminated at last. I have so strictly adhered to the treaty concluded with the papal commissary, that I have not replied to Sylvester Prierio, notwithstanding the insults of my adversaries, and the advice of my friends. But now Doctor Eck attacks me, and not only me, but the university of Wittenberg also. I cannot suffer the truth to be thus covered with opprobrium."⁷

At the same time Luther wrote to Carlstadt: "Most excellent Andrew, I would not have you enter upon this dispute, since they are aiming at me. I shall joyfully lay aside my serious occupations to take my part in the sports of these flatterers of the Roman pontiff."⁸—Then addressing his adversary,

¹ Sed Deus in medio decorum; ipse novit quid ex ea turba deducere voluerit. L. Epp. I. 230, 232.

² See vol. I. pp. 108-109.

³ L. Opp. I. xvii. 245.

⁴ L. Epp. I. 237.

⁵ Gaudens et ridens posthabeo istorum mea seria iuda.

⁶ Ibid. 251.

⁷ Nihil cupiebat ardentius, quam sui specimen probare in solenni disputatione cum emulo. Pallavicini, tom. I. p. 245.

⁸ Defensio adversus Eckii monomachiam.

L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 242.

he cries disdainfully from Wittenberg to Ingolstadt: "Now, my dear Eck, be brave, and gird thy sword upon thy thigh, thou mighty man!" If I could not please thee as mediator, perhaps I shall please thee better as antagonist. Not that I imagine I can vanquish thee; but because, after all the triumphs thou hast gained in Hungary, Lombardy, and Bavaria (if at least we are to believe thee), I shall give thee opportunity of gaining the title of conqueror of Saxony and Misnia, so that thou shalt for ever be hailed with the glorious title of August."²

All Luther's friends did not share in his courage; for no one had hitherto been able to resist the sophisms of Doctor Eck. But their greatest cause of alarm was the subject of the discussion: the pope's primacy. How can the poor monk of Wittenberg dare oppose that giant who for ages has crushed all his enemies? The courtiers of the elector were alarmed. Spalatin, the prince's confidant and Luther's intimate friend, was filled with anxiety. Frederick was uneasy: even the sword of the knight of the holy sepulchre, with which he had been invested at Jerusalem,³ would be of little avail in this war. The reformer alone did not blench. *The Lord* (thought he) *will deliver him into my hands.* The faith by which he was animated gave him the means of encouraging his friends: "I entreat you, my dear Spalatin," said he, "do not give way to fear. You well know that if Christ had not been on my side, all that I have hitherto done must have been my ruin. Quite recently has not the Duke of Pomerania's chancellor received news from Italy, that I had turned Rome topsy-turvy, and that they knew not how to quiet the agitation? so that it was resolved to attack me, not according to the rules of justice, but by Roman artifices (such was the expression used), meaning, I suppose, poison, ambush, or assassination."

"I restrain myself, and from love to the elector and the university suppress many things that I would publish against Babylon, if I were elsewhere. O my poor Spalatin, it is impossible to speak with truth of the Scriptures and of the Church without arousing the beast. Never expect to see me free from danger, unless I abandon the teaching of sound divinity. If this matter be of God, it will not come to an end before all my friends have forsaken me, as Christ was forsaken by his disciples. Truth will stand alone, and will triumph by its own right hand, not by mine, nor yours, nor any other man's.⁴ If I perish, the world will not perish with me. But, wretch that I am, I fear I am unworthy to die in such a cause."

"Rome," he wrote again about the same time, "Rome is eagerly longing to kill me, and I am wasting my time in braving her. I have been assured that an effigy of Martin Luther was publicly burnt in the Campo di Fiori at Rome, after being loaded with execrations. I await their furious rage.¹ The whole world," he continued, "is moved, and totters in body and mind; what will happen, God only knows. For my part, I foresee wars and disasters. The Lord have mercy on us!"²

Luther wrote letter upon letter to duke George,³ begging this prince, in whose states Leipsic was situated, to give him permission to go and take part in the disputation; but he received no answer. The grandson of the Bohemian king, alarmed by Luther's proposition on the papal authority, and fearing the recurrence of those wars in Saxony of which Bohemia had so long been the theatre, would not consent to the doctor's request. The latter therefore resolved to publish an explanation of the 13th thesis. But this writing, far from persuading the duke, made him only the more resolved; he positively refused the sanction required by the reformer to take a share in the disputation, allowing him only to be present as a spectator.⁴ This annoyed Luther very much: yet he had but one desire,—to obey God. He resolved to go—to look on—and to wait his opportunity.

At the same time the prince forwarded to his utmost ability the disputation between Eck and Carlstadt. George was attached to the old doctrine; but he was upright, sincere, a friend to free inquiry, and did not think that every opinion should be judged heretical, simply because it was offensive to the court of Rome. More than this, the elector used his influence with his cousin; and George, gaining confidence from Frederick's language, ordered that the disputation should take place.⁵

Adolphus, bishop of Merseburg, in whose diocese Leipsic was situated, saw more clearly than Miltitz and Cajetan the danger of leaving such important questions to the chances of single combat. Rome dared not expose to such hazard the hard-earned fruits of many centuries. All the Leipsic theologians felt no less alarm, and entreated their bishop to prevent the discussion. Upon this, Adolphus made the most energetic representations to Duke George, who very sensibly replied: "I am surprised that a bishop should have so great a dread of the ancient and praiseworthy custom of our fathers,—the investigation of doubtful questions in matters of faith. If your theologians refuse to defend their doctrines, it would be better to employ

¹ *Interit fortis et accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum, potentissime!* L. Ep. l. 251.

² *An et vobis semper Augustus salutare in eternum.* Ibid.

³ See vol. I. pp. 29-31.

⁴ *De re et ratione, quam adversus eo doctorum meo, non modo meo, sed vobis hominibus.* L. Ep. l. 252.

¹ *Especto furorem illorum.* L. Ep. l. 250. May 30, 1519.

² *Totus orbis natat et movetur, tam corpore quam anima.* Ibid.

³ *Ternis literis, a duce Georgio non potui certum obtinere responsum.* Ibid. 251.

⁴ *Ita et non disputator, sed spectator futurum Leipsiam ingrederer.* L. Op. in Pref.

⁵ *Principio nostri verbo firmatus.* L. Ep. l. 253.

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the money spent on them in maintaining old women and children, who at least could spin while they were singing."¹

This letter had but little effect on the bishop and his theologians. There is a secret consciousness in error that makes it shrink from examination, even when talking most of free inquiry. After having imprudently advanced, it retreated with cowardice. Truth gave no challenge, but it stood firm: error challenged to the combat, and ran away. Besides, the prosperity of Wittenberg was an object of jealousy to the university of Leipsic. The monks and priests of the latter city begged and entreated their flocks from the pulpit to flee from the new heretics. They vilified Luther; they depicted him and his friends in the blackest colours, in order to excite the ignorant classes against the doctors of the Reformation.² Tetzel, who was still living, awoke to cry out from the depth of his retreat: "It is the devil who urges them to this contest."³

All the Leipsic professors did not, however, entertain the same opinions: some belonged to the class of indifferents, always ready to laugh at the faults of both parties. Among this body was the Greek professor, Peter Mosellanus. He cared very little about either John Eck, Carlstadt, or Martin Luther; but he flattered himself that he would derive much amusement from their disputation. "John Eck, the most illustrious of goose-quill gladiators and of braggadocios," wrote he to his friend Erasmus, "John Eck, who like the Aristophanic Socrates despises even the gods themselves, will have a bout with Andrew Carlstadt. The match will end in loud cries. Ten such men as Democritus would find matter for laughter in it."⁴

The timid Erasmus, on the contrary, was alarmed at the very idea of a combat, and his prudence would have prevented the discussion. "If you would take Erasmus's word," wrote he to Melancthon, "you would labour rather in cultivating literature than in disputing with its enemies."⁵ I think that we should make greater progress by this means. Above all, let us never forget that we ought to conquer not only by our eloquence, but also by mildness and moderation. Neither the alarm of the priests nor the discretion of the pacificators could any longer prevent the combat. Each man got his arms ready.

¹ Scheider, Lips. Chr. iv. 168.

² Theologi interim me prociundant....populum Lipsiam incitant. l. Epp. i. 253.

³ Das walt der Teufel. Ibid.

⁴ Seckend. p. 201.

⁵ Malin le plus opera sumere in asserendis bonis literis, quam in sectandis huiusmodi hostibus. Corpus Reformationum, edit. Bretschneider, l. 78, April 22, 1519.

CHAPTER III.

Arrival of Eck and of the Wittenbergers—Amsdorff—The Students—Carlstadt's Accident—Placard—Eck and Luther—The Pleissenburg—Judges proposed—Luther objects—He consents at last.

WHILE the electors were meeting at Frankfurt to choose an Emperor (June 1519), the theologians assembled at Leipsic for an act, unnoticed by the world at large, but whose importance was destined to be quite as great for posterity.

Eck came first to the rendezvous. On the 21st of June he entered Leipsic with Poliander, a young man whom he had brought from Ingolstadt to write an account of the disputation. Every mark of respect was paid to the scholastic doctor. Robed in his sacerdotal garments, and at the head of a numerous procession, he paraded the streets of the city on the festival of Corpus Christi. All were eager to see him: the inhabitants were on his side, he tells us himself; "yet," adds he, "a report was current in the town that I should be beaten in this combat."

On the day succeeding the festival (Friday, 24th June), which was the feast of Saint John, the Wittenbergers arrived. Carlstadt, who was to contend with Dr Eck, sat alone in his carriage, and preceded all the rest. Duke Barnim of Pomerania, who was then studying at Wittenberg, and who had been named honorary rector of the university, came next in an open carriage: at each side were seated the two great divines—the fathers of the Reformation—Luther and Melancthon. The latter would not quit his friend. "Martin, the soldier of the Lord," he had said to Spalatin, "has stirred up this fetid pool.¹ My spirit is vexed when I think of the disgraceful conduct of the papal theologians. Be firm, and abide with us!" Luther himself had wished that his Achates, as he called him, should accompany him.

John Lange, vicar of the Augustines, many doctors of law, several masters of arts, two licentiates in theology, and other ecclesiastics, among whom was Nicholas Amsdorff, closed the procession. Amsdorff, sprung from a noble family, valuing little the brilliant career to which his illustrious birth might have called him, had dedicated himself to theology. The theses on indulgences had brought him to a knowledge of the truth. He had immediately made a bold confession of faith.² Possessing a strong mind and an ardent character, Amsdorff frequently excited Luther, who was naturally vehement enough, to acts that were perhaps imprudent. Born in exalted rank, he had no fear of the great, and he sometimes spoke to them with

¹ Martinus, Domini miles, hanc camaram movit. Corp. Ref. i. 52.

² Nec cum carne et sanguine diu contulit, sed statim palam ad alios, fidel confessionem constanter edidit. M. Adam Vita Amsdorff.

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in bordering on rudeness. "The f Jesus Christ," said he one day be- assembly of nobles, "belongs to the afflicted—not to you, princes, lords, tiers, who live continually in luxury sura."¹

These persons alone did not form the on from Wittenberg. A great num- uents followed their teachers: Eck hat they amounted to two hundred. with pikes and halberds, they sur- the carriages of the doctors, ready d them, and proud of their cause.

was the order in which the *cortège* eformers arrived in Leipsic. They ady entered by the Grimma gate, anced as far as St. Paul's cemetery, ne of the wheels of Carlstadt's car- ave way. The archdeacon, whose as delighted at so solemn an entry, to the mud. He was not hurt, but pelled to proceed to his lodgings on uther's carriage, which followed pidly outstripped him, and bore the in safety to his quarters. The in- s of Leipsic, who had assembled to the entry of the Wittenberg cham- oked upon this accident as an evil Carlstadt: and ere long the whole of opinion that he would be van- in the combat, but that Luther me off victorious.²

hus of Merseburg was not idle. As he heard of the approach of Luther lstadt, and even before they had from their carriages, he ordered pla- be posted upon the doors of all the , forbidding the opening of the dis- under pain of excommunication. eorge, astonished at this audacity, ded the town-council to tear down ards, and committed to prison the nt who had ventured to execute the order.³ George had repaired to

attended by all his court, among as that Jerome Emser, at whose Dresden Luther had passed a re- evening.⁴ George made the cus- presents to the respective comba- "The duke," observed Eck with "gave me a fine deer; but he only awn to Carlstadt."⁵

liately on hearing of Luther's arrival, nt to visit the Wittenberg doctor. is this!" asked he; "I am told that se to dispute with me!"

re.—"How can I, since the duke idden me?"

—"If I cannot dispute with you, I le about meeting Carlstadt. It was account I came here."⁶ Then after

a moment's silence he added: "If I can procure you the duke's permission, will you enter the lists with me?"

LUTHER, *joyfully*.—"Procure it for me and we will fight."

Eck immediately waited on the duke, and endeavoured to remove his fears. He represented to him that he was certain of victory, and that the papal authority, far from suffering in the dispute, would come forth covered with glory. The ringleader must be attacked: if Luther remains standing, all stands with him; if he falls, everything will fall with him. George granted the required per- mission.

The duke had caused a large hall to be prepared in his palace of the Pleissenburg. Two pulpits had been erected opposite each other; tables were placed for the notaries commis- sioned to take down the discussion, and benches had been arranged for the spectators. The pulpits and benches were covered with handsome hangings. Over the pulpit of the Wittenberg doctor was suspended the por- trait of Saint Martin, whose name he bore; over that of Doctor Eck, a representation of Saint George the champion. "We shall see," said the presumptuous Eck, as he looked at this emblem, "whether I shall not ride over my enemies." Every thing an- nounced the importance that was attached to this contest.

On the 25th June, both parties met at the palace to hear the regulations that were to be observed during the disputation. Eck, who had more confidence in his declamations and gestures than in his arguments, ex- claimed, "We will dispute freely and extem- poraneously; and the notaries shall not take down our words in writing."

CARLSTADT.—"It has been agreed that the disputation should be reported, published, and submitted to the judgment of all men."

ECK.—"To take down every thing that is said is dispiriting to the combatants, and prolongs the battle. There is an end to that animation which such a discussion requires. Do not check the flow of eloquence."¹

The friends of Doctor Eck supported his proposition, but Carlstadt persisted in his objections. The champion of Rome was obliged to give way.

ECK.—"Be it so; it shall be taken down. But do not let the notes be published before they have been submitted to the examination of chosen judges."

LUTHER.—"Does then the truth of Doctor Eck and his followers dread the light?"

ECK.—"We must have judges."

LUTHER.—"What judges?"

ECK.—"When the disputation is finished, we will arrange about selecting them."

The object of the partisans of Rome was evident. If the Wittenberg divines accepted judges, they were lost: for their adversaries

¹ Hist. Eccl. l. 1444.
² Michael von Presterthum. Wittenb. 1686. In the

(L.) xvii. 246.

(L.) p. 82.

id. p. 120.

³ See how lost disputation, neque cum Carlstadio vole;

scimus hinc vult. (L. Opp. in Pres.)

¹ Melaneth. Opp. l. 128. Koethe's edition.

were sure beforehand of those who would be applied to. If they refused these judges, they would be covered with shame, for their opponents would circulate the report that they were afraid to submit their opinions to impartial arbitrators.

The judges whom the reformers demanded were, not any particular individual, whose opinion had been previously formed, but all Christendom. They appealed to this universal suffrage. Besides, it is a slight matter to them if they are condemned, if, while pleading their cause before the whole world, they have brought a few souls to the knowledge of the truth. "Luther," says a Romanist historian, "required all men for his judges; that is, such a tribunal that no urn could have been vast enough to contain the votes."¹

They separated. "See what artifices they employ," said Luther and his friends one to another. "They desire no doubt to have the pope or the universities for judges."

In fact, on the next morning the Romanist divines sent one of their number to Luther, who was commissioned to propose that their judge should be—the pope!..... "The pope!" said Luther; "how can I possibly agree to this?"

"Beware," exclaimed all his friends, "of acceding to conditions so unjust." Eck and his party held another council. They gave up the pope, and proposed certain universities. "Do not deprive us of the liberty which you had previously granted," answered Luther.—"We cannot give way on this point," replied they.—"Well then!" exclaimed Luther, "I will take no part in the discussion!"²

Again the parties separated, and this matter was a general topic of conversation throughout the city. "Luther," everywhere exclaimed the Romanists, "Luther will not dispute!.....He will not acknowledge any judge!" His words were commented on and misrepresented, and his adversaries endeavoured to place them in the most unfavourable light. "What! does he really decline the discussion?" said the reformer's best friends. They went to him and expressed their alarm. "You refuse to take any part in the discussion!" cried they. "Your refusal will bring everlasting disgrace on your university and on your cause." This was attacking Luther on his weakest side.—"Well, then!" replied he, his heart overflowing with indignation, "I accept the conditions imposed upon me; but I reserve the right of appeal, and except against the court of Rome."³

¹ Alebat, ad universos mortales pertinere iudicium, hoc est ad tribunal cuius colligendis calculis nulla urna satis ampla. Pallavicini, l. 56.
² L. Opp. (L.) xlv. 264.

³ Ibid.

CHAPTER IV.

Opening of the Disputation—Speech of Mosellanus—*Veni Sancte Spiritus*—Portraits of Luther and Carlstadt—Doctor Eck—Carlstadt's Books—Merit of Congruity—Natural Powers—Scholastic Distinction—Point at which Rome and the Reformation diverge—Liberty given to Man by Grace—Carlstadt's Notes—Clamour of the Spectators—Melancthon during the Disputation—His Opinion—Eck's Manœuvres—Luther Preaches—Citizens of Leipzig—Quarrels between the Students and Doctors.

THE 27th of June was the day appointed for the opening of the discussion. Early in the morning the two parties assembled in the college of the university, and thence went in procession to the Church of Saint Thomas, where a solemn mass was performed by order and at the expense of the duke. After the service they proceeded to the ducal palace. At their head were Duke George and the Duke of Pomerania; after them came counts, abbots, knights, and other persons of distinction, and last of all the doctors of the two parties. A guard composed of seventy-six citizens, armed with halberds, accompanied the train, with banners flying, and to the sound of martial music. It halted at the castle-gates.

The procession having reached the palace, each took his station in the hall appointed for the discussion. Duke George, the hereditary Prince John, Prince George of Anhalt, then twelve years old, and the Duke of Pomerania, occupied the seats assigned them.

Mosellanus ascended the pulpit to remind the theologians, by the duke's order, in what manner they were to dispute. "If you fall to quarrelling," said the speaker, "what difference will there be between a theologian in discussion and a shameless duellist? What is your object in gaining the victory, if it be not to recover a brother from the error of his ways?.....It appears to me that each of you should desire less to conquer than to be conquered!"¹

When this address was terminated, sacred music resounded through the halls of the Pleissenburg; all the assembly knelt down, and the ancient hymn of invocation to the Holy Ghost, *Veni Sancte Spiritus* was sung. This was a solemn moment in the annals of the Reformation. Thrice the invocation was repeated, and while this solemn strain was heard, the defenders of the old doctrine and the champions of the new: the churchmen of the Middle Ages and those who sought to restore the church of the Apostles, here assembled and confounded with one another, humbly bent their heads to the earth. The ancient tie of one and the same communion still bound together all those different minds; the same prayer still proceeded from all those lips, as if pronounced by one heart.

These were the last moments of outward—of dead unity: a new unity of spirit and

¹ Beckand, p. 280.

² Come, Holy Spirit.

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was about to begin. The Holy Ghost invoked upon the Church, and was pre-
g to answer and to renovate Christen-

the signing and the prayers being ended,
all rose up. The discussion was
t to open; but as it was past the hour
on, it was deferred until two o'clock.

The duke invited to his table the principal
men who were to be present at the discus-
sion. After the repast, they returned to the cas-
tle. The great hall was filled with spectators.
Quotations of this kind were the public
signs of that age. It was here that the
representatives of their day agitated the
questions that occupied all minds. The
seats were soon at their posts. That the
may form a better idea of their ap-
pearance, we will give their portraits as
seen by one of the most impartial wit-
nesses of the contest.

Martin Luther is of middle stature, and
in, in consequence of his studies, that
ones may almost be counted. He is in
prime of life, and has a clear and son-
orous voice. His knowledge and understand-
ing of the Holy Scriptures is unparalleled;
as the Word of God at his fingers' ends.
Besides this, he possesses great store of
arguments and ideas. One might perhaps
have a little more judgment in arranging
subjects. In conversation he is pleasing
and affable; there is nothing harsh or aus-
tere about him; he can accommodate him-
self to every one; his manner of speaking is
simple and unembarrassed. He displays
calmness, and has always a cheerful air, what-
may be his adversaries' threats; so
it is difficult to believe that he could
grapple with such great things without the
protection of God. He is blamed, however,
for being more caustic, when reproving
others, than becomes a theologian, particu-
larly when putting forward novelties in reli-

Carlstadt is of shorter stature; his com-
plexion is dark and sun-burnt, his voice un-
pleasant, his memory less trust-worthy than
Luther's, and he is more inclined to anger.
He possesses, however, though in a smaller
degree, the qualities that distinguish his
contemporaries.

Eck is tall, broad-shouldered, and has a
strong and thorough German voice. He has
strong lungs, so that he would be heard
in a theatre, and would even make an
excellent town-crier. His accent is rather
rude than elegant. He has not that grace-
fulness so much extolled by Fabius and
others. His mouth, his eyes, and his whole
tenor give you the idea of a soldier or
rather than of a divine.¹ He has
an excellent memory, and if he had only as

much understanding, he would be really a
perfect man. But he is slow of comprehen-
sion, and is wanting in judgment, without
which all other qualities are useless. Hence,
in disputing, he heaps together, without
selection or discernment, a mass of passages
from the Bible, quotations from the Fathers,
and proofs of all kinds. He has, besides, an
impudence almost beyond conception. If
he is embarrassed, he breaks off from the sub-
ject he is treating of, and plunges into
another; he sometimes even takes up his
adversary's opinion, clothing it in other
words, and with extraordinary skill attrib-
utes to his opponent the absurdity he had
been himself defending."

Such, according to Mosellanus, were the
men at that time attracting the attention of
the crowd which thronged the great hall of
the Pleissenburg.

The dispute began between Eck and Car-
lstadt.

Eck's eyes were fixed for a moment on
certain objects that lay on the desk of his
adversary's pulpit, and which seemed to dis-
turb him; they were the Bible and the holy
Fathers. "I decline the discussion," ex-
claimed he suddenly, "if you are permitted
to bring your books with you." Surprising
that a divine should have recourse to books
in order to dispute! Eck's astonishment
was still more marvellous. "It is the fig-
leaf which this Adam makes use of to hide
his shame,"² said Luther. "Did not Augus-
tine consult his books when arguing with
the Manicheans?" What did that matter?
Eck's partisans raised a great clamour. The
other side did the same. "The man has no
memory," said Eck. At last it was arranged,
according to the wish of the Chancellor of
Ingolstadt, that each should rely upon his
memory and his tongue only. "Thus, then,"
said many, "the object of this disputation
will not be to discover the truth, but what
praise is to be conferred on the tongue and
the memory of the disputants."

As we are unable to give the details of this
discussion, which lasted seventeen days, we
shall, as an historian expresses it, imitate
the painters, who, when they have to rep-
resent a battle, set the most memorable actions
in the foreground, and leave the others in
the distance.³

The subject of discussion between Eck and
Carlstadt was important. "Man's will, be-
fore his conversion," said Carlstadt, "can
perform no good work: every good work
comes entirely and exclusively from God,
who gives man first the will to do, and then
the power of accomplishing." This truth
had been proclaimed by Scripture, which
says: *It is God which worketh in you both to
will and to do of his good pleasure;*⁴ and by
Saint Augustine, who, in his dispute with

ne Gelehrsamkeit aber und Verstand in heiliger
ist unvergleichlich, so dass er fast alles im Griff hat.
in der Seekred. p. 345.
s. Manl. Anger und ganze Gesicht, präsentiert ohne
Fleischer oder Soldaten, als einen Theologian. Ibid.

¹ Præterit tamen et hic Adam ille folium fici pulcherr.
mum. l. Epp. i. 294.
² Palladius, l. 26.
³ Philippian. ii. 13.

the Pelagians, had enunciated it in nearly the same terms. Every work in which the love of God and obedience towards Him do not exist is deprived in the eyes of the Almighty of all that can render it good, even should it originate in the best of human motives. Now there is in man a natural opposition to God—an opposition that the unaided strength of man cannot surmount. He has neither the will nor the power to overcome it. This must therefore be effected by the Divine will.

This is the whole question of free will—so simple, and yet so decried by the world. Such had been the doctrine of the Church. But the schoolmen had so explained it that it was not recognisable. Undoubtedly (said they) the natural will of man can do nothing really pleasing to God; but it can do much towards rendering men meet to receive the grace of God, and more worthy to obtain it. They called these preparations a merit of congruity:¹ "because it is *congruous*," said Thomas Aquinas, "that God should treat with particular favour him who makes a good use of his own will." And, as regards the conversion to be effected in man, undoubtedly it must be accomplished by the grace of God, which (according to the schoolmen) should bring it about, but not to the exclusion of his natural powers. These powers (said they) were not destroyed by sin: sin only opposes an obstacle to their development; but so soon as this obstacle is removed (and it was this, in their opinion, that the grace of God had to effect) the action of these powers begins again. The bird, to use one of their favourite comparisons, that has been tied for some time, has in this state neither lost its ability nor forgotten the art of flying; but some hand must loose the bonds, in order that he may again make use of his wings. This is the case with man, said they.²

Such was the question agitated between Eck and Carlstadt. At first Eck had appeared to oppose all Carlstadt's propositions on this subject; but finding his position untenable, he said: "I grant that the will has not the power of doing a good work, and that it receives this power from God."—"Do you acknowledge then," asked Carlstadt, overjoyed at obtaining so important a concession, "that every good work comes entirely from God?"—"The whole good work really proceeds from God, but not wholly," cunningly replied the scholastic doctor.—"Truly, this is a discovery not unworthy of the science of divinity," exclaimed Melancthon.—"An entire apple," continued Eck, "is produced by the sun, but not entirely and without the co-operation of the plant."³ Most certainly it has never yet

been maintained that an apple is produced solely by the sun.

Well then, said the opponents, plunging deeper into this important and delicate question of philosophy and religion, let us inquire how God acts upon man, and how man conducts himself under this action. "I acknowledge," said Eck, "that the first impulse in man's conversion proceeds from God, and that the will of man in this instance is entirely passive."⁴ Thus far the two parties were agreed. "I acknowledge," said Carlstadt, "that after this first impulse which proceeds from God, something must come on the part of man,—something that St. Paul denominates *will*, and which the fathers entitle *consent*." Here again they were both agreed: but from this point they diverged. "This consent of man," said Eck, "comes partly from our natural will, and partly from God's grace."⁵—"No," said Carlstadt; "God must entirely create this will in man."⁶ Upon this Eck manifested anger and astonishment at hearing words so fitted to make man sensible of his nothingness. "Your doctrine," exclaimed he, "converts a man into a stone, a log, incapable of any reaction!"—"What!" replied the reformers, "the faculty of receiving this strength which God produces in him, this faculty which (according to us) man possesses, does not sufficiently distinguish him from a log or a stone?"—"But," said their antagonist, "by denying that man has any natural ability, you contradict all experience."—"We do not deny," replied they, "that man possesses a certain ability, and that he has the power of reflection, meditation, and choice. We consider this power and ability as mere instruments that can produce no good work, until the hand of God has set them in motion. They are like a saw in the hands of a sawyer."⁷

The great doctrine of free will was here discussed; and it was easy to demonstrate that the doctrine of the reformers did not deprive man of his liberty as a moral agent, and make him a mere passive machine. The liberty of a moral agent consists in his power of acting conformably to his choice. Every action performed without external constraint, and in consequence of the determination of the soul itself, is a free action. The soul is determined by motives; but we continually observe the same motives acting differently on different minds. Many men do not act in conformity with the motives of which, however, they acknowledge the full force. This inefficacy of motives proceeds from the obstacles opposed to them by the corruption of the understanding and of the heart. But God, by giving man a new heart and a new spirit, removes these obstacles; and by re-

¹ Meritum congruum.

² Planck, l. 176.

³ Quamquam totum opus Dei sit, non tamen totaliter a Deo esse quemadmodum totum ppmum efficitur a sole, sed non a sole totaliter et sine plantis efficientia. Pallavicini, l. 20.

⁴ Motionem seu inspirationem preventientem esse a sole Deo; et ibi liberum arbitrium habet se passive.

⁵ Partim a Deo, partim a libero arbitrio.

⁶ Consentit homo, sed consensus est donum Dei. Com.

⁷ sentire non est agere.

⁸ Ut serra in manu hominis trahentia.

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em, far from depriving him of his le takes away, on the contrary, ; that would prevent him from ly, from listening to the voice of ence, and, in the words of the akes him free indeed (John viii.

l circumstance interrupted the dis- We learn from Eck.¹ that Carlstadt red a number of arguments; and, ' public speakers of our own day, ading what he had written. Eck s the tactics of a mere learner, and o it. Carlstadt, embarrassed, and at he should break down if he were of his papers, persisted. "Ah!" the schoolman, proud of the ad- e thought he had obtained, "his not so good as mine." The point red to the arbitrators, who per- e reading of extracts from the ut decided that in other respects ants should speak extempore.

st part of the disputation was rupted by the noise of the specta- y were in commotion, and fre- ised their voices. Any proposi- offended the ears of the majority ly excited their clamours, and our own days, the galleries were d to order. The disputants them- e sometimes carried away by the cussion.

ther sat Melancthon, who attracted much attention as his neighbour. small stature, and appeared little eighteen years old. Luther, who d taller, seemed connected with closest friendship; they came in, and took their walks together. at Melancthon," wrote a Swiss who studied at Wittemberg,²

ld say he was a mere boy; but in ling, learning, and talent, he is a I cannot comprehend how such wisdom and genius can be found l a body." Between the sittings, n conversed with Carlstadt and e aided them in preparing for the d suggested the arguments with extensive learning furnished him; the discussion he remained quietly ong the spectators, and carefully o the words of the theologians.³ to time, however, he came to the of Carlstadt; and when the latter giving way under the powerful n of the Chancellor of Ingolstadt, ; professor whispered a word, or m a piece of paper, on which the is written. Eck having perceived e occasion, and feeling indignant grammarian, as he called him,

should dare interfere in the discussion, turned towards him and said haughtily: "Hold your tongue, Philip; mind your studies, and do not disturb me."¹ Perhaps Eck at that time foresaw how formidable an opponent he would afterwards find in this young man. Luther was offended at the gross insult directed against his friend. "Philip's judgment," said he, "has greater weight with me than that of a thousand Doctor Ecks."

The calm Melancthon easily detected the weak points of the discussion. "We cannot help feeling surprised," said he, with that wisdom and beauty which we find in all his words, "when we think of the violence with which these subjects were treated. How could any one expect to derive any profit from it? The Spirit of God loves retirement and silence: it is then that he penetrates deep into our hearts. The bride of Christ does not dwell in the streets and market-places, but leads her Spouse into the house of her mother."²

Each party claimed the victory. Eck strained every nerve to appear the conqueror. As the points of divergence almost touched each other, he frequently exclaimed that he had convinced his opponent; or else, like another Proteus (said Luther), he suddenly turned round, put forth Carlstadt's opinions in other words, and asked him, with a tone of triumph, if he did not find himself compelled to yield. And the unskilful auditors, who could not detect the manœuvre of the sophist, applauded and exulted with him. In many respects they were not equally matched. Carlstadt was slow, and on some occasions did not reply to his adversary's objections until the next day. Eck, on the contrary, was a master in his science, and found whatever he required at the very instant. He entered the hall with a disdainful air; ascended the rostrum with a firm step; and there he tossed himself about, paced to and fro, spoke at the full pitch of his sonorous voice, had a reply ready for every argument, and bewildered his hearers by his memory and skill. And yet, without perceiving it, Eck conceded during the discussion much more than he had intended. His partisans laughed aloud at each of his devices; "but (said Luther) I seriously believe that their laughter was mere pretence, and that in their hearts they were annoyed at seeing their chief, who had commenced the battle with so many bravados, abandon his standard, desert his army, and become a shameless runaway."³

Three or four days after the opening of the conference, the disputation was interrupted by the festival of Peter and Paul the apostles.

On this occasion the Duke of Pomerania

¹ p. 292.

After, afterwards the reformer of Saint Gall.
utrum otiosus spectator in reliquo vulgo sedet.
II.

¹ Tace tu, Philippe, ac tua studia cura, nec me perturba.
Opp. B. i. 149.

² Melanct. Opp. p. 134.

³ Balietis signis desertorem exortum et transfugam. See
tum. L. Opp. I. 293.

requested Luther to preach before him in his chapel. Luther cheerfully consented. But the place was soon crowded, and as the number of hearers kept increasing, the assembly was transferred to the great hall of the castle, in which the discussion was held. Luther chose his text from the gospel of the day, and preached on the grace of God and the power of Saint Peter. What Luther ordinarily maintained before an audience composed of men of learning, he then set before the people. Christianity causes the light of truth to shine upon the humblest as well as the most elevated minds; it is this which distinguishes it from every other religion and from every system of philosophy. The theologians of Lipsic, who had heard Luther preach, hastened to report to Eck the scandalous words with which their ears had been shocked. "You must reply," exclaimed they; "you must publicly refute these subtle errors." Eck desired nothing better. All the churches were open to him, and four times in succession he went into the pulpit to cry down Luther and his sermon. Luther's friends were indignant at this. They demanded that the Wittenberg divine should be heard in his turn. But it was all in vain. The pulpits were open to the adversaries of the evangelical doctrine; they were closed against those who proclaimed it. "I was silent," said Luther, "and was forced to suffer myself to be attacked, insulted, and calumniated, without even the power of excusing or defending myself."¹

It was not only the ecclesiastics who manifested their opposition to the evangelical doctors: the citizens of Leipsic were, in this respect, of the same opinion as the clergy. A blind fanaticism had rendered them the dupes of the falsehood and hatred that the priests were attempting to propagate. The principal inhabitants did not visit either Luther or Carlstadt. If they met them in the street, they did not salute them, and endeavoured to prejudice the duke against them. But on the contrary they paid frequent visits to the Doctor of Ingolstadt, and ate and drank with him. The latter feasted with them, entertaining them with a description of the costly banquets to which he had been invited in Germany and Italy, sneering at Luther who had imprudently rushed upon his invincible sword, slowly quaffing the beer of Saxony the better to compare it with that of Bavaria, and casting amorous glances (he boasts of it himself) on the frail fair ones of Leipsic. His manners, which were rather free, did not give a favourable idea of his morals.² They were satisfied with offering Luther the wine usually presented to the disputants. Those who were favourably

disposed towards him, concealed their feelings from the public; many, like Nicodemus of old, visited him stealthily and by night. Two men alone honourably distinguished themselves by publicly declaring their friendship for him. They were Doctor Auerbach, whom we have already seen at Augsburg, and Doctor Pistor the younger.

The greatest agitation prevailed in the city. The two parties were like two hostile camps, and they sometimes came to blows. Frequent quarrels took place in the taverns between the students of Leipsic and those of Wittenberg. It was generally reported, even in the meetings of the clergy, that Luther carried a devil about with him shut up in a little box. "I don't know whether the devil is in the box or merely under his frock," said Eck insidiously; "but he is certainly in one or the other."

Several doctors of the two parties had lodgings during the disputation in the house of the printer Herbigopolis. They became so outrageous, that their host was compelled to station a police-officer, armed with a halberd, at the head of the table, with orders to prevent the guests from coming to blows. One day Baumgartner, an indulgence-merchant, quarrelled with a gentleman, a friend of Luther's, and gave way to such a violent fit of anger that he expired. "I was one of those who carried him to his grave," said Froschel, who relates the circumstance.¹ In this manner did the general ferment in men's minds display itself. Then, as in our own times, the speeches in the pulpits found an echo in the drawing-room and in the streets.

Duke George, although strongly biassed in Eck's favour, did not display so much passion as his subjects. He invited Eck, Luther, and Carlstadt to meet each other at his table. He even begged Luther to come and see him in private; but it was not long before he displayed all the prejudices with which he had been inspired against the reformer. "By your work on the Lord's Prayer," said the duke with displeasure, "you have misled the consciences of many. There are some people who complain that they have not been able to repeat a single *pater-noster* for four days together."

CHAPTER V.

The Hierarchy and Rationalism—The Two Peasants' Sons—Eck and Luther begin—The Head of the Church—Primacy of Rome—Equality of Bishops—Peter the Foundation-stone—Christ the Corner-stone—Eck insinuates that Luther is a Hussite—Luther on the doctrine of Huss—Agitation among the hearers—The Word alone—The Court-fool—Luther at Mass—Saying of the Duke—Purgatory—Close of the Discussion.

On the 4th of July the discussion between Eck and Luther commenced. Everything

¹ Mich vertragen, scheitern und schmecken. L. Opp. (L.)
1798. 257.
² Eck to Haven and Bourkard, 1st July 1529. Walch. xv.
1666.

¹ Lüscher, III. 276.

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seemed to promise that it would be more violent, more decisive, and more interesting than that which had just concluded, and which had gradually thinned the hall. The two combatants entered the arena resolved not to lay down their arms until victory declared in favour of one or the other. The general expectation was aroused, for the papal primacy was to be the subject of discussion. Christianity has two great adversaries: hierarchism and rationalism. Rationalism, in its application to the doctrine of man's ability, had been attacked by the reformers in the previous part of the Leipzig disputation. Hierarchism, considered in what is at once its summit and its base,—the doctrine of papal authority,—was to be contested in the second. On the one side appeared Eck, the champion of the established religion, vaunting of the discussions he had maintained, as a general boasts of his campaigns.¹ On the other side advanced Luther, who seemed destined to reap persecution and ignominy from this struggle, but who still presented himself with a good conscience, a firm resolution to sacrifice everything in the cause of truth, and an assurance grounded in faith in God, and in the deliverance He grants to all who trust in Him. New convictions had sunk deep into his soul; they were not as yet arranged into a system; but in the heat of the combat they flashed forth like lightning. Serious and daring, he showed a resolution that made light of every obstacle. On his features might be seen the traces of the storms his soul had encountered, and the courage with which he was prepared to meet fresh tempests. These combatants, both sons of peasants, and the representatives of the two tendencies that still divide Christendom, were about to enter upon a contest on which depended, in great measure, the future prospects of the State and of the Church. At seven in the morning the two disputants were in their pulpits, surrounded by a numerous and attentive assembly.

Luther stood up, and with a necessary precaution, he said modestly:—

"In the name of the Lord, Amen! I declare that the respect I bear to the sovereign pontiff would have prevented my entering upon this discussion, if the excellent Dr. Eck had not dragged me into it."

Eck.—"In thy name, gentle Jesus! before descending into the lists, I protest before you, most noble lords, that all that I may say is in submission to the judgment of the first of all sees, and of him who is its possessor."

After a brief silence, Eck continued:

"There is in the Church of God a primacy that cometh from Christ himself. The Church militant was formed in the image of the

Church triumphant. Now, the latter is a monarchy in which the hierarchy ascends step by step up to God, its sole chief. For this reason Christ has established a similar order upon earth. What a monster the Church would be if it were without a head!"²

LUTHER, turning towards the assembly.—"When Dr. Eck declares that the universal Church must have a head, he says well. If there is any one among us who maintains the contrary, let him stand up! As for me, it is no concern of mine."

Eck.—"If the Church militant has never been without a head, I should like to know who it can be, if not the Roman pontiff?"

LUTHER.—"The head of the Church militant is Christ himself, and not a man. I believe this on the testimony of God's Word. *He must reign*, says Scripture, *till he hath put all enemies under his feet*.³ Let us not listen to those who banish Christ to the Church triumphant in heaven. His kingdom is a kingdom of faith. We cannot see our Head, and yet we have one."⁴

Eck, who did not consider himself beaten, had recourse to other arguments, and resumed:

"It is from Rome, according to Saint Cyprian, that sacerdotal unity has proceeded."⁵

LUTHER.—"For the Western Church, I grant it. But is not this same Roman Church the offspring of that of Jerusalem? It is the latter, properly speaking, that is the nursing-mother of all the churches."⁶

Eck.—"Saint Jerome declares that if an extraordinary power, superior to all others, were not given to the pope,⁷ there would be in the churches as many sects as there were pontiffs."

LUTHER.—"Given: that is to say, if all the rest of believers consent to it, this power might be conceded to the chief pontiff by human right.⁸ And I will not deny, that if all the believers in the world agree in recognising as first and supreme pontiff either the Bishop of Rome, or of Paris, or of Magdeburg, we should acknowledge him as such from the respect due to this general agreement of the Church; but that has never been seen yet, and never will be seen. Even in our own days, does not the Greek Church refuse its assent to Rome?"

Luther was at that time prepared to acknowledge the pope as chief magistrate of the Church, freely elected by it; but he denied that he was pope of Divine right. It

¹ Nam quod monstrum esset, Ecclesiam esse accephalam! L. Opp. Lat. I. 243.

² 1. Corinthiens xv. 25.

³ Propterea audiendi non sunt qui Christum extra Ecclesiam militantem tendunt in triumphum, cum sit regnum fidel. Caput nostrum non videmus; tamen habemus. L. Opp. Lat. I. p. 243.

⁴ Unde sacerdotalis unitas exorta est. Ibid.

⁵ Hinc est matrix proprie omnium ecclesiarum. Ibid.

244.

⁶ Cui si non exors quidam et ab omnibus eminebat deus potestas. Ibid. 243.

⁷ Deter, inquit hoc est iure humano, potest. Sed, consuetudinem anterie omnia fidelibus. Ibid. 244.

⁸ Patebat hoc Ecclesie quia certam sibi gloriam propositam consuevit, propter propositionem meam, in qua negabam Petrum esse iure divine caput Ecclesie; hic patuit etiam patres magnos. L. Opp. in Fræd.

was not till much later that he denied that submission was in any way due to him : and this step he was led to take by the Leipsic disputation. But Eck had ventured on ground better known to Luther than to himself. The latter could not, indeed, maintain his thesis that the papacy had existed during the preceding four centuries only. Eck quoted authorities of an earlier date, to which Luther could not reply. Criticism had not yet attacked the False Decretals. But the nearer the discussion approached the primitive ages of the Church, the greater was Luther's strength. Eck appealed to the Fathers; Luther replied to him from the Fathers, and all the bystanders were struck with his superiority over his rival.

"That the opinions I set forth are those of Saint Jerome," said he, "I prove by the epistle of St. Jerome himself to Evagrius: 'Every bishop,' says he, 'whether at Rome, Eugubium, Constantinople, Rhegium, Tanis, or Alexandria, is partaker of the same merit and of the same priesthood.'¹ The power of riches, the humiliation of poverty, are the only things that make a difference in the rank of the bishops."

From the writings of the Fathers, Luther passed to the decisions of the councils, which consider the Bishop of Rome as only the first among his peers.²

"We read," said he, "in the decree of the Council of Africa, 'The bishop of the first see shall neither be called prince of the pontiffs, nor sovereign pontiff, nor by any other name of that kind; but only bishop of the first see.' If the monarchy of the Bishop of Rome was of Divine right," continued Luther, "would not this be an heretical injunction?"

Eck replied by one of those subtle distinctions that were so familiar to him:—

"The bishop of Rome, if you will have it so, is not universal bishop, but bishop of the universal Church."³

LUTHER.—"I shall make no reply to this: let our hearers form their own opinion of it."—"Certainly," added he directly, "this is an explanation very worthy of a theologian, and calculated to satisfy a disputant who thirsts for glory. It is not for nothing, it seems, that I have remained at great expense at Leipsic, since I have learnt that the pope is not, in truth, the universal bishop, but the bishop of the universal Church!"⁴

Eck.—"Well then, I will come to the point. The worthy doctor calls upon me to prove that the primacy of the Church of Rome is of Divine right. I will prove it by this expression of Christ: *Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church.* Saint Augustine, in one of his epistles, has thus

explained the meaning of this passage: "*Thou art Peter, and on this rock (that is to say, on Peter) I will build my Church.*" It is true that in another place the same father has explained that by this rock we should understand Christ himself, but he has not retracted his former exposition."

LUTHER.—"If the reverend doctor desires to attack me, let him first reconcile these contradictions in Saint Augustine. For it is most certain that Augustine has said many times that the rock was Christ, and perhaps not more than once that it was Peter himself. But even should Saint Augustine and all the Fathers say that the Apostle is the rock of which Christ speaks, I would resist them, single-handed, in reliance upon the Holy Scriptures, that is, on Divine right;¹ for it is written: *Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.*² Peter himself terms Christ the chief cornerstone, and a living stone on which we are built up a spiritual house."³

Eck.—"I am surprised at the humility and modesty with which the reverend doctor undertakes to oppose, alone, so many illustrious Fathers, and pretends to know more than the sovereign pontiffs, the councils, the doctors, and the universities!.....It would be surprising, no doubt, if God had hidden the truth from so many saints and martyrs—until the advent of the reverend father!"

LUTHER.—"The Fathers are not against me. Saint Augustine and Saint Ambrose, both most excellent doctors, teach as I teach. *Super isto articulo fidei, fundata est Ecclesia,*⁴ says Saint Ambrose, when explaining what is meant by the rock on which the Church is built. Let my opponent then set a curb upon his tongue. To express himself as he does, will only serve to excite contention, and not be to discuss like a true doctor."

Eck had no idea that his opponent's learning was so extensive, and that he would be able to extricate himself from the toils that were drawn around him. "The reverend doctor," said he, "has come well armed into the lists. I beg your lordships to excuse me, if I do not exhibit such accuracy of research. I came here to discuss, and not to make a book."—Eck was surprised but not beaten. As he had no more arguments to adduce, he had recourse to a wretched and spiteful trick, which, if it did not vanquish his antagonist, must at least embarrass him greatly. If the accusation of being Bohemian, a heretic, a Hussite, can be fixed upon Luther, he is vanquished; for the Bohemians were objects of abhorrence in the Church. The scene of combat was not far from the frontiers of Bohemia; Saxony, after the sentence pronounced on John Huss by the Council of

¹ *Ejusdem meriti et ejusdem sacerdotii est.* L. Opp. Lat. i. 244.

² *Primus inter pares.*

³ *Non episcopus universalis, sed universalis Ecclesie episcopus.* Ibid. 246.

⁴ *Ego glorior me tot expensis non frustra.* L. Opp. i. 299.

¹ *Resistam eis ego unus, auctoritate apostoli, id est, divi no jure.* L. Opp. Lat. i. 137.

² *1 Corinthians iii. 11.*

³ *1 Peter ii. 4, 6.*

⁴ The Church is founded on that article of faith. L. Opp. Lat. i. 254.

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ice, had been exposed to all the of a long and ruinous war; it was its to have resisted the Hussites at that the university of Leipsic had been in opposition to the tendencies of Huss; and this discussion was going in the presence of princes, nobles, and whose fathers had fallen in that red contest. To insinuate that Luther as are of one mind, will be to inflict terrible blow on the former. It is to atageme that the Ingolstadt doctor's recourse: "From the earliest times, Christians have acknowledged that Church of Rome derives its primacy from Christ himself, and not from human authority."

I must confess, however, that the Bohemians, while they obstinately defended their errors, attacked this doctrine. I beg thy father's pardon, if I am an enemy to the Bohemians, because they are enemies to the Church, and if the present discussion led these heretics to my recollection; in my humble opinion, the doctor's conclusions are in every way favourable to these

It is even asserted that the Hussites had boasted of it."¹

had calculated well: his partisans re- this perfidious insinuation with the most favour. There was a movement of the audience. "These insults," the reformer afterwards, "tickled them more agreeably than the discussion

HER.—"I do not like and I never shall schism. Since on their own authority Bohemians have separated from our unity, we have done wrong, even if the Divine had pronounced in favour of their doctrine for the supreme Divine right is one and oneness of mind."²

us during the morning sitting of the fully that Luther had made use of this age. The meeting broke up shortly as it was the hour of dinner. Luther at ease. Had he not gone too far in condemning the Christians of Bohemia? Why not hold the doctrines that Luther was maintaining? He saw all the difficulties of his position. Shall he rise up at a council that condemned John Huss, and deny that sublime idea of a unitarian Christian Church which had taken possession of his mind? The unshaken did not hesitate. He would do his whatever might be the consequences. Early when the assembly met again in the afternoon, he was the first to

He said with firmness: among the articles of faith held by John and the Bohemians, there are some most Christian. This is a positive truth. Here, for instance, is one: "That

there is but one universal Church;" and here is another: "It is not necessary for salvation to believe the Roman Church superior to all others." It is of little consequence to me whether these things were said by Wickliffe or by Huss.....they are truth."

Luther's declaration produced a great sensation among his hearers. Huss—Wickliffe—those odious names, pronounced with approbation by a monk in the midst of a catholic assembly! An almost general murmur ran round the hall. Duke George himself felt alarmed. He fancied he saw that banner of civil war upraised in Saxony which had for so many years desolated the states of his maternal ancestors. Unable to suppress his emotion, he placed his hands on his hips, shook his head, and exclaimed aloud, so that all the assembly heard him, "He is carried away by rage!"¹ The whole meeting was agitated: they rose up, each man speaking to his neighbour. Those who had given way to drowsiness awoke. Luther's friends were in great perplexity; while his enemies exulted. Many who had thus far listened to him with pleasure began to entertain doubts of his orthodoxy. The impression produced on Duke George's mind by these words was never effaced; from this moment he looked upon the reformer with an evil eye, and became his enemy.²

Luther did not suffer himself to be intimidated by these murmurs. One of his principal arguments was, that the Greeks had never recognised the pope, and yet they had never been declared heretics; that the Greek Church had existed, still existed, and would exist, without the pope, and that it as much belonged to Christ as the Church of Rome did. Eck, on the contrary, impudently maintained that the Christian and the Roman Church were one and the same; that the Greeks and Orientals, in abandoning the pope, had also abandoned the christian faith, and were indisputably heretics. "What!" exclaimed Luther, "are not Gregory of Nazianzum, Basil the Great, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and an immense number besides of Greek bishops—are they not saved? and yet they did not believe that the Church of Rome was above the other Churches!.....It is not in the power of the Roman pontiffs to make new articles of faith. The christian believer acknowledges no other authority than Holy Scripture. This alone is the *right Divine*." I beg the worthy doctor to concede that the Roman pontiffs were men, and that he will not make them gods."

Eck then resorted to one of those jests which give a specious air of triumph to him who employs them.

"The reverend father is a very poor cook," said he; "he has made a terrible hodge-podge

¹ *Summe est, de hoc plurimum gratulatur. L. Opp.*
² *nam mihi placuit, nec in eternum placebit quod-
libet. Summum supremum jus divinum sit charitas
spiritus. Ibid.*

¹ *Das Welt die Recht!*
² *Nam adhuc erat Dux Georgius mihi non inimicus, quod
sciebam certo. L. Opp. in Fran.*
³ *Nec potest fidelis Christianus cogi ultra sacrum Scrip-
turam, que est proprius jus divinum. L. Opp. Let. i. 202.*

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of Greek saints and heretics; so that the odour of sanctity in the one prevents us from smelling the poison of the others."¹

LUTHER, interrupting Eck with warmth.—“The worthy doctor is becoming abusive. In my opinion, there can be no communion between Christ and Belial.”

Luther had made a great stride in advance. In 1516 and 1517, he had only attacked the sermons of the indulgence-hawkers and the scholastic doctrines, but had respected the papal decrees. Somewhat later he had rejected these decrees, and had appealed to a council. Now he had thrown off even this latter authority, declaring that no council could lay down a new article of faith, and claim to be infallible. Thus had all human authorities fallen successively before him; the sands that the rain and the torrents carry with them had disappeared; and for rebuilding the ruined house of the Lord nothing remained but the everlasting rock of the Word of God. “Reverend father,” said Eck, “if you believe that a council, regularly assembled, can err, you are in my eyes nothing better than a heathen and a publican!”

Such were the discussions that occupied the two doctors. The assembly listened with earnestness; but their attention sometimes flagged, and the bystanders were delighted when any incident occurred to amuse and excite them. It often happens that the most serious matters are mixed up with others the most ridiculous. This was the case at Leipsic.

Duke George, according to the custom of the times, had a court-fool. Some wags said to him: “Luther maintains that a court-fool may marry, while Eck says that he cannot.” Upon this, the fool took a great dislike to Eck, and every time he entered the hall in the duke’s train, he looked at the theologian with a threatening air. The Chancellor of Ingolstadt, who was not above indulging in buffoonery, closed one eye (the fool was blind of an eye) and with the other began to squint at the little gentleman, who, losing his temper, overwhelmed the doctor with abuse. The whole assembly (says Peifer) burst into laughter, and this interlude somewhat diminished the extreme tension of their minds.²

At the same time scenes were enacting in the city and in the churches, that showed the horror inspired in the Romish partisans by Luther’s bold assertions. It was from the convents attached to the pope’s interest that the loudest clamours proceeded. One Sunday, the Wittenberg doctor entered the Dominican church before high mass. There were present only a few monks repeating low mass at the smaller altars. As soon as it was known in the cloister that the heretic

Luther was in the church, the monks ran in hastily, snatched up the remonstrance, and carrying it to the tabernacle,¹ there shut it up carefully, watching over it lest the host should be profaned by the heretical eyes of the Wittenberg Augustine. At the same time those who were reading mass hurriedly caught up the various ornaments employed in the service, deserted the altar, fled across the church, and took refuge in the vestry, as if, says an historian, Satan had been at their heels.

The subject of the discussion furnished matter for conversation in every place. In the inns, the university, and the court, each man expressed his opinion. However great might have been Duke George’s exasperation, he did not obstinately refuse to be convinced. One day, as Eck and Luther were dining with him, he interrupted their conversation by saying: “Whether the pope be pope by human or by Divine right, nevertheless, he is pope.”² Luther was much pleased at these words. “The prince,” said he, “would never have made use of them, had he not been struck by my arguments.”

The discussion on the papal primacy had lasted five days. On the 8th of July, they proceeded to the doctrine of Purgatory. This occupied rather more than two days. Luther still admitted this doctrine; but denied that it was taught in Scripture or in the Fathers in the manner that his opponent and the schoolmen pretended. “Our Doctor Eck,” said he, alluding to the superficial character of his adversary’s mind, “has this day skimmed over Scripture almost without touching it—as a spider runs upon water.”

On the 11th of July they came to Indulgences. “It was a mere joke,” said Luther; “the dispute was ridiculous. The indulgences fell outright, and Eck was nearly of my opinion.”³ Eck himself said: “If I had not disputed with Doctor Martin on the papal supremacy, I should almost have agreed with him.”⁴

The discussion next turned on Repentance, Absolution of the Priest, and Satisfaction. Eck, according to his usual practice, quoted the scholastic doctors, the Dominicans, and the pope’s canons. Luther closed the disputation with these words: “The reverend doctor flees from the Scriptures, as the devil from before the cross. As for me, with all due respect to the Fathers, I prefer the

¹ The tabernacle is an octagonal shaped case, standing in the centre of the altar, and made of polished brass, varnished silver, gold, or at least gilded wood. Its size varies from eighteen inches to four feet in height, and from one foot to three in diameter. In it are deposited the *patz*, containing the large consecrated wafer intended to be exhibited for the adoration of worshippers, and the *chalice* in which are the small ones prepared for the communicants. The remonstrance is a highly ornamented stand with a circular opening to receive the larger wafer used in the elevation of the host.

² Ita ut ipse dux Georgius inter prandendum, ad Ecclesiam et me dicat: “Sive sit jure humano, sive sit jure divino papa; ipse est papa.” L. Opp. in Præf.

³ L. Opp. (L.) vii. 246.

⁴ So wolt’er fast sing mit mir gewest seyn. Ibid.

¹ At Rev. Pater, artis cœquariæ minus instructus, commiscet sanctos Græcos cum schismaticis et hæreticis, ut fucus sanctissimis Patrum hæreticorum teneatur peridiem. L. Opp. Lat. I. 252.

² L. Opp. (W.) iv. 1460.—2 Lœcher, III. 381.

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authority of Holy Writ, and this test I would recommend to our judges."¹

Here ended the dispute between Eck and Luther. Carlstadt and the Ingolstadt doctor kept up the discussion two days longer on human merits in good works. On the 16th of July the business was concluded, after having lasted twenty days, by a speech from the rector of the university. As soon as he had finished, loud music was heard, and the solemnity was concluded by singing the *Te Deum*.

But during the chanting of this solemn thanksgiving, men's minds were no longer as they had been during the *Veni Spiritus* at the opening of the discussion. Already the presentiments of many had been realized. The blows that the champions of the two doctrines had aimed at each other, had inflicted a deep wound upon the papacy.

CHAPTER VI.

Interest felt by the Laity—Luther's Opinion—Confession and Denial of Doctor Eck—Subjects of the Disputation—Feldsler—Cellarius—The Young Prince of Anhalt—The Students of Leipsic—Orsdiger—Melancthon's Call—Luther's Emancipation.

THREE theological disputes, to which the men of the world would now be unwilling to consecrate a few brief moments, had been followed and listened to for twenty successive days with great attention; laymen, knights, and princes had manifested a constant interest. Duke Barnim of Pomerania and Duke George were remarkably regular in their attendance. But, on the contrary, some of the Leipsic theologians, friends of Doctor Eck, slept soundly, as an eyewitness informs us. It was necessary to wake them up at the close of the disputation, for fear they should lose their dinners.

Luther quitted Leipsic first; Carlstadt followed him; but Eck remained several days after their departure.

No decision had been come to on the discussion.² Every one commented on it according to his own feelings. "At Leipsic," said Luther, there was great loss of time, but no seeking after truth. We have been examining the doctrines of our adversaries these two years past, so that we have counted all their bones. Eck, on the contrary, has hardly grazed the surface;³ but he made more noise

in one hour than we have in two long years."

In his private letters to his friends, Eck confessed his defeat on certain points; but he had abundant reasons to account for it. "The Wittembergers," wrote he to Hochstraten on the 24th July, "conquered me on several points;" first, because they brought their books with them; secondly, because some of their friends took notes of the discussion, which they examined at their leisure; thirdly, because they were many; two doctors (Carlstadt and Luther), Lange, vicar of the Augustines; two licentiates, Amadorff, and a very presumptuous nephew of Reuchlin (Melancthon); three doctors of law, and several masters of arts, all of whom aided in the discussion, either in public or in private. But as for me, I appeared alone, the justice of my cause being my sole companion." Eck forgot Emser, and the bishop and doctors of Leipsic.

If such avowals escaped from Eck in his familiar correspondence, his behaviour in public was very different. The doctor of Ingolstadt and the Leipsic divines loudly vaunted of what they called their victory. They circulated false reports in every direction. All the mouthpieces of their party repeated their self-congratulations. "Eck is triumphing every where," wrote Luther.⁴ But in the camp of Rome each man disputed his share of the laurels. "If we had not come to Eck's support," said the men of Leipsic, "the illustrious doctor would have been overthrown."—"The Leipsic divines are very good sort of people," said the Ingolstadt doctor, "but I expected too much of them. I did every thing single-handed."—"You see," said Luther to Spalatin, "that they are singing a new Iliad and a new Æneid."⁵ They are so kind as to make a Hector or a Turnus of me, while Eck, in their eyes, is Achilles or Æneas. They have but one doubt remaining, whether the victory was gained by the arms of Eck or by those of Leipsic. Ah! that I can say to clear up the subject is this, Doctor Eck never ceased bawling, and the Leipsic divines did nothing but hold their tongues."

"Eck is conqueror in the eyes of those who do not understand the matter, and who have grown gray under the old schoolmen," said the elegant, witty, and wise Mosellanus; "but Luther and Carlstadt are victorious in the opinion of those who possess any learning, understanding, and modesty."⁶

The Leipsic disputation was not destined, however, to pass away in smoke. Every work performed with devotion bears fruit. Luther's words had sunk with irresistible power into the minds of his hearers. Many

¹ Videtur fugere a facie Scripturarum, sicut diabolus quoniam. Quare, salvus reverentis Patrum, prefere ego auctoritatem Scripturæ, quod commendo Judicibus futuris. L. Op. Lat. i. 291.

² Ad exitum certaminis, uti solet, nulla prodit decisio. Polycrinus, i. 63.

³ Totam hanc conclusionum cohortem multo acutius et validius nostri Wittembergensis... oppugnaverunt et ita emolauerunt ut eorum coram superare liceat, quas Ecclesia via in facie cutis leviter perstrinxit. L. Ep. i. 291.

¹ Verum in multis me obtruncat. Corp. Ref. i. 82.

² Ecce triumphat ubique. L. Ep. i. 290.

³ Novam quandam Iliad et Æneida illos cantare. Ibid.

⁴ Lutheri Blog sag um so viel weniger beräht, weil das Gelehrten, Verstandigen, und davor die sich selbst nicht hoch rühmen, wenig sagen. Beckendorff, p. 327.

of those who daily thronged the hall of the castle were subdued by the truth. It was especially in the midst of its most determined adversaries that its victories were gained. Doctor Eck's secretary, familiar friend, and disciple, Poliander, was won to the Reformation; and in the year 1522, he publicly preached the Gospel at Leipsic. John Calarius, professor of Hebrew, a man violently opposed to the reformed doctrines, was touched by the words of the eloquent doctor, and began to search the Scriptures more deeply. Ere long he gave up his station, and went to Wittemberg to study humbly at Luther's feet. Some time after he was pastor at Frankfurt and at Dresden.

Among those who had taken their seats on the benches reserved for the court, and who surrounded Duke George, was George of Anhalt, a young prince, twelve years old, descended from a family celebrated for their combats against the Saracens. He was then studying at Leipsic under a private tutor. An eager desire for learning and an ardent thirst for truth already distinguished this illustrious youth. He was frequently heard repeating these words of Solomon: *Lying lips become not a prince*. The discussion at Leipsic awakened serious reflections in this boy, and excited a decided partiality for Luther.¹ Some time after, he was offered a bishopric. His brothers and all his relations entreated him to accept it, wishing to push him to the highest dignities in the Church. But he was determined in his refusal. On the death of his pious mother, who was secretly well disposed towards Luther, he became possessed of all the reformer's writings. He offered up constant and fervent prayers to God, beseeching him to turn his heart to the truth, and often, in the solitude of his closet, he exclaimed with tears: *Deal with thy servant according to thy mercy, and teach me thy statutes*.² His prayers were heard. Convinced and carried away, he fearlessly ranged himself on the side of the Gospel. In vain did his guardians, and particularly Duke George, besiege him with entreaties and remonstrances. He was inflexible, and George exclaimed, half convinced by the reasoning of his ward: "I cannot answer him; but I will still remain in my own Church, for it is a hard matter to break in an old dog." We shall meet again with this amiable prince, one of the noblest characters of the Reformation, who preached in person to his subjects the words of everlasting life, and to whom has been applied the saying of Dion on the Emperor Marcus Antoninus: "He was consistent during the whole of his life; he was a good man, one in whom there was no guile."³

But it was the students in particular who received Luther's words with enthusiasm. They felt the difference between the spirit and energy of the Wittemberg doctor, and the sophistical distinctions, the empty speculations of the Chancellor of Ingolstadt. They saw that Luther relied upon the Word of God, and that Eck's opinions were grounded on human tradition. The effect was instantaneous. The lecture-rooms of the university of Leipsic were speedily deserted after the disputation. One circumstance, indeed, contributed to this result: the plague seemed on the point of breaking out in that city. But there were other universities (Erfurth, Ingolstadt, &c.) to which the students might have gone. The power of truth drew them to Wittemberg, where the number of students was soon doubled.⁴

Among those who removed from the one university to the other, was observed a youth of sixteen years, of melancholy disposition, speaking seldom, and who, in the midst of the conversations and sports of his fellow-students, often appeared absorbed in his own reflections.⁵ His parents had at first thought him of weak intellect; but soon found him so quick in learning, and so constantly occupied with his studies, that they formed the greatest expectations of him. His uprightness and candour, his modesty and piety, won him the affection of all, and Mosellanus pointed him out as a model to the whole university. His name was Gaspard Cruciger, a native of Leipsic. The new student of Wittemberg was afterwards the friend of Melancthon, and Luther's assistant in the translation of the Bible.

The Leipsic disputation bore still greater fruits. Here it was that the theologian of the Reformation received his call. Melancthon sat modest and silent listening to the discussion, in which he took very little part. Till that time literature had been his sole occupation. The conference gave him a new impulse, and launched the eloquent professor into the career of theology. From that hour his extensive learning bowed before the Word of God. He received the evangelical truths with the simplicity of a child; explained the doctrine of salvation with a grace and perspicuity that charmed all his hearers; and trod boldly in that path so new to him, for, said he, "Christ will never abandon his followers."⁶ Henceforward the two friends walked together, contending for liberty and truth,—the one with the energy of St. Paul, the other with the meekness of St. John. Luther has admirably expressed the difference of their callings. "I was born," said he, "to contend on the field of battle with factions and with wicked spirits. This is why my works abound with war and tempests."

¹ L. Opp. (W.) xv, 1640.

² A Deo positiv, decti peccata sum ad veritatem, ac lacrymans sepe hinc verba repetivit.... M. Adams, Vita Georgii Anhalt, p. 320.

³ "Quos diu exaravit lybura, dyabolus dñi, et ad solis asperitatem eligit. Melch. Adam, p. 322.

⁴ Peifer, Hist. Lipsiensis, p. 326.

⁵ Et cogitandum est sepe in medio sodalitate quod perregit animo. Melch. Adams, Vita Crucigeri, p. 125.

⁶ Christus cum non dormit. Corp. Ref. l. 30.

It is my task to uproot the stock and the stem, to clear away the briars and under-wood, to fill up the pools and the marshes. I am the rough woodman who has to prepare the way and smooth the road. But Philip advances quietly and softly; he tills and plants the ground; sows and waters it joyfully, according to the gifts that God has given him with so liberal a hand."¹

If Melancthon, the tranquil sower, was called to the work by the disputation of Leipsic, Luther, the hardy woodman, felt his arm strengthened by it, and his courage re-invigorated. The greatest effect of this discussion was that wrought in Luther himself. "The scales of scholastic theology," said he, "fell then entirely from before my eyes, under the triumphant presidence of Doctor Eck." The veil which the School and the Church had conjointly drawn before the sanctuary was rent for the reformer from top to bottom. Driven to new inquiries, he arrived at unexpected discoveries. With as much indignation as astonishment, he saw the evil in all its magnitude. Searching into the annals of the Church, he discovered that the supremacy of Rome had no other origin than ambition on the one hand, and ignorant credulity on the other. The narrow point of view under which he had hitherto looked upon the Church was succeeded by a deeper and more extended range. He recognised in the Christians of Greece and of the East true members of the Catholic Church; and instead of a visible chief, seated on the banks of the Tiber, he adored, as sole chief of the people of God, an invisible and eternal Redeemer, who, according to his promise, is daily in the midst of every nation upon earth, with all who believe in His name. The Latin Church was no longer in Luther's estimation the universal Church; he saw the narrow barriers of Rome fall down, and exulted in discovering beyond them the glorious dominions of Christ. From that time he comprehended how a man might be a member of Christ's Church, without belonging to the pope's. But, above all, the writings of John Huss produced a deep impression upon him. He there found, to his great surprise, the doctrine of St. Paul and of St. Augustine,—that doctrine at which he himself had arrived after so many struggles. "I believed and I taught all the doctrines of John Huss without being aware of it;"² and so did Staupitz. In short, although unconscious of it, we are all Hussites. Paul and Augustine were so themselves. I am confounded, and know not what to think.—Oh! how terribly have men deserved the judgments of God, seeing that the Gospel truth, which has been unveiled and published this century past, has been condemn'd, burnt, and stifled.....Wo, wo to the world!"

Luther separated from the papacy, and then felt towards it a decided aversion and holy indignation; and all the witnesses that in every age had risen up against Rome came in turns before him and testified against her, each revealing some abuse or error. "Oh! what thick darkness!" exclaimed he.

He was not allowed to be silent on this sad discovery. The insolence of his adversaries, their pretended triumph, and the efforts they made to extinguish the light, decided his soul. He advanced along the path in which God conducted him, without anxiety as to the goal to which it would lead him. Luther has pointed to this moment as that of his emancipation from the papal yoke. "Learn from me," said he, "how difficult a thing it is to throw off errors confirmed by the example of all the world,"³ and which, through long habit, have become a second nature to us. I had then been seven years reading and publicly explaining the Holy Scriptures with great zeal, so that I knew them almost by heart.⁴ I had also all the first-fruits of knowledge and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; that is to say, I knew that we are justified and saved not by our works, but by faith in Christ; and I even maintained openly that the pope is not the head of the Christian Church by Divine right. And yet I could not see the consequences that flowed from this; namely, that the pope is necessarily and certainly of the devil. For what is not of God must needs be of the devil."⁵ Luther adds further on: "I no longer permit myself to be indignant against those who are still attached to the pope, since I, who had for so many years studied the Holy Scriptures so attentively, still clung with so much obstinacy to popery."⁶

Such were the real results of the Leipsic disputation,—results of more importance than the disputation itself. It was like those first successes which discipline an army and excite its courage.

CHAPTER VII.

Eck attacks Melancthon—Melancthon's Defence—Interpretation of Holy Scripture—Luther's Firmness—The Bohemian Brothers—Emser—Staupitz.

Eck gave way to all the intoxication of what he wished to represent as a victory. He inveighed against Luther; heaped charge upon charge against him;⁷ wrote to Frede-

¹ Quam difficile sit eluctari et evertere ex erroribus, totius orbis exemplo firmatis.... L. Opp. Lat. in Pref.
² Per septem annos, ita ut rememorari pene omnia tenerem. Ibid.
³ Quod enim ex Deo non est, necesse est ex diabolo esse. Ibid.

⁴ Cum ego tot annis sacra legens diligentissime, tamen ita huius tenaciter. Ibid.
⁵ Proscidit, post ablitum nostrum, Martinum inhumanissime. Melancthon. Corp. Ref. i. 108.

¹ L. Opp. (W.) xiv. 202.
² Ego impressiones huiusmodi omnia Johanne Huss et docti et sancti. L. Opp. ii. 222.

rick; and desired, like a skilful general, to take advantage of the confusion that always follows a battle, to obtain important concessions from that prince. While waiting for the measures that were to be taken against his adversary's person, he called down fire upon his writings, even on those he had not read. He begged the elector to summon a provincial council: "Let us exterminate these vermin," said the coarse doctor, "before they multiply beyond all bounds."¹

It was not against Luther alone that he vented his anger. His imprudence called Melancthon into the lists. The latter, connected by tender ties of friendship with the excellent Ecclampadius, wrote him an account of the disputation, speaking of Dr. Eck in terms of commendation.² Nevertheless, the pride of the Chancellor of Ingolstadt was wounded. He immediately took up the pen against "that grammarian of Wittenberg, who was not ignorant, indeed, of Latin and Greek, but who had dared publish a letter in which he had insulted him.....Dr. Eck."³

Melancthon replied, and this was his first theological writing. It is characterized by all that exquisite urbanity which distinguished this excellent man. Laying down the fundamental principles of hermeneutics,⁴ he showed that we ought not to interpret Scripture by the Fathers, but the Fathers by Scripture. "How often has not Jerome been mistaken!" said he; "how frequently Augustine! how frequently Ambrose! how often their opinions are different! and how often they retract their errors! There is but one Scripture, inspired by the Holy Ghost, and pure and true in all things."⁵

"Luther does not follow certain ambiguous explanations of the ancients, say they; and why should he? When he explains the passage of Saint Matthew: *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church*, he says the same thing as Origen, who alone is a host; as Augustine in his homily; and as Ambrose in his sixth book upon Saint Luke; I will mention no others.—What then, will you say the Fathers contradict one another?—And is there any thing astonishing in that?"⁶ I believe in the Fathers, because I believe in Scripture. The meaning of Scripture is one and simple, like heavenly truth itself. It is obtained by comparing scripture with scripture: it is deduced from the thread and connexion of the discourse.⁷ There is a philosophy that is enjoined us as regards Holy Scripture: and that is, to bring all

human opinions and maxims to it, as to a touchstone by which to try them."¹

For a very long period such powerful truths had not been set forth with so much elegance. The Word of God was restored to its place, and the Fathers to theirs. The simple method by which we may arrive at the real meaning of Scripture was firmly laid down. The Word floated above all the difficulties and all the explanations of the School. Melancthon furnished the means of replying to all those who, like Dr. Eck, should perplex this subject, even to the most distant ages. The feeble *grammarian* had risen up; and the broad and sturdy shoulders of the scholastic gladiator had bent under the first movement of his arm.

The weaker Eck was, the louder he clamoured. By his boastings and his accusations, he hoped to secure the victory that he had lost in his discussions. The monks and all the partisans of Rome re-echoed his clamours. From every part of Germany, reproaches were poured upon Luther; but he remained unaffected by them. "The more I find my name covered with opprobrium, the more do I glory in it," said he at the conclusion of the explanations he published on the Leipsic propositions. "The truth, that is to say Christ, must needs increase, and I must decrease. The voice of the Bride and the Bridegroom causes me a joy that far surpasses the terrors inspired by their clamours. Men are not the authors of my sufferings, and I entertain no hatred towards them. It is Satan, the prince of wickedness, who desires to terrify me. But He who is within us is mightier than he that is in the world. The judgement of our contemporaries is bad, that of posterity will be better."²

If the Leipsic disputation augmented Luther's enemies in Germany, it also increased the number of his friends in foreign countries. "What Huss was in Bohemia in other days, you now are in Saxony, dear Martin," wrote the Bohemian brethren to him; "for this reason, pray and be strong in the Lord!"

About this time the war broke out between Luther and Emser, then professor at Leipsic. The latter wrote to Dr. Zack, a zealous Roman-catholic of Prague, a letter in which his design appeared to be to deprive the Hussites of their notion that Luther belonged to their party. Luther could not doubt that by seeming to justify him, the learned Leipsicker was endeavouring to fix upon him the suspicion of adhering to the Bohemian heresy, and he accordingly resolved to tear aside the veil under which his former host of Dresden desired to conceal his hostility. With this intent he published a letter, addressed "To Emser the Goat" (his adversary's crest was a goat), and concluded by these words, *as*

¹ *Ehe das Ungeschehen überhand nehme.* L. Opp. (L.) xvii.

² *Ecce ob varias et insignes ingenii dotes.* L. Opp. Lat.

³ *Amicus est grammaticus Wittenbergensis. Græce et Latine sane non indoctus, epistolam edere.* Ibid. 336.

⁴ The art of interpreting the Holy Scriptures.

⁵ *Una est Scriptura, celestis spiritus, pura, et per omnia verba.* Contra Sectum Defensio, Corp. Ref. i. 116.

⁶ *Quid letari! Ipse secum pugnant! quid mirum?* Ibid.

⁷ *Quæ collatis Scripturis & aliis ænigmatibus orationis hinc nascuntur.* Ibid. p. 116.

¹ *Ut hominum sententias, decretaque, ad ipsam, cum ad Lydium lapidem, exigamus.* Corp. Ref. i. 116.

² *Proceres male iudicat ætas; iudicium melius postea tunc erit.* L. Opp. Lat. i. 310.

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clearly depicting his character: "My maxim is,—to love all men, but to fear none."¹

While new friends and enemies thus sprung up around Luther, his old friends seemed to be deserting him: Staupitz, who had brought the reformer from the obscurity of his cloister at Erfurth, began to evince some coolness towards him. Luther had soared too high for Staupitz, who could not follow him. "You abandon me," wrote Luther to him. "All day long I have been very sad on your account, as a weaned child cries after its mother."² I dreamt of you last night (continues the reformer): you were leaving me, while I groaned and shed bitter tears. But you stretched out your hand, bade me be calm, and promised to return to me again."

The pacificator Miltitz was desirous of making a fresh attempt to calm the agitation of men's minds. But what hold could he have over men still agitated by the emotions the struggle had excited? His endeavours proved unavailing. He was the bearer of the famous Golden Rose presented to the elector, but the latter did not condescend to receive it in person.³ Frederick knew the artifices of Rome, and all hope of deceiving him was relinquished.⁴

CHAPTER VIII.

The Epistle to the Galatians—Christ for us—Blindness of Luther's Opponents—Earliest Ideas on the Lord's Supper—Is the Sacrament without Faith sufficient?—Luther a Romanist—Eck attacked—Eck goes to Rome.

LUTHER, far from retreating, advanced daily. It was at this time that he aimed one of his most violent blows against error in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians.⁵ The second Commentary is undoubtedly superior to the first; but in the first he expounded with great power the doctrine of justification by faith. Each expression of the new apostle was full of life, and God made use of him to introduce a knowledge of Himself into the hearts of the people. "Christ gave himself for our sins," said Luther to his contemporaries.⁶ "It was not silver or gold that He gave for us; it was not a man; it was not all the angels; it was himself: that He gave, out of whom there is nothing great. And He gave this inestimable treasure—for our sins. Where now are those who vaunt of the power of our

will?—where are all the lessons of moral philosophy?—where are the power and the strength of the law? Since our sins were so great that nothing could take them away except a ransom so immeasurable, shall we still claim to obtain righteousness by the strength of our own will, by the power of the law, or by the teaching of men? What shall we do with all these artifices, with all these delusions? Alas! we shall cover our iniquities with a false righteousness, and we shall make hypocrites of ourselves, whom nothing in the world can save."

But while Luther was thus laying down the doctrine that there is no salvation for men out of Christ, he also showed that this salvation transforms man, and makes him abound in good works. "He who has truly heard the Word of Christ (said the Reformer), and who keeps it, is immediately clothed with the spirit of charity. If you love the man who has made you a present of twenty florins, or done you any important service, or in any other manner testified his affection, how much more ought you to love Him who has given you not gold or silver, but himself, who has even received so many wounds for your sake, who for you has sweated drops of blood, and who died for you; in a word, who, by paying for all your sins, has swallowed up death, and obtained for you in heaven a Father full of love!.....If you love Him not, you have not heard with your heart the things that He has done; you have not believed them, for faith worketh by love."—"This Epistle is my epistle," said Luther, speaking of the Epistle to the Galatians: "I am wedded to it."

His adversaries compelled him to advance more quickly than he would have done without them. At this period Eck incited the Franciscans of Juterbock to attack him again. Luther, in his reply,¹ not content with repeating what he had already taught, attacked errors that he had newly discovered. "I should like to know," said he, "in what part of Scripture the power of canonizing the saints has been given to the popes²; and also what necessity, what utility there is in canonizing them.....For that matter," added he sarcastically, "let them canonize as much as they like!"³

Luther's new attacks remained unanswered. The blindness of his enemies was as favourable to him as his own courage. They passionately defended secondary matters, and when Luther laid his hand on the foundations of the Roman doctrine, they saw them shaken without uttering a word. They busied themselves in defending the outworks, while their intrepid adversary was advancing into the body of the place, and there boldly planting the standard of truth. Accordingly, they were afterwards astonished when they

¹ L. Opp. Lat. I. 282.

² *Sancti spiritus, sicut ablativus super matre sua, tristitia sua deus habet.* L. Opp. I. 282.

³ *Romani quam vocant auream nullo honore dignatus est; sed pro ridicula habuit.* L. Opp. Lat. in Pref.

⁴ *Salutem primarum artium Romanam curis et ore (negat)*

quis tractare possit. Ibid.

⁵ *Commentarii.* Ibid.

⁶ L. Opp. (L.) I. 282.

¹ *Defensio contra malignum Eekii judicium.* L. Opp. Lat. I. 282.

² *Canonibus quibus quantum voluit.* Ibid. 282.

behold the fortress they were defending undermined and on fire, and crumbling into ruins in the midst of the flames, while they were flattering themselves that it was impregnable, and were still braving those who led the assault. Thus are all great catastrophes effected.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was now beginning to occupy Luther's thoughts. He looked in vain for this holy supper in the Mass. One day, shortly after his return from Leipsic, he went into the pulpit. Let us listen to his words, for they are the first he uttered on a subject that has since rent the Church of the Reformation into two parties. He said: "In the holy sacrament of the altar there are three things we must observe: the sign, which should be outward, visible, and in a bodily shape; the thing signified, which is inward, spiritual, and in the mind of man; and faith, which makes use of both."¹ If definitions had been carried no farther, unity would not have been destroyed.

Luther continued: "It would be a good thing if the Church, by a general council, should order both kinds to be given to the believer; not however that one kind is not sufficient, for faith alone would suffice." This bold language pleased his hearers. A few of them were however alarmed and irritated. "It is false and scandalous," said they.²

The preacher continued: "There is no closer, deeper, or more indivisible union than that which takes place between the food and the body which the food nourishes. Christ is so united to us in the sacrament, that he acts as if he were ourselves. Our sins assail him; his righteousness defends us."

But Luther was not satisfied with setting forth the truth; he attacked one of the most fundamental errors of Rome.³ That Church maintains that the Sacrament operates of itself, independently of the disposition of the communicant. Nothing can be more convenient than such an opinion. Hence the ardour with which the sacrament is sought,—hence the profits of the Romish clergy. Luther attacked this doctrine,⁴ and opposed it by the contrary doctrine,⁵ by virtue of which faith and the concurrence of the heart are necessary.

This energetic protest was of a nature to overthrow the ancient superstitions; and yet it is most astonishing that no one paid any attention to it. Rome passed by that which should have called up a shriek of distress, and fell impetuously on the unimportant remark Luther had made at the beginning of his discourse, touching the communion in both kinds. This sermon having been pub-

lished in December, a cry of heresy was raised in every quarter. "It is nothing more nor less than the doctrine of Prague," was the observation at the court of Dresden, where the sermon arrived during the festival of Christmas; "the work, besides, is in German, in order that the common people may understand it."¹ The prince's devotion was disturbed, and on the third day of the festival he wrote to his cousin Frederick: "Since the publication of this sermon, the number of those who receive the Eucharist in both kinds has increased in Bohemia by six thousand. Your Luther, from being a professor at Wittenberg, is about to become bishop of Prague and arch-heretic!"—"He was born in Bohemia!" said some, "of Bohemian parents; he was brought up in Prague, and taught from Wickliffe's books!"

Luther thought it his duty to contradict these rumours in a writing wherein he seriously gives an account of his family. "I was born at Eisleben,"² said he, "and christened in St. Peter's Church. Dresden is the nearest place to Bohemia that I have ever visited."

Duke George's letter did not estrange the elector from Luther. A few days after, this prince invited the doctor to a splendid banquet which he gave the Spanish ambassador, and there Luther valiantly contended against Charles's minister.³ The elector had begged him, through his chaplain, to defend his cause with moderation. "Too much folly is displeasing to men," replied Luther to Spalatin; "but too much discretion is displeasing to God. The Gospel cannot be defended without tumult and without scandal. The Word of God is a sword,—a war,—a ruin,—a stumbling-block,—a destruction,—a poison;⁴ and, as Amos says, it meets us like a bear in the road or a lioness in the forest. I seek nothing, I ask nothing. There is One greater than I, who seeketh and asketh. If He should fall, I lose nothing; if He stand, I am profited nothing."⁵

Every thing announced that Luther would need faith and courage now more than ever. Eck was forming plans of revenge. Instead of the laurels that he had reckoned on gaining, the Leipsic gladiator had become the laughing-stock of all the sensible men of his nation. Several biting satires were published against him. One was the *Epistle of Ignorant Canons*, written by Œcolampadius, and which cut Eck to the quick. Another was a *Complaint against Eck*, probably from the pen of the excellent Pirckheimer of Nuremberg, overflowing with a sarcasm and dignity of which Pascal's *Provincial Letters* can alone give us any idea.

¹ L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 272.

² Ibid. 281.

³ Si quis dixerit per ipsa nova legis sacramenta et opere operante non conferri gratiam, sed solam fidem divine promissionis, ad gratiam consequendam sufficere, anathema sit. Council, Trident. Session 7, canon 8.

⁴ Known as the *opus operantis*.

⁵ That of the *opus operantis*.

¹ L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 281.

² Ceterum ego natus sum in Eisleben. Luth. Opp. i. 322.

³ Cum quo heri ego et Philippus certavimus, splendide

victi. Ibid. 328.

⁴ Verbum Dei gladius est, bellum est, ruina est, scandalum est, perditio est, venenum est. L. Opp. i. 417.

⁵ Ego nihil quero; est, qui querat. Stat ergo, sive cadat: ego nihil luctor, aut amitto. Ibid. 418.

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rather manifested his displeasure at several of these writings. "It is better to speak openly," said he, "than to bite from behind a hedge."¹

What a disappointment for the Chancellor of Magdeburg! His fellow-countrymen abandoned him. He prepared to cross the Alps to seek foreign support. Wherever he went, he vented his threats against Luther, Melancthon, Carlstadt, and the elector himself. "I scorn his lofty language," said the Wittenberg doctor, "one might take him to be the Almighty."² Inflamed with anger and desire of revenge, Eck published, in February 1520, a work on the primacy of St. Peter. In this treatise, which was utterly devoid of all sound criticism, he maintained that this apostle was the first of popes, and had dwelt twenty-five years in Rome. After this he set out for Italy, to receive the reward of his pretended triumphs, to forge in Rome, under the shadow of

the papal capitol, more powerful thunderbolts than the frail weapons of the schoolmen that had shivered in his hands.

Luther foresaw all the perils that his opponent's journey might draw upon him; but he feared not. Spalatin, in alarm, begged him to propose peace. "No," replied Luther, "so long as he continues his clamours, I cannot withdraw my hands from the contest. I trust every thing to God. I consign my bark to the winds and to the waves. The battle is the Lord's.³ Why should you imagine that Christ will advance his cause by peace? Did he not fight with his own blood, and all the martyrs after him?"

Such, at the opening of the year 1520, was the position of the combatants of Leipzig. The one was rousing all the papacy to crush his rival: the other waited for war with the same calmness that men look for peace. The new year was destined to see the storm burst forth.

¹ *Ubi est aperta criminatio, quam iste sub sepe mortuus est.*
² *I. 488.*
³ *nam credens Omnipotentem loqui. Ibid. 380.*

¹ *Cogor rem Deo committere, data scilicet et scilicet nave. Bellum Domini est. I. App. I. 488.*

BOOK VI.

THE PAPAL BULL—1520.

CHAPTER I.

Elect of Maximilian—Candidates for the Empire—Francis I.—Disposition of the Germans—The crown offered to Frederick—Charles elected Emperor.

NEW actor was about to appear on the stage. God designed to bring the Wittenberg monk face to face with the most powerful monarch that had appeared in Christendom since the days of Charlemagne. He elected a prince in the vigour of youth, and whom every thing seemed to announce a sovereign—a prince whose sceptre extended over a considerable part of the old world, and even over the new, so that (according to a celebrated saying) the sun never went down on his vast dominions; and to him He proposed that lowly Reformation, begun in a secluded cell of a convent at Erfurth by the anguish and the sighs of a poor monk. The history of this monarch and of his reign was destined, it would seem, to teach the world an important lesson. It was to show the nothingness of all the strength of man when it presumes to measure itself with the weakness of God. If a prince, a friend to Luther, had been called to the imperial throne, the success of the Reformation might

have been ascribed to his protection. If even an emperor opposed to the new doctrines, but yet a weak ruler, had worn the diadem, the triumph of this work might have been accounted for by the weakness of the monarch. But it was the haughty conqueror at Pavia who was destined to veil his pride before the power of God's Word; and the whole world beheld the man, who found it an easy task to drag Francis I. a prisoner to Madrid, obliged to lower his sword before the son of a poor miner.

The emperor Maximilian was dead, and the electors had met at Frankfort to choose a successor. This was an important event for all Europe under the existing circumstances. All Christendom was occupied with this election. Maximilian had not been a great prince; but his memory was dear to the people. They were delighted to call to recollection his presence of mind and his good nature. Luther used often to converse with his friends about him, and one day related the following anecdote of this monarch:

A mendicant was once following him and begging alms, calling him *brother*; "for (said he) we are both descended from the same father, Adam. I am poor (continued he),

but you are rich, and you ought therefore to help me." The emperor turned round at these words, and said to him: "There is a penny for you; go to all your other brothers, and, if each one gives you as much, you will be richer than I am."¹

It was not a good-natured Maximilian that was destined to wear the imperial crown. The times were changing; men of overweening ambition were about to dispute the throne of the emperors of the West; a strong hand was to grasp the reins of the empire, and long and bloody wars were on the point of succeeding a profound peace.

Three kings claimed the crown of the Caesars from the assembly at Frankfort: A youthful prince, grandson of the last emperor, born in the first year of the century, and consequently nineteen years old, appeared first. His name was Charles, and he was born at Ghent. His paternal grandmother, Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, had bequeathed to him Flanders and the rich domains of Burgundy. His mother, Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, and wife of Philip the Emperor Maximilian's son, had transmitted to him the united crowns of the two Spains, Naples, and Sicily, to which Christopher Columbus had recently added a new world. His grandfather's death now put him in possession of the hereditary states of Austria. This young prince, endowed with great intelligence, and amiable whenever it pleased him to be so, joined to a taste for military exercises, in which the famous dukes of Burgundy had long distinguished themselves,—to the subtlety and penetration of the Italians,—to the respect for existing institutions which still characterizes the house of Austria, and which promised a firm defender to the papacy,—an extensive knowledge of public affairs which he had acquired under the direction of Chivres; for, from the age of fifteen years, he had attended all the deliberations of his councils.² Qualities so various were covered and concealed, as it were, by his Spanish taciturnity and reserve; there was an air of melancholy in his long visage. "He was pious and silent," said Luther; "I will wager that he does not talk so much in a year as I do in a day."³ If Charles had grown up under free and christian influences, he would perhaps have been one of the most meritorious princes recorded in history; but politics absorbed his whole life, and blighted his naturally amiable character.

The youthful Charles, not content with the sceptres he already grasped in his hand, aspired to the imperial dignity. "It is a beam of sunshine that casts a splendour upon the house on which it falls," said many; "but stretch forth the hand to seize it, and you find nothing." Charles, on the contrary,

looked upon it as the summit of all earthly grandeur, and a means of obtaining a magical influence over the minds of nations.

Francis I., king of France, was the second candidate. The young paladins of the court of this chivalrous sovereign were ever repeating that he ought, like Charlemagne, to be emperor of all the West, and, reviving the exploits of the knights of old, to attack the Crescent that threatened the empire, crush the infidels, and recover the Holy Sepulchre.

"You should convince the dukes of Austria that the imperial crown is not hereditary," said the ambassadors of Francis to the electors. "Besides, in the present state of affairs, Germany requires, not a youth of nineteen, but a prince who with a tried judgment combines talents already proved. Francis will unite the arms of France and Lombardy with those of Germany to make war on the Mussulmans. As sovereign of the duchy of Milan, he is already a member of the empire." The French ambassadors strengthened their arguments by four hundred thousand crowns which they expended in buying votes, and in banquets which the guest generally quitted in a state of inebriation.

Lastly, Henry VIII. of England, jealous of the influence the choice of the electors would give Francis or Charles, also entered the lists; but he soon left these two powerful rivals to dispute the crown between them.

The electors were not very favourably disposed towards either. "Our people," thought they, "will consider the King of France as a foreign master, and this master may wrest even from us that independence of which the great lords of his own kingdom have recently been deprived." As for Charles, it was an old maxim with the electors never to select a prince who already played an important part in the empire. The pope participated in these fears. He was opposed to the King of Naples, his neighbour, and to the King of France, whose enterprising spirit alarmed him. "Choose rather one of yourselves," was the advice he sent to the electors. The Elector of Treves proposed to nominate Frederick of Saxony; and the imperial crown was laid at the feet of this friend to Luther.

Such a choice would have gained the approbation of the whole of Germany. Frederick's wisdom and love for the people were well known. During the revolt of Erfurth, he had been advised to take the city by storm. He refused, that he might avoid bloodshed. "But it will not cost five men," was the reply.—"A single man would be too many," answered the prince.⁴ It appeared that the election of the protector of the Reformation would secure the triumph of that work. Ought not Frederick to have seen a call from God in this wish of the electors? Who can

¹ L. Opp. (W.) xxi. 1280.
² Mémoires de Du Bellay, l. 44.
³ L. Opp. (W.) xxi. 1274.

⁴ L. Opp. (W.) xxi. 1280.

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been better suited to preside over the rise of the empire than this wise prince? Could have been stronger against the us than a truly Christian emperor? The al of the Elector of Saxony, so extolled istorians, may have been a fault on the of this prince. Perhaps to him must be y ascribed the contests that devastated any in after days. But it is a difficult er to decide whether Frederick deserves e blamed for want of faith, or honoured is humility. He thought that the very y of the empire required him to refuse crown.¹ "We need an emperor more rful than myself to preserve Germany," this modest and disinterested prince. e Turk is at our gates. The King of n, whose hereditary possessions of Aus- border on the threatened frontier, is its ral defender." e Roman legate, seeing that Charles ld be elected, declared that the pope drew his objections; and on the 28th of : the grandson of Maximilian was nomi- d emperor. "God," said Frederick not after, "hath given him to us in His ur and in His anger."² The Spanish ys offered 30,000 gold florins to the or of Saxony, as a testimonial of their er's gratitude; but this prince refused a, and forbade his ministers to accept of present. At the same time, he secured liberties of Germany by a capitulation to h Charles's envoys swore in his name. circumstances under which the latter med the imperial crown seemed, more- , to give a stronger pledge than these is in favour of German liberty and of the k of the Reformation. This youthful ce was jealous of the laurels that his d Francis I. had gathered at Marignan. : struggle would still be continued in ly, and the interval thus employed would dless suffice for the Reformation to gain ight. Charles quitted Spain in May 0, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on : 23d of October.

CHAPTER II.

Let's Letter to the Emperor—His Danger—Frederick's instructions to his Envoy at Rome—Luther's Sentiments Sebastian's Fear—The German Nobles favour the situation—Schmarnberg—Sickingen—Ulrich of Hutten Luther's Confidence—Erasmus defends Luther—Abstelius—Hedio—Luther becomes more free—Faith the way of Works—What gives Faith?—Luther judging his n Vikings.

men had foreseen that the cause of the formation would soon be carried before a new emperor. He wrote to Charles, dle this prince was yet at Madrid: "If

the cause that I defend," said he, "is worthy of appearing before the throne of the Majesty of heaven, it ought not to be unworthy of engaging the attention of a prince of this world. O Charles! first of the kings of the earth! I throw myself a suppliant at the feet of your most serene majesty. Deign to receive under the shadow of your wings, not me, but the cause of that eternal truth, for the defence of which God has intrusted you with the sword."¹ The young monarch laid aside this singular letter from a German monk, and made no reply to it.

While Luther was vainly turning towards Madrid, the storm seemed to increase around him. Fanaticism was kindling in Germany. Hochstraten, indefatigable in his attempts at persecution, had extracted certain theses from Luther's writings. At his demand, the universities of Cologne and Louvain had condemned these works. That of Erfurth, still exasperated at Luther's preference for Wittenberg, was about to follow their example. But having been informed of it, the doctor wrote to Lange so spirited a letter, that the Erfurth divines were dismayed and kept silent. The condemnation pronounced at Cologne and Louvain sufficed, however, to inflame men's minds. Nay, more: the priests of Meissen, who had espoused Emser's quarrel, said publicly (Melancthon is our authority) that he who should kill Luther would be without sin.² "Now is the time," said Luther, "when men will think they do Christ a service by putting us to death." These homicidal words were destined to produce their fruit in due season.

One day, says a biographer, as Luther was in front of the Augustine cloister, a stranger, who held a pistol concealed under his cloak, accosted him in these words: "Why do you go thus alone?"—"I am in God's hands," replied Luther. "He is my strength and my shield. What can man do unto me?"³ Upon this the stranger turned pale (adds the historian), and fled away trembling. Serra Longa, the ambassador at the Augsburg conference, wrote to the elector about this time "Let not Luther find an asylum in the states of your highness; let him be rejected of all, and stoned in the face of heaven; that will be more pleasing to me than if I received ten thousand crowns from you."⁴

But it was particularly in the direction of Rome that the storm was gathering. Valentine Teutleben, a Thuringian nobleman, vicar to the Archbishop of Mentz, and a zealous partisan of the papacy, was the Elector of Saxony's representative at the papal court. Teutleben, ashamed of the protection accorded by his master to an heretical monk, was im-

¹ Osumam ipsam veritatis. L. Epp. I. 302. 1544 January 1550.

² Ut sine peccato esse cum comessant qui me interfecerunt. L. Epp. I. 303.

³ Was kann mir ein Mensch thun? Keth. I. Umkleide, p. 52.

⁴ Tenzel, Hist. Bericht vom Anfang und Verlauf, des Re- form. Lutheri, II. 124.

⁵ Two heretics plane moderations animi magnifico re- spons. Pallavicini, I. 76. L. Epp. (W.) 204. 205.

patient at seeing his mission paralyzed by this imprudent conduct. He imagined that, by alarming the elector, he would induce him to abandon the rebellious divine. "They will not listen to me here," wrote he to his master, "because of the protection you show to Luther." But the Romans were deceived if they thought to frighten the prudent Frederick. This prince was aware that the will of God and the movements of nations were more irresistible than the decrees of the papal chancery. He ordered his envoy to intimate to the pope that, far from defending Luther, he had always left him to defend himself; besides, he had already called upon him to quit Saxony and the university; that the doctor had declared his willingness to obey, and that he would not then be in the electoral states, if the legate himself, Charles of Miltitz, had not entreated the prince to keep him near at hand, for fear that, by going to other countries, Luther would act with greater liberty than even in Saxony.¹ Frederick went farther than this: he desired to enlighten Rome. "Germany," continues he in his letter, "now possesses a great number of learned men, well taught in every language and science; the laity themselves begin to have understanding, and to love the Holy Scriptures; if, therefore, the reasonable conditions of Dr. Luther are rejected, there is great cause to fear that peace will never be re-established. Luther's doctrine has struck deep root into many hearts. If, instead of refuting it by the testimony of the Bible, you strive to destroy him by the thunderbolts of the ecclesiastical authority, great scandals will arise, and ruinous and terrible revolts will be excited."²

The elector, having the greatest confidence in Luther, communicated Teutleben's letter to him, with another that he had received from Cardinal Saint George. The reformer was agitated as he read them. He immediately perceived the dangers by which he was surrounded. His soul was for a time quite overwhelmed. But it was in such moments that the whole strength of his faith shone forth. Often weak, and ready to fall into dejection, he rose again, and appeared greater in the midst of the tempest. He longed to be delivered from such trials; but he saw at what price peace was offered to him, and he indignantly rejected it. "Hold my peace!" exclaimed he, "I am disposed to do so, if they will permit me: that is, if they will make others keep silence. If any one desires my places, let him take them; if any one desires to destroy my writings, let him burn them. I am ready to keep quiet, provided they do not require that the truth of the Gospel should be silent also."³ I do not

ask for a cardinal's hat; I ask not for gold, or for anything that Rome values. There is nothing in the world they cannot obtain from me, provided they will not shut up the way of salvation against Christians.⁴ Their threats do not alarm me, their promises cannot seduce me."

Animated with such sentiments, Luther soon recovered his militant disposition, and preferred the christian warfare to the calm of solitude. One night was sufficient to bring back his desire of overthrowing Rome. "I have taken my part," wrote he on the morrow; "I despise the fury of Rome, and condemn her favours. No more reconciliation, no more communication with her for ever.⁵ Let her condemn me, let her burn my writings! In my turn, I will condemn and publicly burn the pontifical law,—that nest of every heresy. The moderation I have hitherto shown has been unavailing; I now renounce it!"

His friends were far from being thus tranquil. Great was the consternation at Wittenberg. "We are in a state of extraordinary expectation," said Melancthon; "I would rather die than be separated from Luther."⁶ If God does not help us, we shall all perish.—"Our dear Luther is still alive," wrote he a month later, in his anxiety; "may it please God to grant him a long life!"⁷ for the Roman sycophants are making every exertion to put him to death. Let us pray that this sole avenger of sacred theology may long survive."

These prayers were heard. The warning the elector had given Rome through his envoy was not without foundation. Luther's words had found an echo every where—in cottages and convents, in the homes of the citizens and in the castles of the nobles, in the universities and in the palaces of kings. "If my life," he had said to Duke John of Saxony, "has been instrumental to the conversion of a single man, I shall willingly consent to see all my books perish."⁸ It was not one man, it was a great multitude, that had found the light in the writings of the humble doctor. Every where, accordingly, were men to be found ready to protect him. The sword intended to slay him was forging in the Vatican; but heroes were springing up in Germany to shield him with their bodies. At the moment when the bishops were chafing with rage, when princes kept silence, when the people were in expectation, and when the first murmurs of the thunder were beginning to be heard from the Seven Hills, God aroused the German nobles to make a rampart for his servant.

¹ Da er viel freyer und sicherer schreiben und handeln möchte was er wollte. L. Opp. (L.) viii. 284.

² Schreckliche, grausame, schädliche und verderbliche Empörungen erragen. Ibid.

³ Semper quiescere paratus, modo veritatem evangelicam non jubent quiescere. L. Opp. I. 422.

⁴ Si salutem viam Christianis permittant esse liberam, hoc unum peto ab illis, ac preterea nihil. I. Epp. I. 462.

⁵ Nolo eis reconciliari nec communicare in perpetuum. Ibid. 468. 10th July 1520.

⁶ Emori mallem, quam ab hoc viro avelli. Corp. Ref. I. 160, 163.

⁷ Martinus noster spiritus, atque utinam diu. Ibid. 160, 163.

⁸ L. Opp. (L.) viii. 292.

Sylvester of Schaumburg, one of the most powerful knights of Franconia, sent his son to Wittenberg at this time with a letter for the reformer. "Your life is in danger," wrote he. "If the support of the electors, princes, or magistrates fail you, I entreat you to beware of going to Bohemia, where in former times learned men have had much to undergo; rather come to me. God willing, I shall soon have collected more than a hundred gentlemen, and with their help I shall be able to protect you from every danger."¹

Francis of Sickingen, the hero of his age,² of whose intrepid courage we have already been witnesses,³ loved the reformer, because he found him worthy of being loved, and also because he was hated by the monks.⁴ "My services, my goods, and my body, all that I possess," wrote he to Luther, "are at your disposal. You desire to maintain the christian truth: I am ready to aid you in the work."⁵ Harmurth of Cronberg held the same language. Lastly, Ulric of Hütten, the poet and valiant knight of the sixteenth century, never ceased speaking in Luther's favour. But what a contrast between these two men! Hütten wrote to the reformer: "It is with swords and with bows, with javelins and bombs, that we must crush the fury of the devil." Luther on receiving these letters exclaimed: "I will not have recourse to arms and bloodshed in defence of the Gospel. By the Word the earth has been subdued; by the Word the Church has been saved; and by the Word also it shall be re-established."—"I do not despise his offer," said he at another time on receiving Schaumburg's letter, which we have mentioned above, "but I will rely upon none but Jesus Christ."⁶ It was not thus the Roman pontiffs spoke when they waded in the blood of the Waldenses and Albigenses. Hütten felt the difference between his cause and Luther's, and he accordingly wrote to him with noble-mindedness: "As for me, I am busied with the affairs of men; but you soar far higher, and are occupied solely with those of God."⁷ He then set out to win, if possible, Charles and Ferdinand to the side of truth.⁸

Luther at this time met with a still more illustrious protector. Erasmus, whom the Romanists so often quote against the Reformation, raised his voice and undertook the reformer's defence, after his own fashion, however, that is to say, without any show of defending him. On the 1st of November

1519, this patriarch of learning wrote to Albert, elector of Mentz and primate of all Germany, a letter in which, after describing in vivid colours the corruption of the Church, he says: "This is what stirred up Luther, and made him oppose the intolerable imprudence of certain doctors. For what other motive can we ascribe to a man who seeks not honours and who cares not for money?"¹ Luther has dared doubt the virtue of indulgences; but others before him had most unblushingly affirmed it. He feared not to speak, certainly with little moderation, against the power of the Roman pontiff; but others before him had extolled it without reserve. He has dared condemn the decrees of St. Thomas, but the Dominicans had set them almost above the Gospel. He has dared give utterance to his scruples about confession, but the monks continually made use of this ordinance as a net in which to catch and enslave the consciences of men. Pious souls were grieved at hearing that in the universities there was little mention of the evangelical doctrine; that in the assemblies of Christians very little was heard of Christ;² that nothing was there talked of, except the power of the pontiff, and the opinions of the Romish doctors; and that the whole sermon was a mere matter of lucre, flattery, ambition, and imposture.³ It is to such a state of affairs that we should ascribe Luther's violent language." Such was Erasmus's opinion on the state of the Church and on the reformer. This letter, which was published by Ulric Hütten, then residing at the court of Mentz, made a profound impression.

At the same time, men more obscure than Erasmus and than all the knights, but who were destined to be more powerful auxiliaries, rallied round Luther in every direction. Doctor Botzheimus Abstemius, canon of Constance, wrote to him thus: "Now that you have become the friend of the universe, or at least of the better part of the world, that is to say, of good and true Christians, you must also become mine, whether you will or not!"⁴ I am so delighted with your writings, that nothing gives me greater pleasure than to be living at a time when not only profane but also sacred literature is resuming its pristine splendour."⁵ And at nearly the same period Gaspard Hedio, preacher at Basle, wrote to the reformer: "Most dear sir, I see that your doctrine is of God, and that it cannot be destroyed; that it becomes daily more efficacious; and that every hour it is winning souls to Christ by turning them

¹ Deum Ich. und hundert von Adel, die Ich (ob Gott will) anbringen will, euch redlich anhalten. L. Opp. (L.) xvil. 281.

² Equitum Germanie rarum decus (a peerless ornament of German knight-hood), says Melancthon on this occasion. Corp. Ref. i. 281.

³ See vol. i. p. 47.

⁴ Et ob id invidus illis. Corp. Ref. i. 132.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Vole nisi Christo protectore niti. L. Epp. i. 148.

⁷ Mica humana sum, te perfectior, jam totus ex divinis pendes. L. Opp. Lat. ii. 175.

⁸ Viam facturum libertati (sed Revere. veritati) per maximos principes. Corp. Ref. i. 324.

¹ Quid enim aliud suspicio de eo qui nec honores ambit, nec pecuniam cupit? Eras. Opp. iii. 315.

² Imo in sacris concionibus minimum audiri de Christo. Ibid.

³ Totam orationem jam palam questum, adulationem, ambitionem, ac fucum præ se ferre. Ibid.

⁴ Postquam orbi, aut saltem potiori orbi parti, hoc est, bonis et vere christianis amicis factus es, meus quoque amicus eris, velle, nolle. Botzheim and his Friends, by Walchner, p. 107.

⁵ Et divine pristinum nitorem recuperant. Ibid.

away from sin and attracting them to real piety.¹ Do not halt therefore, O liberator, but exert all your power to restore the yoke of Christ, so light and easy to bear. Be yourself the general, and we will follow after you, like soldiers whom nothing can tear from you."²

Thus at one time Luther's enemies oppress him, at another his friends spring up to defend him. "My bark," said he, "floats to and fro, the sport of the winds; hope and fear prevail by turns; but what matters it!"³ And yet these testimonies of sympathy were not without influence upon his mind. "The Lord reigns," said he, "I see him there, as if I could touch him."⁴ Luther felt that he was not alone; his words had borne fruit, and this thought filled him with fresh courage. The fear of compromising the elector no longer checked him, when he found other defenders ready to brave the anger of Rome. He became more free, and if possible more determined. This is an important epoch in the development of Luther's character. "Rome ought to understand," wrote he at this period to the elector's chaplain, "that; even should she succeed by her threats in expelling me from Wittenberg, she would only injure her cause. It is not in Bohemia, but in the very heart of Germany that those are to be found who are ready to defend me against the thunders of the papacy. If I have not done my enemies all the harm I am preparing for them, they must ascribe it neither to my moderation nor to their tyranny, but to the elector's name and to the interests of the university of Wittenberg, which I feared to compromise: now that I have such fears no longer, they will see me fall with fresh vigour upon Rome and upon her courtiers."⁵

And yet it was not on the great that Luther fixed his hopes. He had been often solicited to dedicate a book to Duke John, the elector's brother. He had not done so. "I am afraid," said he, "that the suggestion comes from himself. Holy Scripture should subserve the glory of God's name alone."⁶ Luther now recovered from his fears, and dedicated his sermon on Good Works to Duke John. This is one of the writings in which the reformer lays down with the greatest force the doctrine of justification by faith,—that powerful truth, whose strength he sets far above the sword of Hütten, the army of Sickengen, and the protection of dukes and electors.

"The first, the noblest, the sublimest of all works," says he, "is faith in Jesus Christ.⁷ It is from this work that all other

works must proceed: they are but the vassals of faith, and receive their efficacy from it alone.

"If a man feels in his heart the assurance that what he has done is acceptable to God, the work is good, if it were merely the lifting up of a straw; but if he have not this assurance, his work is not good, even should he raise the dead. A heathen, a Jew, a Turk, a sinner, can perform all the other works; but to trust firmly in God, and to feel an assurance that we are accepted by him, is what a Christian, strong in grace, alone is capable of doing.

"A Christian who possesses faith in God does everything with liberty and joy; while the man who is not at one with God is full of care and kept in bondage; he asks himself with anguish how many works he should perform; he runs to and fro; he questions this man and that; he nowhere finds peace, and does everything with sorrow and fear.

"Consequently, I have always extolled faith. But in the world it is otherwise. There, the essential thing is to have many works—works high and great, and of every dimension, without caring whether they are quickened by faith. Thus men build their peace, not on God's good pleasure, but on their own merits, that is to say, on sand. (Matthew vii. 27.)

"To preach faith (it has been said) is to prevent good works; but if a man should possess the strength of all men united, or even of all creatures,¹ this sole obligation of living in faith would be a task too great for him ever to accomplish. If I say to a sick man: 'Be well, and thou shalt have the use of thy limbs,' will any one say that I forbid him to use his limbs? Must not health precede labour? It is the same when we preach faith: it should go before works, in order that the works themselves should exist.

"Where then, you will say, can we find this faith, and how can we receive it? This is in truth what it is most important to know. Faith comes solely from Jesus, who was promised and given freely.

"O man! figure Jesus Christ to yourself, and contemplate how God in him has shown thee his mercy, without any merit on thy part going before."² Draw from this image of his grace the faith and assurance that all thy sins are forgiven thee. Works cannot produce it. It flows from the blood, and wounds, and death of Christ; thence it wells forth into our hearts. Christ is the rock whence flow milk and honey. (Deut. xxxii.)

As we cannot notice all Luther's writings, we have quoted a few short passages from this discourse on Good Works, in consequence of the opinion the reformer himself entertained of it. "In my own judgment,"

¹ Lucrifacit Christo, adducit a vitia, asserit vera pietati. Kappeler Nachlese, II. 433.

² Tu dux esto, nos individuali milites erimus. Ibid.

³ Ita fluctat navis mea: nunc spes, nunc timor regnat. L. Opp. I. 443.

⁴ Dominus regnat, ut palpares possumus. Ibid. 451.

⁵ Servus in Romanenses grassaturus. Ibid. 465.

⁶ Scripturam sacram nolim alicuius nomini nisi Dei servare. Ibid. 451.

⁷ Das erste und höchste, allerdeiste, ... gute Werk ist der Glaube in Christum. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 364.

¹ Wenn ein Mensch tausend, oder alle Menschen, oder alle Creaturen wäre. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 364.

² Siehe, also must du Christum in dich bilden, und sehen wie in Ihm Gott seine Barmherzigkeit dir fñhrt und anbreut. Ibid. 401.

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said he, "it is the best I ever published." And he added immediately this deep reflection: "But I know that when I please myself with what I write, the infection of that had heaven hinders it from pleasing others."¹ Melancthon, in forwarding this discourse to a friend, accompanied it with these words: "There is no one among all the Greek and Latin writers who has come nearer than Luther to the spirit of St. Paul."²

CHAPTER III.

The Papacy attacked—Appeal to the Nobility—The three Walls—All Christians are Priests—The Magistrate should chastise the Clergy—Roman Corruptions—Ruin of Italy—Peasants of Germany—The Pope—The Legates—The Monks—Marriage of Priests—Celibacy—Festivals—The Bohemians—Charity—The Universities—The Empire—The Emperor should retake Rome—Unpublished Book—Luther's Moderation—Success of the Address.

BUT there was another evil in the Church besides the substitution of a system of meritorious works for the grand idea of grace and amnesty.³ A haughty power had arisen in the midst of the shepherds of Christ's flock. Luther prepared to attack this usurped authority. Already a vague and distant rumour announced the success of Dr. Eck's intrigues at Rome. This rumour aroused the militant spirit of the reformer, who, in the midst of all his troubles, had studied in his retirement the rise, progress, and usurpations of the papacy. His discoveries had filled him with surprise. He no longer hesitated to make them known, and to strike the blow which, like Moses' rod in ancient times, was to awaken a people who had long slumbered in captivity. Even before Rome had time to publish her formidable bull, it was he who hurled his declaration of war against her. "The time to be silent is past," exclaimed he; "the time to speak is come! At last, we must unveil the mysteries of Antichrist." On the 23d of June 1520, he published his famous *Appeal to his Imperial Majesty and to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, on the Reformation of Christianity*.⁴ This work was the signal of the attack that was to decide both the rupture and the victory.

"It is not through presumption," said he at the opening of this address, "that I, a man of the people, venture to speak to your lordships. The misery and oppression that at this hour weigh down all the states of Christendom, and particularly Germany, extort from me a cry of distress. I must call for help; I must see if God will not give his

Spirit to some man in our own country, and thus stretch forth his hand to save our wretched nation. God has placed over us a young and generous prince,⁵ and has thus filled our hearts with great expectations. But on our parts we must do every thing that lies in our power.

"Now the first requisite is, not to trust in our own strength, or in our lofty wisdom. If we begin a good work with confidence in ourselves, God overthrows and destroys it. Frederick I., Frederick II., and many other emperors besides, before whom the world trembled, have been trodden under foot by the popes, because they trusted more in their own strength than in God. Therefore they could not but fall. It is against the powers of hell that we have to contend in this struggle. Hoping nothing from the strength of arms, humbly trusting in the Lord, looking more to the distress of Christendom than to the crimes of the wicked—*this is how we must set to work*. Otherwise the work will have a prosperous look at the beginning; but suddenly, in the midst of the contest, confusion will enter in, evil minds will cause incalculable disasters, and the whole world will be deluged with blood. The greater our power, the greater also is our danger, if we do not walk in the fear of the Lord."

After this prelude, Luther continues thus: "The Romans have raised around themselves three walls to protect them against every kind of reformation. Have they been attacked by the temporal power?—they have asserted that it had no authority over them, and that the spiritual power was superior to it. Have they been rebuked by Holy Scripture?—they have replied that no one is able to interpret it except the pope. Have they been threatened with a council?—no one (said they) but the sovereign pontiff has authority to convoke one.

"They have thus despoiled us of the three rods destined to correct them, and have given themselves up to every wickedness. But now may God be our helper, and give us one of those trumpets that overthrew the walls of Jericho. With our breath let us throw down those barriers of paper and straw which the Romans have built around them, and upraise the rods which punish the wicked, by exposing the wiles of the devil."

Luther now begins the attack. He shakes to its foundation that papal monarchy which for ages had combined the people of the West in one body under the sceptre of the Roman bishop. That there is no sacerdotal caste in Christianity, is the truth which he powerfully sets forth at the beginning,—a truth hidden from the eyes of the Church from the earliest ages.

"It has been said," writes Luther, "that the pope, the bishops, the priests, and all those who people the convents, form the spi-

¹ *Erk, mee judicio, omnium que ediderim optimam; quamquam solo que mihi mee placeant, hoc ipso fermento infecta, non solum ajiis placere.* L. Opp. I. 431.

² *Quo ad Pauli spiritum nemo propius accessit.* Corp. Lat. I. 22.

³ See vol. I. p. 7, seq.

⁴ L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 461-462.

⁵ The emperor Charles V.—Gott hat uns ein junges edles Rüst zum Haupt gegeben. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 461.

ritual or ecclesiastical state; and that the princes, the nobility, the citizens, and peasants, form the secular or lay estate. This is a fine story. Let no person, however, be startled at it. All Christians belong to the spiritual state, and there is no other difference between them than that arising from the functions which they discharge. We have all one baptism, one faith; and this it is which constitutes the spiritual man. The unction, the tonsure, ordination, consecration by the bishop or the pope, may make a hypocrite, but never a spiritual man. We are all consecrated priests by baptism, as Saint Peter says: *Ye are priests and kings*, although it does not belong to all to exercise such offices, for no one can take what is common to all without the consent of the community. But if we possess not this Divine consecration, the pope's anointing can never make a priest. If ten brothers, sons of a king, having equal claims to the inheritance, select one of them to administer it for them, they would all be kings, and yet only one of them would be the administrator of their common power. So it is with the Church. If a few pious laymen were banished to a desert place, and if, not having among them a priest consecrated by a bishop, they should agree to choose one of their own number, married or not, this man would be as truly a priest as if all the bishops in the world had consecrated him. Thus Augustine, Ambrose, and Cyprian, were elected.

"Hence it follows that laymen and priests, princes and bishops, or, as they say, the clergy and laity, have nothing but their functions to distinguish them. They have all the same estate, but have not all the same work to perform.

"If this be true, why should not the magistrate chastise the clergy? The secular power was established by God to punish the wicked and to protect the good. And it must be allowed to act throughout all Christendom, whomsoever it may touch, be he pope, bishop, priest, monk, or nun. St. Paul says to all Christians: *Let every one*¹ (and consequently the pope also) *be subject unto the higher powers, for they bear not the sword in vain.*"

Luther, having in like manner overthrown the two other walls, passes in review all the corruptions of Rome. He sets forth, in an eminently popular style of eloquence, the evils that had been pointed out for centuries past. Never had a nobler protest been heard. The assembly before which Luther spoke was the Church; the power whose corruptions he attacked was that papacy which for ages had oppressed all nations with its weight; and the reformation he so loudly called for was destined to exercise its powerful influence over all Christendom,—in all the world, so long as the human race shall endure.

He begins with the pope. "It is a horrible thing," says he, "to behold the man who styles himself Christ's vicegerent displaying a magnificence that no emperor can equal. Is this being like the poor Jesus, or the humble Peter? He is (say they) the lord of the world! But Christ, whose vicar he boasts of being, has said, *My kingdom is not of this world*. Can the dominions of a vicar extend beyond those of his superior?"

Luther now proceeds to describe the effects of the papal rule. "Do you know what is the use of cardinals? I will tell you. Italy and Germany have many convents, religious foundations, and richly endowed benefices. How can this wealth be drawn to Rome? Cardinals have been created; these cloisters and prelacies have been given to them; and now.....Italy is almost deserted, the convents are in ruins, the bishoprics devoured, the cities decayed, the inhabitants corrupted, religious worship is expiring, and preaching abolished!.....And why is this? Because all the wealth of the churches must go to Rome. The Turk himself would never have so ruined Italy!"

Luther next turns to his fellow-countrymen:

"And now that they have thus sucked all the blood of their own nation, they come into Germany; they begin tenderly; but let us be on our guard, or Germany will ere long be like Italy! We have already a few cardinals. Before the dull Germans comprehend our design (think they) they will no longer have either bishopric, convent, or benefice, penny or farthing left. Antichrist must possess the treasures of the earth. Thirty or forty cardinals will be created in one day. Bamberg will be given to one, the bishopric of Wurtzburg to another; rich cures will be attached to them, until the cities and churches are desolate. And then the pope will say: I am Christ's vicar, and the shepherd of his flocks. Let the Germans be submissive!"

Luther's indignation is kindled:

"What! shall we Germans endure such robberies and such extortions from the pope? If the kingdom of France has been able to defend itself, why should we permit ourselves to be thus ridiculed and laughed at? Oh! if they only despoiled us of our goods! But they lay waste the churches, fleece the sheep of Christ, abolish religious worship, and annihilate the Word of God."

Luther here exposes "the practices of Rome" to obtain the money and the revenues of Germany. Annats, palliums, commendams, administrations, reversions, incorporations, reserves, &c.—he passes them all in review; and then he says: "Let us endeavour to check such desolation and wretchedness. If we desire to march against the Turks, let us march against those who are the worst Turks of all. If we hang thieves, and decapitate highway robbers, let us not

¹ Πᾶσι ψυχαί, every soul. Rom xiii. 1, 4.

permit Romish avarice to escape, which is the greatest of thieves and robbers, and that too in the name of St. Peter and of Jesus Christ! Who can suffer this? Who can be silent? All that the pope possesses, has he not gained by plunder? For he has neither bought it, nor inherited it from St. Peter, nor gained it by the sweat of his brow? Whence then has he all this?"

Luther proposes remedies for these evils, and calls energetically upon the nobility of Germany to put an end to these Romish depredations. He then comes to the reformation of the pope himself: "Is it not ridiculous," says he, "that the pope pretends to be the lawful heir to the empire? Who gave it him? Was it Jesus Christ, when he said: *The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, but it shall not be so among you*?¹ (Luke xxii. 25, 26.) How is it possible to govern an empire, and at the same time preach, pray, study, and take care of the poor? Jesus Christ forbade his ministers to carry with them either gold or two coats, because they would be unable to discharge the duties of their ministry if they were not free from all other care; and yet the pope would govern the empire and still remain pope."

Luther continues stripping the sovereign pontiff: "Let the pope renounce every claim on the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. He has no more right to it than I have. It is unjustly and in opposition to all the commandments of Christ that he possesses Bologna, Imola, Ravenna, the Romagna, the March of Ancona, &c. *No man that warreth, says Saint Paul, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life.* (2 Tim. ii. 4.) Yet the pope, who pretends to be the leader of the Church militant, entangles himself with the affairs of this life more than any emperor or king. We must relieve him from all this toil. Let the emperor put the bible and a prayer-book into the pope's hands, in order that he may leave the cares of government to kings, and confine himself to preaching and praying."²

Luther will no more suffer the pope's spiritual power in Germany than his temporal power in Italy. "First of all," says he, "we must expel from every German state those papal legates, with their pretended benefits which they sell us at their weight in gold, and which are downright impositions. They take our money, and for what? to legalize their ill-gotten gains, to absolve from all oaths, to teach us to be wanting in fidelity, to instruct us how to sin, and to lead us direct to hell. Hearst thou this, O pope! not most holy, but most sinful pope!—May God from his throne in heaven soon hurl thee from thy throne into the bottomless pit!"

The christian tribune pursues his course. After having called the pope to his bar, he summons before him all the corruptions that form the papal train, and purposes sweeping from the floor of the Church the rubbish by which it was encumbered. He begins with the monks:—

"And now then I come to that sluggish troop which promises much but does little. Do not be angry, my dear sirs, my intentions are good: what I have to say is a truth at once sweet and bitter: namely, no more cloisters must be built for mendicant friars. We have, indeed, too many already, and would to God that they were all pulled down. Strolling through a country like beggars never has done and never can do good."

The marriage of the clergy now has its turn, and this is the first time Luther speaks of it:—

"To what a sad state have the clergy fallen, and how many priests do we not find burdened with women, and children, and remorse, and yet no one comes to their aid! It is all very well for the pope and the bishops to let things go on as before, and for that to continue lost which is lost; but I am determined to save my conscience, and to open my mouth freely: after that, let the pope, the bishops, and any one who pleases, take offence at it!.....I assert, then, that according to the appointment of Christ and his apostles, each city should have a pastor or bishop, and that this pastor may have a wife, as Saint Paul writes to Timothy: *A bishop must be the husband of one wife* (1 Tim. iii. 2), and as is still practised in the Greek Church. But the devil has persuaded the pope, as the same apostle says to Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 1 to 3), to forbid the clergy to marry. And hence have proceeded miseries so numerous that we cannot mention all. What is to be done? How can we save so many pastors, in whom we have no fault to find, except that they live with a woman, to whom they would with all their heart be legitimately married? Ah! let them quiet their consciences! let them take this woman as their lawful wife, and let them live virtuously with her, not troubling themselves whether the pope is pleased or not. The salvation of your soul is of greater consequence to you than tyrannical and arbitrary laws, that do not emanate from the Lord."

It is in this way that the Reformation aimed at restoring purity of morals in the Church. The reformer continues:—

"Let all festivals be abolished, and let none but Sunday be observed; or if people desire to keep the great Christian festivals, let them be celebrated only in the morning, and let the rest of the day be like any other working-day. For as on those days men do nothing but drink, gamble, indulge in every sin, or remain idle, they offend God on the festivals more than at other times."

¹ *Τὸς βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν* (sabb. 17/1). See Matthew xx.

² *Dem die Biblen und Bettelbücher dafür anzuzeigen....und zu sammeln und beten.* L. Opp. xvii. 474.

He next attacks the commemorations,¹ which he styles mere taverns; and after them the fasts and religious fraternities.—He not only desires to put an end to abuses, he wishes also to put away schism. "It is high time," says he, "that we busied ourselves seriously with the cause of the Bohemians,—that we put a stop to envy and hatred,—and that we united with them." After proposing some excellent means of reconciliation, he adds: "We must convince heretics by Scripture, as did the ancient Fathers, and not subdue them by fire. In this latter system, the executioners would be the most learned doctors in the world..... Oh! would to God that on both sides we stretched forth our hands in brotherly humility, instead of being inflexible in the sentiment of our strength and of our right! Charity is more necessary than the papacy of Rome. I have now done all that is in my power. If the pope and his adherents oppose this, the responsibility will fall on them. The pope should be ready to renounce his papacy, all his possessions, and all his honours, if he could by that means save a single soul. But he would rather see all the world perish than bate even a hair's-breadth of the power he has usurped!"².....I am clear of these things."

Luther next proceeds to the universities and schools:—

"I am much afraid that the universities will prove to be the great gates of hell, unless they diligently labour in explaining the Holy Scriptures, and engraving them in the hearts of youth. I advise no one to place his child where the Scriptures do not reign paramount. Every institution in which men are not unceasingly occupied with the Word of God must become corrupt."³ Weighty words, upon which governments, learned men, and parents in every age should seriously meditate!

Towards the end of this appeal he returns to the empire and to the emperor:—

"The pope, unable to manage at his will the ancient masters of the Roman empire, conceived a plan of taking away their title and their empire, and bestowing them on us Germans. Thus it happened that we became the vassals of the pope. For the pope took possession of Rome, and compelled the emperor by an oath never to reside there; whence it is that the emperor is emperor of Rome, without Rome. We possess the name: the pope has the country and the cities. We have the title and arms of the empire; the pope has its treasures, power, privileges, and liberties. The pope eats the fruit, and we play with the husk. It is thus that the

pride and tyranny of the Romans have always abused our simplicity.

"But now may God, who has given us such an empire, be our helper! Let us act in conformity with our name, title, and arms; let us preserve our liberty; and let the Romans learn to appreciate what God has given us by their hands! They boast of having given us an empire. Well, then, let us take what belongs to us! Let the pope resign to us Rome and every portion of the empire that he still holds! Let him put an end to his taxes and extortions! Let him restore our liberty, our power, our property, our honour, our souls, and our bodies! Let the empire be all that an empire ought to be, and let the sword of princes no longer be constrained to bow before the hypocritical pretensions of a pope!"

In these words there are not only energy and enthusiasm, but also a lofty strain of reasoning. Did any orator ever speak thus to the nobility of the empire, and to the emperor himself? Far from being surprised that so many German states separated from Rome, ought we not rather to feel astonished that all Germany did not march to the banks of the Tiber to resume that imperial power whose attributes the popes had so imprudently placed on the brow of its sovereign?

Luther concludes this courageous appeal in these words:—

"I can very well imagine that I have pitched my song too high, proposed many things that will seem impossible, and attacked many errors rather too violently. But what can I do? Let the world be offended with me, rather than God!.....They can but take away my life. I have often proposed peace to my adversaries. But God, by their instrumentality, has compelled me continually to cry louder and louder against them. I have still another song in reserve against Rome. If their ears itch, I will sing it them, and loudly too. Dost thou clearly understand, O Rome, what I mean?".....

This is probably an allusion to a work on the papacy that Luther had some intention of publishing, but which was withheld. About this time the Rector Burkhardt wrote to Spengler: "There is also a little treatise *De execranda Venere Romanorum*; but it is kept in reserve." The title promised something very offensive; and we should rejoice that Luther had the moderation not to publish this writing.

"If my cause is just," continues he, "it will be condemned by all the world, and justified only by Christ in heaven. Let them come on, then, pope, bishops, priests, monks, and doctors! let them put forth all their zeal! let them give the rein to all their fury! These are, in truth, the men who ought to persecute the truth, as every age has witnessed."

Whence did this monk acquire so clear an understanding of public affairs, which even

¹ Yearly festivals in commemoration of the dedication or opening of a church; the Belgian *bevesen*.

² Nun lass er die die Welt untergeben, ehe er ein Haar breit seiner vermessenen Gewalt lassen abbrechen. L. Opp. (i.) xvii. 425.

³ Es muss verstanden, alles was nicht Gottes Wort sein Unterlassen treiben. Ibid. 425.

the states of the empire often found so difficult to elucidate? Whence did this German derive the courage which made him raise his head in the midst of a nation so long enslaved, and aim such violent blows at the papacy? What was the mysterious power that animated him? Might we not be led to say that he had heard these words addressed by God to a man of the olden time: *Behold, I have made thy face strong against their faces. As an adamant harder than flint have I made thy forehead: fear them not, neither be dismayed at their looks.*

This exhortation, which was addressed to the German nobility, soon reached all those for whom it had been written. It circulated through Germany with inconceivable rapidity. Luther's friends trembled; Staupitz and those who desired to employ mild measures found the blow too severe. "In our days," replied Luther, "every thing that is handled gently falls into oblivion, and no one cares about it."¹ At the same time he gave striking evidence of single-mindedness and humility. He did not yet know himself. "I cannot tell what to say of myself," wrote he. "Perhaps I am Philip's (Melancthon's) forerunner. I am preparing the way for him, like Elias, in spirit and in power. It is he who will one day trouble Israel and the house of Ahab."²

But there was no need to wait for another than him who had already appeared. The house of Ahab was already shaken. The *Appeal to the German Nobility* was published on the 26th June 1520; in a short time four thousand copies were sold, a number unprecedented in those days. The astonishment was universal. This writing produced a powerful sensation among the people. The vigour, life, perspicuity, and generous boldness that breathed throughout, made it a truly popular work. The people felt at last that he who spoke to them loved them also. The confused views of a great number of wise men were cleared up. The Romish usurpations became evident to every mind. No one at Wittenberg any longer doubted that the pope was Antichrist. Even the elector's court, so circumspect and timid, did not disapprove of the reformer: it waited patiently. But the nobility and the people did not wait. The nation was reanimated. Luther's voice had shaken it; it was won over, and rallied round the standard that he had uplifted. Nothing could have been more advantageous to the reformer than this publication. In the palaces and castles, in the homes of the citizens and the cottages of the peasants, all were now prepared, and defended as it were with a breastplate, against the sentence of condemnation that was about to fall upon this prophet of the people. All Germany was on fire. Let the bull arrive! not by such means will the conflagration be extinguished.

CHAPTER IV.

Preparations at Rome—Motives for Papal Resistance—Eck at Rome—The King of Crowns—Eck prevails—The Pope is the World—God brings about the Separation—A Swiss Priest pleads for Luther—The Roman Consistory—Exordium of the Bull—Luther condemned.

EVERY preparation was made at Rome for condemning the defender of the liberty of the Church. That Church had long been living in a state of haughty security. For several years the monks had been accusing Leo X. of caring only for luxury and pleasure, of occupying himself solely with the chase, the theatre, and music,¹ while the Church was tottering to its fall. At length, aroused by the clamours of Dr Eck, who had come from Leipsic to invoke the power of the Vatican, pope, cardinals, monks, and all Rome, awoke, and thought of saving the papacy.

Rome indeed was compelled to have recourse to the severest measures. The gauntlet had been thrown down; the combat must be to the death. Luther did not attack the abuses of the Roman pontificate, but the pontificate itself. At his command he would have had the pope descend humbly from his throne, and become a simple pastor or bishop on the banks of the Tiber. All the dignitaries of the Roman hierarchy were to renounce their wealth and their worldly glory, and become elders and deacons of the churches of Italy. All that splendour and power, which for ages had dazzled the West, was to vanish and give place to the humble simplicity of the primitive christian worship. God might have brought this about; He will do so in his own time; but it could not be expected from man. And even should any pope have been so disinterested or bold as to be willing to overthrow the ancient and costly edifice of the Roman Church, thousands of priests and bishops would have stretched out their hands to prevent its fall. The pope had received his power on the express condition of maintaining what was confided to him. Rome thought herself divinely appointed to the government of the Church. We cannot therefore be astonished that she prepared to strike the most terrible blows. And yet she hesitated at first. Many cardinals and the pope himself were opposed to violent measures. The skilful Leo saw clearly that a decision, the execution of which depended on the very doubtful compliance of the civil power, might seriously compromise the authority of the Church. He was aware, besides, that the violent measures hitherto employed had only served to aggravate the mischief. Is it not possible to gain over this Saxon monk? asked the Roman politicians of one another. Will all the power of the Church, will all the craft of Italy fail?—They must negotiate still.

Eck accordingly met with powerful ob-

¹ Qui vultis pacem quiete tractantur, non eundem in certamine. L. Epp. l. c.
² Ibid. c. 7.

¹ E sopra tutto munda eccellentissimo, e quando di tanta con qualche uno. E fa donar cento e più ducati. Zorzi lib.

stacles. He neglected nothing that might prevent such impious concessions. In every quarter of Rome he vented his rage, and called for revenge. The fanatical portion of the monks soon leagued with him. Strengthened by their alliance, he assailed the pope and cardinals with fresh courage. In his opinion, every attempt at conciliation would be useless. These (said he) are idle dreams with which you soothe yourselves at a distance from the danger. He knew the peril, for he had contended with the audacious monk. He saw that there should be no delay in cutting off this gangrened limb, for fear the disease should infect the whole body. The impetuous disputant of Leipsic parried objection after objection, and with difficulty persuaded the pope.¹ He desired to save Rome in spite of herself. He made every exertion, passing many hours together in deliberation in the pontiff's cabinet.² He excited the court and the cloisters, the people and the Church. "Eck is stirring up the bottomless pit against me," said Luther; "he is setting fire to the forests of Lebanon."³

But the victory, at the very moment Dr. Eck made most sure of it, appeared suddenly to escape from his hands. There existed even in Rome a respectable party to a certain extent favourable to Luther. On this point we have the testimony of a Roman citizen, one of whose letters, written in January 1521, has fortunately been preserved. "You should know," says he, "that in Rome there is scarcely an individual, at least among men of sound judgment, who is not aware that in many respects Luther speaks the truth."⁴ These respectable persons resisted the demands of Dr. Eck. "We should take more time for reflection," said they; "Luther should be opposed by moderation and by reason, and not by anathemas." Leo X. was again staggered. But immediately all that was had in Rome burst out into violent fury.⁵ Eck mustered his recruits, and from all quarters, but especially from among the Dominicans, auxiliaries rallied round him, overflowing with anger and apprehension lest their victim should escape. "It is unbecoming the dignity of the Roman pontiff," said they, "to give a reason to every little wretch that presumes to raise his head;⁶ on the contrary, these obstinate people should be crushed by force, lest others, after them, should imitate their audacity. It was in this way that the punishment of John Huss, and of his disciple Jerome, terrified many; and if the same thing had been done to

Reuchlin, Luther would never have dared what he has done."

At the same time the theologians of Cologne, Louvain, and other universities, and even princes of Germany, either by letter or through their envoys, daily urged the pope in private by the most pressing entreaties. But the most earnest solicitations proceeded from a banker who, by his wealth, possessed great influence at Rome, and who was familiarly styled "the king of crowns."¹ The papacy has always been more or less in the hands of those who have lent it money. This banker was Fugger, the treasurer of the indulgences. Inflamed with anger against Luther, and very uneasy about his profits and his wares,² the Augsburg merchant strained every nerve to exasperate the pope: "Employ force against Luther," said he, "and I will promise you the alliance and support of several princes." It would even appear that it was he who had sent Eck to Rome.³

This gave the decisive blow. The "king of crowns" was victor in the pontifical city. It was not the sword of the Gaul, but well-stored purses that were on this occasion thrown into the balance. Eck prevailed at last. The politicians were defeated by the fanatics in the papal councils. Leo gave way, and Luther's condemnation was resolved upon. Eck breathed again. His pride was flattered by the thought that it was he who had decided the destruction of his heretical rival, and thus saved the Church. "It was fortunate," said he, "that I came to Rome at this time,⁴ for they were but little acquainted with Luther's errors. It will one day be known how much I have done in this cause."

Few were more active in supporting Doctor Eck than Sylvester Mazzolini de Prioria, master of the sacred palace. He had just published a work in which he maintained that not only did the infallible decision of all controverted points belong to the pope alone, but that the papal dominion was the fifth monarchy prophesied by Daniel, and the only true monarchy; that the pope was the first of all ecclesiastical princes, the father of all secular rulers, the chief of the world, and, essentially, the world itself.⁵ In another writing, he affirmed that the pope is as much superior to the emperor, as gold is more precious than lead;⁶ that the pope may elect and depose both emperors and electors; establish and annul positive rights, and that the emperor, though backed by all the laws and nations of Christendom, cannot

¹ Harpi, Council of Trent.

² Stetit nuper, papa, duo cardinales....et ego per quinque horas in deliberatione. Eckii Epistola (3d May), in Luth. Opp. Lat. II. 46.

³ Impetraturus abbas abysorum....succensus saltum Libani. L. Epp. I. 421-422.

⁴ Scias, neminem Romæ esse, si saltem sapiat, qui non certo certius sciat et cognoscat Martinum in plurimis veritatem dicere. Biederer's Nachrichten sur Kirchen Gelehrten und Buchergeschichte, I. 172.

⁵ Mali vero, quia veritatem audire coguntur insanunt. Ibid.

⁶ Non docere Rom. Pont. uniusque vilissimo hominulo sententiam reddere debere. Ibid.

¹ Super omnia vero mercator ille Fuckerra, qui plurimum ob pecunias Romæ potest, utpote quem omnium reges vocare solent. Biederer's Nachrichten, I. 172.

² De questu suo ac beneficiorum mercatura sollicitus. Ibid.

³ Ejusce rei causa Eckium illum suum Romanum misit. Ibid.

⁴ Romam fuit me venisse hoc tempore Romæ. Ep. Eckii.

⁵ Caput orbis et consequenter orbis totus in virtute. De Juridica et irrefragabili veritate Romanæ Ecclesiæ. Ibid. Mar. xix. cap. iv.

⁶ Papa est imperatore major dignitate plus quam auro plumbo. De Papa et ejus potestate, p. 371.

it thing against the pope's will. voice that issued from the palace pontiff; such was the monarch, which, combined with the scholars, pretended to extinguish the

If this fable had not been true, it has been, and even by learned men, a false communion, there would be their true religion nor true hispancy is not only a lie in the world; it is so even in the face of all nations. Thus the Reformation, taking its charm, emancipated the Church, but also kings and

been said that the Reformational work; in this sense it is only a secondary sense. God send forth a spirit of infidelity against the Roman doctors. The separation of truth and error had now begun; and error was the instrument of accomplishment. If they had agreed, it could only have been at the expense of truth; but to take the worst part of itself, is to prepare for its complete annihilation.

insect which is said to die if it is removed. Truth re-enters in all its members, in that energy by which it is made wide and salutary victories, ate itself through future ages. Little error with truth is like rain of poison into a well-filled grain is sufficient to change the food, and will cause death, as, but surely. Those who do doctrine against the attacks of us, as jealously keep watch upon our works as upon the body of Christ, no sooner has the enemy entered in the least of these positions victory is not far distant. The pontiff resolved, at the period reached, to rend the Church, and that remains in his grasp, and it may be, ineffectually, its gorgeous ornaments the principle by which it is attacked. Word of God is, there is life. Every great his courage, would he kept silence, if Rome had refused, and had affected to make concessions. But God had made the Reformation to the weak.

Luther was in the hands of the sighth than himself. Divine made use of the pope to break between the past and the future, the reformer into a new path, undistinguishable to his eyes, of which he never could have dreamed. The pontifical bull was the cement that Rome gave to the of Jesus Christ in the person of Luther, then its humble but faithful servant; and the Church accepted it,

from that hour to depend solely on her Head who is in heaven.

While, at Rome, Luther's condemnation was urged forward with so much violence that an humble priest, living in one of the simple towns of Helvetia, and who had never held any communication with the reformer, was deeply affected at the thought of the blow impending over him; and, while the friends of the Wittenberg doctor trembled and remained silent, this child of the Swiss mountains resolved to employ every means in his power to arrest the formidable bull. His name was Ulrich Zwingli. William des Faucons, secretary to the pope's legate in Switzerland, and who, in the legate's absence, was intrusted with the affairs of Rome, was his friend. "So long as I live," had said the nuncio *ad interim* to him a few days before, "you may count on my doing all that can be expected from a true friend." The Helvetian priest, trusting to this assurance, went to the nuncio's office (such at least is the conclusion we draw from one of his letters.) He had no fear on his own part of the dangers to which the evangelical faith exposed him; he knew that a disciple of Christ should always be ready to lay down his life. "All that I ask of Christ for myself," said he to a friend to whose bosom he confided his anxiety about Luther, "is, that I may endure with the heart of a man the evils that await me. I am a vessel of clay in His hands; let Him dash me in pieces or strengthen me, as seemeth good to Him."¹ But the Swiss evangelist feared for the Christian Church, if so formidable a blow should strike the reformer. He endeavoured to persuade the representative of Rome to enlighten the pope, and to employ all the means in his power to prevent Luther's excommunication.² "The dignity of the holy see itself is interested in this," said Zwingli, "for if matters should come to such a point, Germany, overflowing with enthusiasm for the Gospel and for the doctor who preaches it, will despise the pope and his anathemas."³ This intervention proved of no effect: it would appear also that, even at the time it was made, the blow had been already struck. Such was the first occasion in which the paths of the Saxon doctor and of the Swiss priest met. We shall again find the latter in the course of this history, and see him growing up and increasing to a lofty stature in the Church of the Lord.

Luther's condemnation being once resolved upon, new difficulties were raised in the consistory. The theologians were of opinion that the fulmination should be issued immediately; the lawyers, on the contrary, that

¹ Hoc unum Christum obsecrans, ut maseculo omnia pectore ferro donet, et me sigillum suum rumpat aut ferret, ut illi placitum sit. Zwinglii Epistolæ, carantibus Schulerio et Schulthesio, p. 164.

² Ut pontificem admoneret, ne excommunicationem ferret. Ibid.

³ Nam si frater, auguror Germanos cum excommunicatione pontificis quoque contempturos. Ibid.

It should be preceded by a summons. "Was not Adam first summoned?" said they to their theological colleagues; "so too was Cain: *Where is thy brother Abel?*" demanded the Almighty." To these singular arguments drawn from the Holy Scriptures the canonists added motives derived from the natural law: "The evidence of a crime," said they, "cannot deprive a criminal of his right of defence."¹ It is pleasing to find these principles of justice in a Roman assembly. But these scruples were not to the taste of the divines in the assembly, who, instigated by passion, thought only of going immediately to work. One man in particular then came forward whose opinions must of necessity have had great influence: this was De Vio, cardinal Cajetan, still labouring under extreme vexation at his defeat in Augsburg, and the little honour or profit he had derived from his German mission. De Vio, who had returned to Rome in ill health, was carried to the assembly on his couch. He would not miss this paltry triumph, which afforded him some little consolation. Although defeated at Augsburg, he desired to take part at Rome in condemning this indomitable monk, before whom he had witnessed the failure of all his learning, skill, and authority. Luther was not there to reply: De Vio thought himself invincible. "I have seen enough to know," said he, "that if the Germans are not kept under by fire and sword, they will entirely throw off the yoke of the Roman Church."² Such a declaration from Cajetan could not fail to have great weight. The cardinal was avenged of his defeat, and of the contempt of Germany. A final conference, which Eck attended, was held in the pope's presence at his villa of Malliano. On the 15th of June the Sacred College decided on the condemnation, and sanctioned the famous bull.

"Arise, O Lord," said the Roman pontiff, speaking at this solemn moment as God's vicergerent and head of the Church, "arise, judge thy cause, and call to mind the opprobrium which madmen continually heap on thee! Arise, O Peter; remember thy Holy Roman Church, mother of all churches, and queen of the faith! Arise, O Paul, for behold a new Porphyry attacks thy doctrines and the holy popes, our predecessors. Lastly, arise, ye assembly of saints, the holy Church of God, and intercede with the Almighty!"³

The pope then proceeds to quote from Luther's works forty-one pernicious, scandalous, and poisonous propositions, in which

the latter set forth the holy doctrine of the Gospel. The following propositions are included in the list:—

"To deny that sin remains in after baptism, is to trample under Saint Paul and our Lord Jesus Christ."

"A new life is the best and true penance."

"To burn heretics is contrary to the Holy Ghost," &c. &c.

"So soon as this bull shall be published, continues the pope, 'the bishops shall diligently search after the writings of Luther that contain these errors, and them publicly and solemnly in the face of the clergy and laity. As for myself, what have we not done? the long-suffering of God Almighty still ready to receive him again as a bosom of the Church, and we grant days in which to forward us his request in a paper, sealed by two prelates, which would be far more agreeable for him to come to Rome in person, than that no one may entertain any doubt of obedience. Meanwhile, and from that moment, he must give up preaching, and writing, and commit his life to the flames. And if he does not retire within the space of sixty days, we by these our letters condemn both him and his adherents as obstinate heretics.' The pope pronounces a number of excommunications, and interdicts, against Luther and his partisans, with orders to seize the persons and send them to Rome.¹ It is easily conceivable what would have been the fate of these noble-minded confessors of truth in the papal dungeons.

Thus was the tempest gathered round Luther's head. It might have been averted after the affair of Reuchlin, that the pope would no longer make common cause with the Dominicans and the Inquisition. But now the latter had the ascendancy, and the ancient alliance was solemnly renewed. The bull was published; and for the first time Rome had not pronounced a sentence of condemnation that her arm had not followed with death. This murderous measure was about to leave the Seven Hills, and the Saxon monk in his cell. The measure was aptly chosen. It might be supposed that a new emperor, who had so many reasons for courting the pope's friendship, would to deserve it by sacrificing to him a Saxon monk. Already Leo X., the cardinal of all Rome, exulted in their victory, and fancied they saw their enemy at the

¹ Sess. Council of Trent, i. 12.

² Comperit igitur se habere dicebat nisi igne et gladio Germani compescerentur, omnino jugum Romanæ Ecclesiæ assuescere. Biederer's Nachrichten, i. 179.

³ L. Opp. (L.) viii. 308, and Opp. Lat. i. 28.

¹ Sub predictis penis, præfatum Lutherum adherentes, receptatores et fautores, personæ et ad nos mittant. Bulla Leonis, loc. cit.

CHAPTER V.

Wittenberg—Melancthon—His Marriage—Catherine—Domestic Life—Benevolence—Good Humour—Christ and Antiquity—Labour—Love of Letters—His Mother—Revolt of the Bohemians.

WHILE the inhabitants of the eternal city were thus agitated, more tranquil scenes were passing at Wittenberg. Melancthon was there diffusing a mild but brilliant light. From fifteen hundred to two thousand auditors, assembling from Germany, England, the Low Countries, France, Italy, Hungary, and Greece, were often gathered round him. He was twenty-four years of age, and had not entered the ecclesiastical state. There were none in Wittenberg who were not delighted to receive the visits of this young professor, at once so learned and so amiable. Foreign universities, Ingolstadt in particular, desired to attract him within their walls. His Wittenberg friends were eager to retain him among them by the ties of marriage. Although Luther wished that his dear friend Philip might find a consort, he openly declared that he would not be his adviser in this matter. Others took this task upon themselves. The young doctor frequented, in particular, the house of the burgomaster Krupp, who belonged to an ancient family. Krupp had a daughter named Catherine, a woman of mild character and great sensibility. Melancthon's friends urged him to demand her in marriage; but the young scholar was absorbed in his books, and would hear no mention of anything besides. His Greek authors and his Testament were his delight. The arguments of his friends he met with other arguments. At length they extorted his consent. All the preliminary steps were arranged, and Catherine was given him to wife. He received her very coldly,¹ and said with a sigh: "It is God's will! I must renounce my studies and my pleasures to comply with the wishes of my friends."² He appreciated, however, Catherine's good qualities. "The young woman," said he, "has just such a character and education as I should have asked of God: *ὡς ἔδειξεν ὁ θεὸς ὑποταγήν.*"³ Certainly she deserves a better husband." Matters were settled in the month of August; the betrothal took place on the 25th of September, and at the end of November the wedding was celebrated. Old John Luther with his wife and daughters visited Wittenberg on this occasion.⁴ Many learned men and people of note were present at the nuptials.

The young bride felt as much affection as

the young professor gave evidence of coldness. Always anxious about her husband Catherine grew alarmed at the least prospect of any danger that threatened her dear partner. Whenever Melancthon proposed taking any step of such a nature as to compromise himself, she overwhelmed him with entreaties to renounce it. "I was compelled," wrote Melancthon on one such occasion, "to give way to her weakness.....such is our lot." How many infidelities in the Church may have had a similar origin! Perhaps we should ascribe to Catherine's influence the timidity and fears with which her husband has so often been reproached. Catherine was an affectionate mother as well as loving wife. She was liberal in her alms to the poor. "O God! do not abandon me in my old age, when my hair begins to turn gray!" such was the daily prayer of this pious and timid woman. Melancthon was soon conquered by his wife's affection. When he had once tasted the joys of domestic life, he felt all their sweetness: he was formed for such pleasures. Nowhere did he feel himself happier than with Catherine and his children. A French traveller one day finding "the master of Germany" rocking his child's cradle with one hand, and holding a book in the other, started back with surprise. But Melancthon, without being disconcerted, explained to him with so much warmth the value of children in the eyes of God, that the stranger quitted the house wiser (to use his own words) than he had entered it.

Melancthon's marriage gave a domestic circle to the Reformation. There was from this time one house in Wittenberg always open to those who were inspired by the new life. The concourse of strangers was immense.¹ They came to Melancthon on a thousand different matters; and the established regulations of his household enjoined him to refuse nothing to any one.² The young professor was extremely disinterested whenever good was to be done. When all his money was spent, he would secretly carry his plate to some merchant, caring little about depriving himself of it, since it gave him wherewithal to comfort the distressed. "Accordingly it would have been impossible for him to provide for the wants of himself and family," says his friend Camerarius, "if a Divine and secret blessing had not from time to time furnished him the means." His good nature was extreme. He possessed several ancient gold and silver medals, remarkable for their inscriptions and figures. He showed them one day to a stranger who called upon him. "Take any one you like," said Melancthon.—"I should like them all," replied the stranger. I confess (says Philip) that this unreasonable request displeased me

¹ *Utrum datur mihi non dico quam frivoli. Corp. Mel. i. 21.*

² *Ex meo studio, mea me voluptate frando. Ibid. 208.*

³ *May God, by his right hand, prosper this matter! Ibid. 208.*

⁴ *Parvum me cum sororibus nuptias honoravit Philip. l. Ep. l. 2m.*

¹ *Videres in aedibus illis perpetuo accedentes et intrinsecos et discretores atque exornatos aliquos. Camerarius. Vita Melancthi. p. 40.*

² *Ex domus disciplina erat, ut nihil cuiquam negaretur. Ibid.*

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

a little at first; I nevertheless gave them to him.¹

There was in Melancthon's writings a perfume of antiquity, which did not however prevent the sweet savour of Christ from exhaled from every part, and which communicated to them an inexpressible charm. There is not one of his letters addressed to his friends in which we are not reminded in the most natural manner of the wisdom of Homer, Plato, Cicero, and Pliny, Christ ever remaining his Master and his God. Spalatin had asked him the meaning of this expression of Jesus Christ, *Without me ye can do nothing* (John xv. 5). Melancthon referred him to Luther. "*Cur agam gestum, spectante Roscio?*" to use Cicero's words,"² said he. He then continues: "This passage signifies that we must be absorbed in Christ, so that we ourselves no longer act, but Christ lives in us. As the Divine nature was incorporated with the human in the person of Christ, so man must be incorporated with Jesus Christ by faith."

The illustrious scholar generally retired to rest shortly after supper. At two or three o'clock in the morning he was again at his studies.³ It was during these early hours that his best works were written. His manuscripts usually lay on the table exposed to the view of every visitor, so that he was robbed of several. When he had invited any of his friends to his house, he used to beg one of them to read before sitting down to table some small composition in prose or verse. He always took some young men with him during his journeys, and conversing with them in a manner at once amusing and instructive. If the conversation languished, each of them had to recite in turn passages extracted from the ancient poets. He made frequent use of irony, tempering it, however, with great mildness. "He scratches and bites," said he of himself, "and yet he does no harm."

Learning was his passion. The great object of his life was to diffuse literature and knowledge. Let us not forget that in his estimation the Holy Scriptures ranked far above the writings of pagan authors. "I apply myself solely to one thing," said he, "the defence of letters. By our example we must excite youth to the admiration of learning, and induce them to love it for its own sake, and not for the advantage that may be derived from it. The destruction of learning brings with it the ruin of everything that is good: religion, morals, Divine and human

things.⁴ The better a man is, the his ardour in the preservation of for he knows that of all plagues ign the most pernicious."

Some time after his marriage, Melancthon in company with Camerarius a friend, made a journey to Brette Palatinate, to visit his beloved mother soon as he caught sight of his birth got off his horse, fell on his knees turned thanks to God for having him to see it once more. Margari fainted with joy as she embraced She wished him to stay at Bret begged him earnestly to adhere to of his fathers. Melancthon excuse in this respect, but with great deli he should wound his mother's feeli had much difficulty in leaving h and whenever a traveller brought from his natal city, he was as delig he had once more returned (to use words) to the joys of his childho was the private life of one of the instruments of the religious Rev the sixteenth century.

A disturbance, however, occurred these domestic scenes and the activity of Wittenberg. The stud to blows with the citizens. The r played great weakness. We may what was Melancthon's sorrow at the excesses committed by these di learning. Luther was indignant: far from desiring to gain popular unbecoming conciliation. The op these disorders reflected on the u pierced him to the heart.⁵ He wen pulpit, and preached forcibly agai seditions, calling upon both parties to the magistrates.⁶ His sermon o great irritation: "Satan," said he his letters, "being unable to attack without, desires to injure us from w am not afraid of him; but I fear l anger should light upon us, because not becomingly received His Word last three years I have been thrie to great danger; at Augsburg in Leipsic in 1519, and now in 1520 at berg. It is neither by wisdom nor that the renovation of the Churel accomplished, but by humble pray faith full of courage, that puts Chr side.⁷ My dear friend, unite thy with mine, for fear the wicked spit make use of this small spark to great conflagration."

¹ Sed dedisse nihilominus filio. Camer. Vita Melancthon. p. 65.

² Now can I declaim in the presence of Roscio? Corp. Mel. xpp. 12th April 1520.

³ Interrupted mox act non longe intervallo post mediam noctem. Camer. p. 26.

⁴ Religionem, mores, humana divinaque omnia literarum incassum. Corp. Ref. i. 207. 22d July 1520.

⁵ Urit me ista confusio academice nostrae. L.

⁶ Commendans potentatem magistratum.

⁷ Nec prudentia nec arma, sed humiliter forti fide, quibus obtineamus Christum pro nobis.

CHAPTER VI.

ed in Italy—Sermon on the Mass—Babylonish
y of the Church—Baptism—Abolition of other
regress of Reform.

re terrible combats than these awaited

Rome was brandishing the sword
ich she was about to strike the Gos-
he rumour of the condemnation that
tined to fall upon him, far from dis-
the reformer, augmented his courage.
feasted no anxiety to parry the blows
haughty power. It is by inflicting
ribble blows himself that he will neu-
hose of his adversaries. While the
ine assemblies are thundering out
as against him, he will bear the
f the Word into the midst of the It-
aple. Letters from Venice spoke of
ur with which Luther's sentiments
ceived there. He burnt with desire
the Gospel across the Alps. Evan-
were wanted to carry it thither. "I
aid he, " that we had living books,
preachers,¹ and that we could multi-
protect them every where, in order
y might convey to the people a know-
holy things. The prince could not
ke a more glorious task. If the
f Italy should receive the truth, our
ould then be impregnable." It does
ear that Luther's project was realized.
r years, it is true, evangelical men,
alvin himself, sojourned for a short
n Italy; but for the present Luther's
were not carried out. He had ad-
one of the mighty princes of the
if he had appealed to men of humble
t full of zeal for the kingdom of God,
ult might have been different. At
d, the idea generally prevailed, that
ing should be done by governments;
association of simple individuals,—
ver which is now effecting such great
in Christendom,—was almost un-

ther did not succeed in his projects
agating the truth in distant countries,
nly the more zealous in announcing it.
It was at this time that he preached,
emberg, his sermon on the Mass.² In
course he inveighs against the nume-
cts of the Romish Church, and re-
s it, with reason, for its want of unity.
multiplicity of spiritual laws," says
as filled the world with sects and
s. Priests, monks, and laymen have
hate each other more than the Chris-
the Turks. What do I say?
against priests, and monks against
are deadly enemies. Each one is
d to his own sect, and despises all

others. The unity and charity of Christ are
at an end."—He next attacks the doctrine
that the mass is a sacrifice, and has some
virtue in itself. "What is most precious in
every sacrament, and consequently in the
eucharist," says he, "is the promises and the
Word of God. Without faith in this Word
and these promises, the sacrament is dead:
it is a body without a soul, a vessel without
wine, a purse without money, a type without
fulfilment, a letter without spirit, a casket
without jewels, a scabbard without a sword."

Luther's voice was not, however, confined
to Wittenberg; and if he did not find mis-
sionaries to bear his instructions to distant
lands, God had provided a missionary of a
new kind. The printing-press was the suc-
cessor of the Evangelists. This was the
breaching-battery employed against the Ro-
man fortress. Luther had prepared a mine
the explosion of which shook the edifice of
Rome to its lowest foundations. This was the
publication of his famous book on the *Baby-
lonish Captivity of the Church*, which appeared
on the 6th of October 1520.¹ Never did man,
in so critical a position, display greater
courage.

In this work he first sets forth with
haughty irony all the advantages for which
he is indebted to his enemies:—

"Whether I will it or not," said he, "I
become wiser every day, urged on as I am
by so many illustrious masters. Two years
ago, I attacked indulgences, but with so
much indecision and fear, that I am now
ashamed of it. There is no cause for aston-
ishment in this, for I was alone when I set
this stone rolling." He thanks Prierio, Eck,
Emser, and his other adversaries: "I denied,"
continued he, "that the papacy was of
Divine origin, but I granted that it was of
human right. Now, after reading all the
subtleties on which these gentry have set up
their idol, I know that the papacy is none
other than the kingdom of Babylon, and the
violence of Nimrod the mighty hunter. I
therefore beseech all my friends and all the
booksellers to burn the books that I have
written on this subject, and to substitute
this one proposition in their place: *The pa-
pacy is a vigorous chase led by the Roman bishop,
to catch and destroy souls.*"²

Luther next proceeds to attack the pre-
vailing errors on the sacraments, monastic
vows, &c. He reduces the seven sacraments
of the Church to three; namely, Baptism,
Penance, and the Lord's Supper. After ex-
plaining the true nature of this Supper, he
passes on to baptism; and it is here in par-
ticular that he lays down the excellence of
faith, and vigorously attacks Rome. "God,"
says he, "has preserved this sacrament alone
free from human traditions. God has said:
He that believeth and is baptized shall be

as liberos, hoc est, concionatores possumus mult-
L. Opp. I. 691.
p. (L.) xvii. 686.

¹ L. Opp. Lat. II. 63; and Teips. xvii. 311.

² Papatus est robusta venatio Romani episcopi. L. Opp.
Lat. II. 64.

saved. This promise of God should be preferred before all the glory of works, all vows, all satisfactions, all indulgences, and all inventions of man. Now, upon this promise, if we receive it with faith, depends our whole salvation. If we believe, our hearts are strengthened by the Divine promise; and though the believer should be forsaken of all, this promise in which he believes will never forsake him. With it, he will resist the adversary who lies in wait for his soul, and be prepared to meet remorseless death, and stand before the judgment-seat of God. It will be his consolation in all his trials to say: God's promises never deceive; of their truth I received a pledge at my baptism; if God is for me, who shall be against me? Oh, how rich is the Christian that has been baptized! Nothing can destroy him except he refuse to believe.

"Perhaps to what I have said on the necessity of faith, they will object to me the baptism of little children. But as the Word of God is mighty to change even the heart of a wicked man, who is however neither less deaf nor ignorant than a little child; in like manner also the prayers of the Church, to which all things are possible, change the little child, by the faith that it pleases God to pour into his heart, and thus purifies and renews it."¹

After having thus explained the doctrine of baptism, Luther wields it as a weapon of offence against the papacy. In fact, if the Christian finds all his salvation in the renewal of his baptism by faith, what need has he of the Romish ordinances?

"For this reason, I declare," says Luther, "that neither the pope, nor the bishop, nor any man whatsoever, has authority to impose the least thing on a Christian, unless it be with his own consent. All that is done without it is an act of tyranny."² We are free as regards all men. The vow that we made at our baptism is sufficient of itself, and is more than we can ever fulfil.³ All other vows may therefore be abolished. Let every man who enters the priesthood or any religious order clearly understand, that the works of a monk or of a priest differ in no respect before God from those of a peasant who tills his fields, or of a woman who manages her house.⁴ God estimates all things by the standard of faith. And it often happens that the simple labour of a serving man or maiden is more acceptable to

God than the fasts and vows because the latter are void of truth, are God's true people, Babylon, where every thing from them which baptism has

Such were the weapons by which the religious revolution whose history we are tracing was effected. First, the old faith was re-established, and then the errors employed it as a weapon to attack every superstition. The power of God, which removed that they attacked so many words of Luther, and many of them circulating through cities, rural districts, were the leaves of the whole mass.

Luther terminates this famous tract, the *Captivity of Babylon* with

"I hear that new papal excommunications are about to be fabricated against me; but be true, this present book must be as part of my future recantation. My remainder will soon follow, obedience; and the complete with Christ's aid, such a who never heard or seen the like."

CHAPTER VI

Fresh Negotiations.—The Augustines a Deputation to Luther—Miltitz and Luther at Lichtenberg—Luther's Book presented to the Pope—Unbelief—Liberty and Bondage.

AFTER such a publication, all opposition and all opposition have vanished. The authority of the reformer's faith in the eyes of the Church must have been at least discerning; but precise time fresh negotiations had begun. Five weeks before the publication of the *Captivity of Babylon*, at the end of 1520, the general chapter of the monks was held at Eisleben. Staupitz there resigned the government of the order, and it was conferred on Andreas Link, the same who had been Luther to Augsburg.¹ The Miltitz suddenly arrived in the proceedings.² He was already reconciling Luther with the pope, his avarice, and abominable and hatred, were deep this result. Eck and his book; he knew that the Inquisition had been decrying him at

¹ Sicut enim Verbum Dei potens est dum sonat, etiam impleri cor immutare, quod non minus est auribus et in capax quam ullus parvulus; ita per orationem Ecclesie offerentis et credentis, parvulus, fide infusa, mutatur, mundatur et renovatur. L. Opp. Lat. ii. 77.

² Dico itaque, neque papa, neque episcopus, neque ullus hominum habet jus unius syllabæ constituendæ super Christianum hominem, nisi id fiat ejusdem consensu; quidquid aliter fit, tyrannice spiritus fit. Ibid.

³ Generali edicto tollere vota...absurde enim votum in baptismo, et plus quam possumus implere. Ibid. 78.

⁴ Opera quantum libet sacra et ardua religiosorum et sacerdotum, in oculis Dei prorsus nihil distare ab operibus rusticis in agro laborantibus, aut mulieris in domo sua curantibus. Ibid.

¹ See vol. i. p. 134.

² Nondum tot precessus difficultatibus Miltitz...dignus profecto non mediocri, l. 98.

would have made every sacrifice to baffle, by a peace that should be promptly concluded, the schemes of this importunate rival. The interests of religion were mere secondary matters in his eyes. One day, as he relates, he was dining with the Bishop of Leissen. The guests had already made pretty copious libations, when a new work of Luther's was laid before them. It was opened and read; the bishop grew angry; the official swore; but Miltitz burst into a hearty laugh.¹ He dealt with the Reformation as a man of the world; Eck as a theologian.

Aroused by the arrival of Dr. Eck, Miltitz addressed the chapter of the Augustines in a speech, delivered with a strong Italian accent,² thinking thus to impose on his simple fellow-countrymen. "The whole Augustine order," said he, "is compromised in this affair. Show me the means of restraining Luther."³ "We have nothing to do with the doctor," replied the fathers, "and cannot give you advice." They relied no doubt on the release from the obligations to his order which Staupitz had given Luther at Augsburg. Miltitz persisted: "Let a deputation from this venerable chapter wait upon Luther, and entreat him to write to the pope, assuring him that he has never plotted against his person."⁴ That will be sufficient to put an end to the matter." The chapter complied with the nuncio's demand, and commissioned, no doubt at his own request, the former vicar-general and his successor (Staupitz and Link) to speak to Luther. This deputation immediately set out for Wittenberg, bearing a letter from Miltitz to the doctor, filled with expressions of the greatest respect. "There is no time to lose," said he; "the thunder-storm, already gathering over the reformer's head, will soon burst forth; and then all will be over."

Neither Luther nor the deputies who shared in his sentiments⁵ expected any success from a letter to the pope. But that was an additional reason for not refusing to write me. Such a letter could only be a mere matter of form, which would set the justice of Luther's cause in a still stronger light. "This Italianized Saxon (Miltitz)," thought Luther, "is no doubt looking to his own private interest in making the request. Well, then, let it be so! I will write, in conformity with the truth, that I have never entertained any designs against the pope's person. I must be on my guard against attacking the see of Rome itself too violently. Yet I will sprinkle it with its own salt."⁶

But not long after, the doctor was informed of the arrival of the bull in Germany; on the 3d of October, he told Spalatin that he

would not write to the pope, and on the 6th of the same month, he published his book on the *Captivity of Babylon*. Miltitz was not even yet discouraged. The desire of humbling Eck made him believe in impossibilities. On the second of October, he had written to the elector full of hope: "All will go on well; but, for the love of God, do not delay any longer to pay me the pension that you and your brother have given me these several years past. I require money to gain new friends at Rome. Write to the pope, pay homage to the young cardinals, the relations of his holiness, in gold and silver pieces from the electoral mint, and add to them a few for me also, for I have been robbed of those that you gave me."¹

Even after Luther had been informed of the bull, the intriguing Miltitz was not discouraged. He requested to have a conference with Luther at Lichtemberg. The elector ordered the latter to go there;² but his friends, and above all, the affectionate Melancthon, opposed it.³ "What!" thought they; "accept a conference with the nuncio in so distant a place, at the very moment when the bull is to appear which commands Luther to be seized and carried to Rome! Is it not clear that, as Dr. Eck is unable to approach the reformer on account of the open manner in which he has shown his hatred, the crafty chamberlain has taken upon himself to catch Luther in his toils?"

These fears had no power to stop the Wittenberg doctor. The prince has commanded, and he will obey. "I am setting out for Lichtemberg," he wrote to the chaplain on the 11th of October; "pray for me." His friends would not abandon him. Towards evening of the same day, he entered Lichtemberg on horseback, accompanied by thirty cavaliers, among whom was Melancthon. The papal nuncio arrived about the same time with a train of four persons.⁴ Was not this moderate escort a mere trick to inspire confidence in Luther and his friends?

Miltitz was very pressing in his solicitations, assuring Luther that the blame would be thrown on Eck and his foolish vaunting,⁵ and that all would be concluded to the satisfaction of both parties. "Well then!" replied Luther, "I offer to keep silence henceforward, provided my adversaries are silent likewise. For the sake of peace, I will do every thing in my power."⁶

Miltitz was filled with joy. He accompanied Luther as far as Wittenberg. The reformer and the nuncio entered side by side into that city which Doctor Eck was already

¹ Der Bischof entrüstet, der Official gefuchet er aber bescheiden habe. Seckend. p. 285.

² Oratorem habuit Italica pronuntiatione vestitum. L. Pp. l. 462.

³ Petrus consilium super me compeccando. Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. me in personam suam fulvae molitum. Ibid. 464.

⁵ Quibus omnibus causa mea non displicet. Ibid. 465.

⁶ Aspergetur tamen salis suo. Ibid.

¹ Den Pabsts Nepoten, zwei oder drei Churfürstliche Gold und Silberstücke, zu verahren. Seckend. p. 287.

² Stult princeps ordinavit. L. Pp. l. 465.

³ Invito preceptore (Melancthon) nuncio quanta metuente. Ibid.

⁴ Jener von mehr als dreissig, dieser aber kaum mit vier Pferden begleitet. Seckend. p. 290.

⁵ Totum pondus in Eccium versurus. L. Pp. l. 468.

⁶ Ut nihil videar omittere quod in me ad pacem quoque modo facere possit. Ibid.

approaching, presenting with a threatening hand the formidable bull that was intended to crush the Reformation. "We shall bring this business to a happy conclusion," wrote Milnitz to the elector immediately; "thank the pope for the rose, and at the same time send forty or fifty florins to the Cardinal *Quatuor Sanctorum*."¹

Luther had now to fulfil his promise of writing to the pope. Before bidding Rome farewell for ever, he was desirous of proclaiming to her once more some important and salutary truths. Many readers, from ignorance of the sentiments that animated the writer, will consider his letter as a caustic writing, a bitter and insolent satire.

All the evils that afflicted Christendom he sincerely ascribed to Rome; on this ground, his language cannot be regarded as insolent, but as containing the most solemn warnings. The greater his affection for Leo, and the greater his love for the Church of Christ, the more he desires to lay bare the extent of its wound. The energy of his expressions is a scale by which to measure the energy of his affections. The moment is come for striking a decisive blow. We may almost imagine we see a prophet going round the city for the last time, reproaching it with its abominations, revealing the judgments of the Almighty, and calling out "Yet a few days more!"

The following is Luther's letter:—

"To the most holy Father in God, Leo X., Pope at Rome, be all health in Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

"From the midst of the violent battle which for three years I have been fighting against dissolute men, I cannot hinder myself from sometimes looking towards you, O Leo, most holy Father in God! And although the madness of your impious flatterers has constrained me to appeal from your judgment to a future council, my heart has never been alienated from your holiness, and I have never ceased praying constantly and with deep groaning for your prosperity and for that of your pontificate."

"It is true that I have attacked certain antichristian doctrines, and have inflicted a deep wound upon my adversaries, because of their impiety. I do not repent of this, for I have the example of Christ before me. What is the use of salt, if it hath lost its pungency; or of the edge of the sword, if it cuts not?² Cursed be the man who does the Lord's work coldly! Most excellent Leo, far from ever having entertained an evil thought with reference to you, I wish you the most precious blessings for eternity. I have done but one thing—upheld the Word of truth. I am ready to submit to you in every thing; but as for this Word, I will not—I cannot aban-

don it.³ He who thinks thus thinks erroneously.

"It is true that I have attacked Rome; but neither you nor earth can deny that it is now Sodom and Gomorrah; and the prevailing there is past all. Yes! I have been filled with it that under your name the Christ have been made a sp opposed, and I will oppose it; I imagine I shall be able, destruction of flatterers, to prosper inected with this Babylon, whi itself; but I owe it to my bre that some may escape, if poss terrible scourges.

"You are aware that Rome past has inundated the world could destroy both body and Church of Rome, once the for tity, is become the most lic robbers, the most shameless the kingdom of sin, of death which Antichrist himself, if I fear, could not increase in wi this is clearer than the sun at

"And yet, O Leo! you sit the midst of wolves, like Dan den! What can you do alon monsters? Perhaps there a cardinals who combine learni But what are they against se ber! You would all die of being able to make trial of an fate of the court of Rome is wrath is upon it, and will c hates good advice, dreads n mitigate the fury of its impie serves that men should speak of its mother: *We would have but she is not healed: forsake!* you and your cardinals to h remedy; but the sick man m cian, and the horse will not c

"Full of affection for you, Leo, I have always regretted are worthy of better times, sh raised to the pontificate in these. Rome merits you not resemble you; she deserves himself for her king. So tru reigns more than you in Would to God that, laying a which your enemies so lov would exchange it for some would support yourself on yo heritance; for none but Is such honour.....O my dear I are you in this Roman cou the basest men employ y

¹ Verbum docere et negare nec p. Epp. i. 400.

² Facta est.... spelunca latronum l nar omnium impudentissimum, regnu inferni. Ibid. 400.

³ Actum est de Romana curia; perv usque in finem. Ibid.

⁴ Jeremiah ii. 2.

¹ Hookend. p. 282.

² Ut non totis viribus aculis atque quantum in me fuit abundantia precibus apud Deum quaesierim. L. Epp. i. 400.

³ Quid prodierit sal, si non mordet? Quid es gladii, si non occidit? Ibid. 400.

power to ruin fortunes, destroy souls, multiply crimes, oppress the faith, the truth, and the whole Church of God? O Leo! Leo! you are the most unhappy of men, and you sit on the most dangerous of thrones! I tell you the truth because I mean you well.

"Is it not true that under the spreading firmament of heaven there is nothing more corrupt or more detestable than the Romish court? It infinitely exceeds the Turks in vices and corruption. Once it was the gate of heaven, now it is the mouth of hell; a mouth which the wrath of God keeps open so wide,¹ that on witnessing the unhappy people rushing into it, I cannot but utter a warning cry, as in a tempest, that some at least may be saved from the terrible gulf.

"Behold, O Leo, my Father! why I have inveighed against this death-dealing see. Far from rising up against your person, I thought I was labouring for your safety, by valiantly attacking that prison, or rather that hell, in which you are shut up. To inflict all possible mischief on the court of Rome, is performing your duty. To cover it with shame, is to do Christ honour; in a word, to be a Christian, is not to be a Roman.

"Yet finding that by succouring the see of Rome I lose both my labour and my pains, I transmitted to it this writing of divorce-ment, and said: Farewell, Rome! *He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still!*² and I devoted myself to the tranquil and solitary study of the Holy Scripture. Then Satan opened his eyes, and awoke his servant John Eck, a great adversary of Jesus Christ, in order to challenge me again to the lists. He was desirous of establishing, not the primacy of Saint Peter, but his own, and for that purpose to lead the conquered Luther in his triumphal train. His be the blame of all the disgrace with which the see of Rome is covered."

Luther relates his communications with De Vio, Miltitz, and Eck; and then continues:—

"Now then, I come to you, most holy Father, and, prostrate at your feet, I beseech you to curb, if that be possible, these enemies of peace. But I cannot retract my doctrine. I cannot permit any rules of interpretation to be imposed on the Scriptures. The Word of God, which is the fountain whence all true liberty flows, must not be bound."³

"O Leo! my Father! listen not to those flattering sirens who would persuade you that you are not a mere man, but a demi-god, and can command and require whatever you please. You are the servant of servants, and the place where you are seated is the most dangerous and miserable of all. Believe

those who depreciate you, and not those who extol you. I am perhaps too bold in presuming to teach so exalted a majesty, which ought to instruct all men. But I see the dangers that surround you at Rome; I see you driven to and fro, like the waves of the sea in a storm. Charity urges me, and it is my duty to utter a cry of warning and of safety.

"That I may not appear empty-handed before your holiness, I present you a small book which I have dedicated to you, and which will inform you of the subjects on which I should be engaged, if your parasitics permitted me. It is a little matter, if its size be considered; but a great one, if we regard its contents; for the sum of the christian life is therein contained. I am poor, and have nothing else to offer you; besides, have you need of any other than spiritual gifts? I commend myself to your holiness, whom may the Lord Jesus preserve for ever! Amen!"

The little book which Luther presented to the pope was his discourse on *Christian Liberty*, in which the reformer demonstrates incontrovertibly, how, without infringing the liberty given by faith, a Christian may submit to all external ordinances in a spirit of liberty and charity. Two truths serve as a foundation to the whole argument: "The Christian is free and master in all things. The Christian is in bondage and a servant in all and to all. He is free and a master by faith; he is a servant and a slave by love."

He first explains the power of faith to make a Christian free: "Faith unites the soul to Christ, as a wife to her husband," says Luther to the pope. "All that Christ has, becomes the property of the believing soul; all that the soul has, becomes the property of Christ. Christ possesses every blessing and eternal salvation: they are hence forward the property of the soul. The soul possesses every vice and sin: they become henceforth the property of Christ. It is then the blessed exchange commences: Christ, who is God and man, Christ who has never sinned, and whose holiness is immaculate, Christ the Almighty and Everlasting, appropriating by his nuptial ring, that is, by faith, all the sins of the believer's soul, these sins are swallowed up and lost in Him; for there is no sin that can stand before his infinite righteousness. Thus, by means of faith, the soul is delivered from every sin, and clothed with the eternal righteousness of her husband, Jesus Christ. Blessed union! the rich, noble, and holy spouse, Jesus Christ, unites in marriage with that poor, guilty, and despised wife,⁴ delivers her from every ill, and adorns her with the most costly blessings... Christ, a priest and king, shares this honour and glory with every Christian. The

¹ *Omnia hanc efflu, nunc patens quoddam os inferi, et inde os, quod urgete ira Dei, obstrui non potest.* L. App. I.

² *Revelation xlii. 11.*

³ *Leges interpretandi verbi Dei non patior, cum oporteat verbum Dei esse non alligatum, quod libertatem docet.* L. App. I. 504.

⁴ *Ist nun das nicht eine fröhliche Wirthschaft, da der reiche, edle, fromme Herrigam Christus, das arme, verachtete, böse Hühlein zur Ehe nimmt.* L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 359.

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Christian is a king, and consequently possesses all things; he is a priest, and consequently possesses God. And it is faith, and not works, that brings him to such honour. The Christian is free of all things, above all things, faith giving him abundantly of every thing."

In the second part of his discourse, Luther gives another view of the truth. "Although the Christian is thus made free, he voluntarily becomes a slave, to act towards his brethren as God has acted towards him through Jesus Christ. I desire (says he) to serve freely, joyfully, and gratuitously, a Father who has thus lavished upon me all the abundance of his blessings: I wish to become all things for my neighbour, as Christ has become all things for me."—"From faith," continues Luther, "proceeds the love of God; from love proceeds a life full of liberty, charity, and joy. Oh! how noble and elevated is the christian life! But, alas! no one knows it, no one preaches it. By faith the Christian ascends to God: by love, he descends even to man, and yet he abides ever with God. This is true liberty—a liberty which surpasses all others as much as the heavens are above the earth."

Such is the work with which Luther accompanied his letter to Leo.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Bull in Germany—Eck's Reception—The Bull at Wittenberg—Zwingli's Intervention.

WHILE the reformer was thus addressing the Roman pontiff for the last time, the bull which anathematized him was already in the hands of the chiefs of the German Church, and at the threshold of Luther's dwelling-place. It would appear that no doubts were entertained at Rome of the success of the step just taken against the Reformation. The pope had commissioned two high functionaries of his court, Caraccioli and Aleander, to bear it to the Archbishop of Mentz, desiring him to see it put in execution. But Eck himself appeared in Saxony as the herald and agent of the great pontifical work.

The choice had long been doubtful. "Eck," wrote an inhabitant of Rome about this time, "was peculiarly adapted for this mission by his impudence, his dissimulation, his lies, his flattery, and other vices, that are held in high esteem at Rome: but his fondness for drinking (a failing towards which the Italians entertain a great aversion), was rather against his election."¹ The influence, how-

ever, of his patron Fugger, crowns," prevailed in the end; habit was even metamorphosed in the case of Dr. Eck. "H man we want," said many of "for these drunken Germans, better than a drunken legate merited can only be checked by a degree of temerity." Further, it was about that no man of sincere sense would undertake such a task that even could such a man of magnitude of the danger would him abandon the place. The naming Aleander as Dr. Eck seemed most excellent. "A of ambassadors," said some; mirably suited for this work, matched in effrontery, impud bauchery."²

The doctor of Ingolstadt more than any other man the force of attack; he had seen the danger, forth his hand to steady the tottering of Rome. He was, in his own Atlas destined to bear on his shoulders the ancient Roman world, ing to fall to ruins. Proud of his journey to Rome,—proud of a mission he had received from the pontiff,—proud of appearing in Rome with the new title of protonotary nuncio,—proud of the bull in his hands, and which contained the confirmation of his indomitable rival, his mission was a more magnificent triumph than the victories he had gained in Bavaria, Lombardy, and Saxony, as he had previously derived so much from them. But this pride was soon to be humbled. The pope, by confiding the publication of the bull to Eck, had committed a fatal error to destroy its effect. So great was the accorded to a man not filling the station in the Church, offending all men. The bishops, accustomed to the bulls direct from the Roman pontiff, displeased that this should be their dioceses by a nuncio creation. The nation, that had pretended conqueror at Leipsic of his flight to Italy, was astonished at seeing him recross the Rhine, the insignia of a papal nuncio, armed with power to crush her. Luther considered this judgment of his implacable opponent, as a personal revenge; this condemnation idea (says Pallavicini) the treacherous of a mortal enemy, and the axe of a Roman licitor.³ This

¹ Temeritate, audacia, mendacis simplicitate, adulatione, et ceteris vitis curis aptis egregie pollet. Verum sola obprobria ebrietas, Italia (ut noui) perquam odiosa. Biederer, Nachrichten zum Kirchen-geschichten, I. 178.

² Nihil magis Germanos temulentos decere legatum. Biederer, Nachrichten zum Kirchen-geschichten, I. 178.

³ Eregium profecto oratorum parum conueniens, impudentiaque, temeritate similia. Ibid.

⁴ Non tanquam a securi legitimi licitoris ausim hostis. Pallavicini, I. 74.

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red as the bull of the supreme is the bull of Doctor Eck. Thus blunted and weakened before-very man who had prepared it. tellor of Ingolstadt had made all my. 'Twas there he had fought; e wished to publish his victory. ad in posting up the bull at smeburg, and Brandenburg, tod of September. But in the first es it was stuck up in a place e could read it, and the bishops ees did not press its publication. at protector, Duke George, forncil of Leipsic to make it gene- before receiving an order from f Merseburg; and this order did l the following year. "These are merely for form's sake," n Eck at first; for every thing ects seemed to smile upon him. e himself sent him a gilt cup ucate. Even Miltitz, who had Leipsic at the news of his rival's vited him to dinner. The two : boon companions, and Miltitz could more effectually sound his e bottle. "When he had drunk y, he began," says the pope's, "to boast at a fine rate; he s bull, and related how he ing- that scoundrel Martin to ut erelong the Ingolstadt doctor at the wind was changing. A tion had taken place in Leipsic past year.¹ On St. Michael's udents posted up placards in ten ces, in which the new nuncio attacked. In alarm he fled to f St. Paul, in which Totzel had n refuge, refused to see any one, d upon the rector to bring these versaries to account. But poor little by this. The students ad upon him, which they sung s: Eck heard it from his retreat. e lost all his courage; the formpion trembled in every limb. e received threatening letters. l and fifty students arrived from , boldly exclaiming against the . The wretched apostolical nunld out no longer. "I have no him killed," said Luther, "but I that his schemes should fail."² his asylum by night, escaped a Leipsic, and went and hid him-arg. Miltitz, who relates this, : more than the reformer. This : not of long duration; all the plans of the chamberlain failed,

and he came to a melancholy end. Miltitz, being intoxicated, fell into the Rhine at Mentz, and was drowned.

Gradually, however, Eck's courage revived. He repaired to Erfurth, whose theologians had given the Wittenberg doctor several proofs of their jealousy. He insisted that the bull should be published in this city; but the students seized the copies, tore them in pieces, and flung the fragments into the river, saying: "Since it is a bull (a bubble), let it float!"¹ "Now," said Luther, when he was informed of this, "the pope's paper is a real bull (bubble)."

Eck did not dare appear at Wittenberg; he sent the bull to the rector, threatening to destroy the university if he did not conform to it. At the same time he wrote to Duke John, Frederick's brother and co-regent: "Do not misconstrue my proceedings," said he; "for I am fighting on behalf of the faith, which costs me much care, toil, and money."²

The Bishop of Brandenburg could not, even had he so wished, act in Wittenberg in his quality of ordinary; for the university was protected by its privileges. Luther and Carlstadt, both condemned by the bull, were invited to be present at the deliberations that took place on its contents. The rector declared that, as the bull was not accompanied by a letter from the pope, he would not publish it. The university already enjoyed in the surrounding countries a greater authority than the pontiff himself. Its declaration served as a model for the elector's government. Thus the spirit that was in Luther triumphed over the bull of Rome.

While this affair was thus violently agitating the public mind in Germany, a solemn voice was heard in another country of Europe. One man, foreseeing the immense schism that the papal bull would cause in the Church, stood forward to utter a serious warning and to defend the reformer. It was the same Swiss priest whom we have mentioned before, Ulrich Zwingli, who, without any relations of friendship with Luther, published a writing full of wisdom and dignity,—the first of his numerous works.³ A brotherly affection seemed to attract him towards the reformer of Wittenberg. "The piety of the pontiff," said he, "calls upon him to sacrifice gladly all that he holds dearest, for the glory of Christ his king and the public peace of the Church. Nothing is more injurious to his dignity than his defending it by bribery or by terror. Before even Luther's writings had been read, he was cried down among the people as a heretic, a schismatic, and as

rites Miltitz)er nun tapfer getrunken hatte, s treulich von seiner Ordre zu prahlen, &c.

faciem et mentem Lipsie cum invenire L. Epp. l. 472. occidit, quanquam optem ejus consilia irrita

¹ L. Epp. l. 480. A studiosis discepta et in aquam projecta, dicentibus: Bulla est, in aquam natet! playing on the word *bulla*, which means a bubble, the seal appended to the bull, and hence the bull itself.

² Mit viel Mühe, Arbeit und Kosten. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 317.

³ Consilium ejusdem ex animo cupientis esse consilium et pontificis dignitati et Christiane religionis tranquillitati. —Sw. Opp. eur. Schulero et Schultheute, iii. 14.

Antichrist himself. No one had given him warning, no one had refuted him; he begged for a discussion, and they were content to condemn him. The bull that is now published against him displeases even those who honour the pope's grandeur; for throughout it betrays signs of the impotent hatred of a few monks, and not those becoming the mildness of a pontiff, the vicar of a Saviour full of compassion. All men acknowledge that the true doctrine of the Gospel of Jesus Christ has greatly degenerated, and that we need a striking public revival of laws and morality.¹ Look to all men of learning and virtue; the greater their sincerity, the stronger is their attachment to the evangelical truth, and the less are they scandalized at Luther's writings. There is no one but confesses that these books have made him a better man,² although perhaps they may contain passages that he does not approve of.—Let men of pure doctrine and acknowledged probity be chosen; let those princes above all suspicion, the Emperor Charles, the King of England, and the King of Hungary, themselves appoint the arbitrators; let these men read Luther's writings, hear him personally, and let their decision be ratified! *Nunc estis et vos Xpianis vobis et aliis!*³

This proposition emanating from the country of the Swiss led to no results. The great divorce must be accomplished; Christendom must be rent in twain; and even in its wounds will the remedy for all its ills be found.

CHAPTER IX.

Luther's Appeal to God—His Opinion of the Bull—A Neutral Family—Luther on the Bull—Against the Bull of Antichrist—The Pope forbids Faith—Effects of the Bull—The Burning Pile of Louvain.

In truth, what signified all this resistance of students, rectors, and priests? If the mighty hand of Charles unites with the pope's, will they not crush these scholars and grammarians? Who shall withstand the power of the pontiff of Christendom, and of the Emperor of the West? The bolt is discharged; Luther is cut off from the Church; the Gospel seems lost. At this solemn moment, the reformer does not conceal from himself the perils that surround him. He casts his looks to heaven. He prepares to receive, as from the hand of the Lord, the blow that seems destined to destroy him. His soul reposes at

the foot of the throne of God. "What will happen?" said he. "I know not, and I care not to know, feeling sure that He who sitteth in heaven hath foreseen from all eternity the beginning, continuation, and end of all this affair. Wherever the blow may reach me, I fear not. The leaf of a tree does not fall to the ground without the will of our Father. How much less we ourselves..... It is a little matter to die for the Word, since this Word, which was made flesh for us, died itself at first. We shall arise with it, if we die with it, and passing where it has gone before, we shall arrive where it has arrived, and abide with it through all eternity."¹

Sometimes, however, Luther cannot restrain the contempt inspired by the manoeuvres of his enemies; we then find in him that mixture of sublimity and irony which characterizes him. "I know nothing of Eck," said he, except that he has arrived with a long beard, a long bull, and a long purse; but I laugh at his bull."²

On the 3d of October he was informed of the papal brief. "It is come at last, this Roman bull," said he. "I despise and attack it as impious, false, and in every respect worthy of Eck. It is Christ himself who is condemned therein. No reasons are given in it: I am cited to Rome, not to be heard, but that I may eat my words. I shall treat it as a forgery, although I believe it true. Oh, that Charles V. would act like a man! and that for the love of Christ he would attack these wicked spirits!"³ I rejoice in having to bear such ills for the best of causes. Already I feel greater liberty in my heart; for at last I know that the pope is Antichrist, and that his throne is that of Satan himself."

It was not in Saxony alone that the thunders of Rome had caused alarm. A tranquil family of Swabia, one that had remained neutral, found its peace suddenly disturbed. Bilibald Pirckheimer of Nuremberg, one of the most distinguished men of his day, early bereft of his beloved wife Crescentia, was attached by the closest ties of affection to his two young sisters, Charity, abbess of Saint Claire, and Clara, a nun in the same convent. These two pious young women served God in this seclusion, and divided their time between study, the care of the poor, and meditation on eternal life. Bilibald, a statesman, found some relaxation from his public cares in the correspondence he kept up with them. They were learned, read Latin, and studied the Fathers; but there was nothing they loved so much as the Holy Scriptures. They had never had any other instructor than their brother. Charity's

¹ Multum degenerasse ab illa sincera Christi evangelica doctrina, adeo ut nemo non fateatur opus esse publicum aliquo et insigni legum ac morum instauratione. *Nv. Opp. iii. 2.*

² Rompe non fateatur se ex illius libris factum esse meliorem. *Ibid. 4.*

³ May the teaching and the truth of Christ prevail!

¹ Parum est nec pro Verbo mori, cum ipsum incarnatum pro nobis prius mortuum sit. *L. Epp. i. 480.*

² Venisse cum barbato, bullato, summatum. *Ridiculis et ego bullam sive ampullam. Ibid. 481.*

³ Utinam Carolus vir esset, et pro Christo hoc Satanas aggrederetur. *Ibid. 482.*

the impress of a delicate and loving all of the tenderest affection for he feared the least danger on his Pirckheimer, to encourage this ure, composed a dialogue between and Veritas (Charity and Truth), 'eritas strives to give confidence¹ Nothing could have been more a better adapted to console a ten- zious heart.

must have been Charity's alarm heard it rumoured that Bilibald's posted up under the pope's bull on of the cathedral beside that of Lu- fact, Eck, impelled by blind fury, sted with Luther six of the most ed men in Germany, Carlstadt, n, Egranus, who cared little about un, Pirckheimer, and his friend whom the public functions with r were invested rendered particu- ble to this indignity. Great was on in the convent of St. Claire. l they endure Bilibald's shame? so painful to relatives as trials of

1. The danger was truly urgent. the city of Nuremberg, the Bishop g, and even the Dukes of Bavaria, n favour of Spengler and Pirck- ese noble-minded men were com- ible themselves before Dr. Eck, them feel all the importance of a onotary, and compelled them to ter to the pope, in which they de- they did not adhere to the doc- uther, except so far as they were le with the christian faith. At time Adelmann, with whom Eck disputed, as he rose from table, ussion on the great question then y mind, was forced to appear be- shop of Augsburg, and clear him- ath from all participation in the iversity. Yet vengeance and anger counsellors to Eck. The names and of his friends brought discredit l. The character of these eminent heir numerous connexions, served the general irritation.

it first pretended to doubt the au- of the bull. "I hear," says he in his writings on the subject, "that brought a new bull from Rome, mbles him so much that it might *Doctor Eck*,—so full is it of false- rror. He would have us believe he pope's doing, while it is only a After having set forth the reasons bts, Luther concludes by saying: e with my own eyes the lead, the rings, the clause, the signature of n fact the whole of it, before I use clamours even at a straw!"² me doubted, not even Luther him- t really emanated from the pope.

Germany waited to see what the reformer would do. Would he stand firm? All eyes were fixed on Wittenberg. Luther did not keep his contemporaries long in suspense. He replied with a terrible discharge of artill- ery, publishing on the 4th of November 1520 his treatise *Against the bull of Antichrist*.

"What errors, what deceptions," says he, "have crept among the poor people under the mantle of the Church and of the pre- tended infallibility of the pope! How many souls have thus been lost! how much blood spilt! how many murders committed! how many kingdoms devastated!....."

"I can pretty clearly distinguish," says he ironically, a little further on, "between skill and malice, and I set no high value on a malice so unskilful. To burn books is so easy a matter that even children can do it; much more, then, the holy Father and his doctors.¹ It would be well for them to show greater ability than that which is required to burn books.....Besides, let them destroy my works! I desire nothing better; for all my wish has been to lead souls to the Bible, so that they might afterwards neglect my writings.² Great God! if we had a know- ledge of Scripture, what need would there be of any books of mine?.....I am free, by the grace of God, and bulls neither console nor alarm me. My strength and my consolation are in a place where neither men nor devils can reach them."

Luther's tenth proposition, condemned by the pope, was thus drawn up: "no man's sins are forgiven, unless he believes they are forgiven when the priest absolves him." By condemning this, the pope denied that faith was necessary in the sacrament. "They pretend," exclaims Luther, "that we must not believe our sins are forgiven when we receive absolution from the priest. And what then ought we to do?.....Listen, Chris- tians, to this news from Rome. Condemna- tion is pronounced against that article of faith which we profess when we say: 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the forgiveness of sins.' If I were certain that the pope had really issued this bull at Rome (and he had no doubt about it), and that it was not invented by Eck, that prince of liars, I should like to proclaim to all Chris- tians that they ought to consider the pope as the real Antichrist spoken of in Scripture. And if he would not discontinue publicly to proscribe the faith of the Church, then..... let even the temporal sword resist him, rather than the Turk!.....For the Turk permits us to believe, but the pope forbids it."

While Luther was speaking thus forcibly, his dangers were increasing. His enemies' plan was to expel him from Wittenberg. If Luther and Wittenberg can be separated,

¹ So ist Bücher verbrennen so leicht, dass es auch Kinder können, schweig denn der heilige Vater Pabst. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 284.

² In Büchern zu führen, dass man derselben Vorstand ge- langte, und denn meine Bücherlein verschwinden liess. *Ibid.*

erl Opp. Frankfurt. ein Aachrecht geben. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 282.

Luther and Wittenberg will be ruined. One blow would thus free Rome both from the heretical doctor and the heretical university. Duke George, the Bishop of Merseburg, and the Leipsic theologians secretly applied themselves to the task.¹ When Luther heard of it, he said: "I place the whole matter in God's hands."² These intrigues were not entirely ineffectual: Adrian, Hebrew professor at Wittenberg, suddenly turned against the doctor. Great strength of faith was required to bear up against the blow inflicted by the court of Rome. There are some characters that will go along with the truth only to a certain point. Such was Adrian. Alarmed by this condemnation, he quitted Wittenberg, and repaired to Dr. Eck at Leipsic.

The bull was beginning to be carried into execution. The voice of the pontiff of Christendom was not powerless. For ages, fire and sword had taught submission to his decrees. The burning piles were erected at his voice. Every thing seemed to announce that a terrible catastrophe would shortly put an end to the daring revolt of this Augustine monk. In October 1520 Luther's books were taken away from all the booksellers' shops in Ingolstadt, and put under seal. The Elector-archbishop of Mentz, moderate as he was, felt obliged to banish Ulrich of Hütten from his court, and to imprison his printer. The papal nuncios had besieged the youthful emperor: Charles declared that he would protect the old religion;³ and in some of his hereditary possessions scaffolds were erected, on which the writings of the heretic were to be reduced to ashes. Princes of the Church and councillors of state were present at these autos-da-fé.

Eck behaved with insolence, in every quarter threatening the great and the learned, and "filling every thing with his smoke," as Erasmus says.⁴ "The pope," said Eck, "who has overthrown so many counts and dukes, will know how to bring these wretched grammarians to their senses.⁵ We must tell the Emperor Charles himself: *You are but a cobbler.*"⁶ And his colleague Aleander, frowning like a schoolmaster who threatens his pupils with the rod,⁷ said to Erasmus: "We shall know how to get at this Duke Frederick, and teach him reason." Aleander was quite elated with his success. To hear the haughty nuncio talk, one would have thought that the fire which consumed Luther's books at Mentz was "the beginning of the

end." These flames (said they of other at Rome) will spread terror wide. It was so with many timid, stitious minds; but even in the states of Charles, the only places they dared carry out the bull, and sometimes the nobles, often these pontifical demonstrations by expressions of indignation. "said the doctors of Louvain, who appeared before Margaret, governess of the Netherlands, "Luther is overturning christian faith."—"Who is Luther the princeess."—"An ignorant monk," then," replied she, "do you who and so numerous write against him world will rather believe many wise an isolated and unlearned man." vain doctors preferred an easier. They erected a vast pile at their expense. A great multitude thronged the place of execution. Students might be seen hastily traversing the bearing large volumes under the which they threw into the flame zeal edified both monks and doctors. A trick was afterwards discovered—in *Sermones Discipuli, Tartaretus*, a scholastic and papistical work, been throwing into the fire, in Luther's writings!⁸

The Count of Nassau, viceroy of replied to the Dominicans who solicited mission to burn the doctor's books and preach the Gospel with as much as Luther does, and you will have plain of nobody." As the count turned upon the reformer at a banquet the leading princes of the empire present, the Lord of Ravenstein said: "In the space of four centuries, Christian has ventured to raise his him the pope wishes to put to death.

Luther, sensible of the strength of the cause, remained tranquil in the midst of the tumult the bull had created.⁹ "I do not press me so earnestly," said he to the pope, "I should keep silence, well that the work must be accomplished by counsel and power of God."¹⁰ "I man was for speaking out, the desired to remain silent. Luther did not power that escaped the eyes of the pope. "Be of good cheer," continues the "It is Christ who has begun the and it is He that will accomplish whether I be banished or put to death Christ is here present, and He who is greater than he who is in the

¹ Ut Wittenbergæ pellerent. L. Epp. l. 519.

² Id quod in manu Dei refovo. Ibid. 520.

³ A ministris pontificis mature preoccupatus, declaravit se velle veterem fidem tutari. Pallavicini, l. vi.

⁴ Omnia suis fœcis complens. Harth. Hist. Lit. Ref. l. 1.

⁵ Tres pediculus grammaticas. Ibid.

⁶ Pontifex potest dicere Camari Carolo: Tu es cœco. Ibid.

⁷ He vultis quo solent totius literatores pueri minari virgæ. Ibid.

⁸ Seebeck, p. 308.

⁹ Es ist in vierhundert Jahren ein christlicher gestanden, den will der Papst todt haben. II.

¹⁰ In bellis illis tunc militibus. L. Epp. l. 519.

¹¹ Rem totam Deo committerem. Ibid. 521.

¹² Christus læta cepit, ipse perdidit, etiam in te, sine fugato. Ibid. 522.

CHAPTER X.

to Step of the Reformer—Luther's Appeal to a General Council—Close Combat—The Bull burnt by Luther—The Pope's New Work by Melancthon—How Melancthon's Opinions on the Weak-hearted—Luther's Use on the Bible—Doctrine of Grace—Luther's Replies.

obliged Luther to speak, that the truth be manifested to the world. Rome struck the blow: he will show how he received it. The pope has put him under the ban of the Church; he will put the pope the ban of Christendom. Hitherto the pope's commands have been all-powerful; he will oppose sentence to sentence, and the world shall know which has the greater strength. "I desire," said he, "to set my peace at rest, by disclosing to all men a danger that threatens them;"¹ and at the same time he prepared to make a fresh appeal to a general council. An appeal from the pope to a council was a crime. It is now by a new attack on the pontifical authority that Luther presumes to justify those which it had been preceded.

On the 17th of November, a notary and witnesses, among whom was Cruciger, at ten o'clock in the morning in one of the halls of the Augustine convent where he resided. There, the public officer (Clerk of Eisleben) immediately proceeded to draw up the minute of his protest, the notary in presence of these witnesses said in a solemn tone of voice:—

"Considering that a general council of the Christian Church is above the pope, especially in matters of faith;
"Considering that the power of the pope is above but inferior to Scripture; and he has no right to slaughter the sheep of Christ's flock, and throw them into the mouth of the wolf;

"Martin Luther, an Augustine friar, Minister of the Holy Scriptures at Wittenberg, and by these presents, in behalf of myself and of those who are or who shall be with him from the most holy pope Leo to a future general and Christian council.

"Appeal from the said pope, *first*, as an arrogant, rash, and tyrannical judge, who condemns me without a hearing, and without giving any reasons for his judgment; *secondly*, as a heretic and an apostate, misled, hardened and condemned by the Holy Scriptures, commands me to deny that Christianism is necessary in the use of the sacraments; *thirdly*, as an enemy, an antichrist, an adversary, an oppressor of Holy Scriptures who dares set his own words in oppo-

sition to the Word of God; *fourthly*, as a despiser, a calumniator, a blasphemer of the holy Christian Church and of a free council, who maintains that a council is nothing of itself.

"For this reason, with all humility, I entreat the most serene, most illustrious, excellent, generous, noble, powerful, wise, and prudent lords, namely, Charles emperor of Rome, the electors, princes, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, councillors, cities and communities of the whole German nation, to adhere to my protest, and to resist with me the antichristian conduct of the pope, for the glory of God, the defence of the Church and of the Christian doctrine, and for the maintenance of the free councils of Christendom; and Christ, our Lord, will reward them bountifully by his everlasting grace. But if there be any who scorn my prayer, and continue to obey that impious man the pope, rather than God,² I reject by these presents all responsibility, having faithfully warned their consciences, and I abandon them, as well as the pope and his adherents, to the supreme judgment of God."

Such is Luther's bill of divorce; such is his reply to the pontiff's bull. A great seriousness pervades the whole of this declaration. The charges he brings against the pope are of the gravest description, and it is not heedlessly that he makes them. This protest was circulated through Germany, and sent to most of the courts of Christendom.

Luther had, however, a still more daring step in reserve, although this which he had just taken appeared the extreme of audacity. He would in no respect be behindhand with Rome. The monk of Wittenberg will do all that the sovereign pontiff dares do. He gives judgment for judgment; he raises pile for pile. The son of the Medici and the son of the miner of Mansfeldt have gone down into the lists; and in this desperate struggle, which shakes the world, one does not strike a blow which the other does not return. On the 10th of December, a placard was posted on the walls of the university of Wittenberg, inviting the professors and students to be present at nine o'clock in the morning, at the Eastern gate, near the Holy Cross. A great number of doctors and students assembled, and Luther, walking at their head, conducted the procession to the appointed place. How many burning piles has Rome erected during the course of ages! Luther resolves to make a better application of the great Roman principle. It is only a few old papers that are about to be destroyed; and fire, thinks he, is intended for that purpose. A scaffold had been prepared. One of the oldest masters of arts set fire to it. As the flames rose high into the air, the formidable Augustine, wearing his frock, approached the pile, carrying the Canon Law, the Decretals, the Clamen-

¹ *meam conscientiam redimere.* L. Opp. i. 622.
² *arrogans, induratus, per Scripturas sanctas damnatus, et apostata.* L. Opp. Lat. ii. 58. See also L. Opp. i. 232. There are some paragraphs in the German text not in the Latin text.
³ *prosecvere totius Sacre Scripturae. Ibid.*

¹ *Et pape, impio homini, plus quam Deo obediam.* L. Opp. Lat. ii. 58. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 32.

times, the papal Extravagants, some writings by Eck and Emser, and the pope's bull. The Decretals having been first consumed, Luther held up the bull, and said: "Since thou hast vexed the Holy One of the Lord, may everlasting fire vex and consume thee!" He then flung it into the flames. Never had war been declared with greater energy and resolution. After this Luther calmly returned to the city, and the crowd of doctors, professors, and students, testifying their approval by loud cheers, re-entered Wittenberg with him. "The Decretals," said Luther, "resemble a body whose face is meek as a young maiden's, whose limbs are full of violence like those of a lion, and whose tail is filled with wiles like a serpent. Among all the laws of the popes, there is not one word that teaches us who is Jesus Christ."¹ "My enemies," said he on another occasion, "have been able, by burning my books, to injure the cause of truth in the minds of the common people, and destroy their souls; for this reason, I consumed their books in return. A serious struggle has just begun. Hitherto I have been only playing with the pope. I began this work in God's name; it will be ended without me and by His might. If they dare burn my books, in which more of the Gospel is to be found (I speak without boasting) than in all the books of the pope, I can with much greater reason burn theirs, in which no good can be discovered."

If Luther had commenced the Reformation in this manner, such a step would undoubtedly have entailed the most deplorable results. Fanaticism might have been aroused by it, and the Church thrown into a course of violence and disorder. But the reformer had prefaced his work by seriously explaining the lessons of Scripture. The foundations had been wisely laid. Now, a powerful blow, such as he had just given, might not only be without inconvenience, but even accelerate the moment in which Christendom would throw off its bonds.

Luther thus solemnly declared that he separated from the pope and his church. This might appear necessary to him after his letter to Leo X. He accepted the excommunication that Rome had pronounced. He showed the christian world that there was now war unto death between him and the pope. He burnt his ships upon the beach, thus imposing on himself the necessity of advancing and of combating.

Luther had re-entered Wittenberg. On the morrow, the lecture-room was more crowded than usual. All minds were in a state of excitement; a solemn feeling pervaded the assembly; they waited expecting an address from the doctor. He lectured on the Psalms,—a course that he had commenced in the month of March in the preceding year. Having finished his explanations, he

remained silent a few minutes, then continued energetically: "He on against the laws and statutes of have burnt his Decretals, but t child's play. It is time, and me that the pope were burnt; thus ing himself immediately), the with all its doctrines and al Then assuming a more solen added: "If you do not conten whole heart against the impious of the pope, you cannot be save takes delight in the religion an popery, will be eternally lost in come."¹

"If you reject it," continu must expect to incur every kir and even to lose your lives. better to be exposed to such world than to keep silence! live, I will denounce to my bret and the plague of Babylon, many who are with us should the rest into the bottomless pit.

We can scarcely imagine th duced on the assembly by this energy of which surprises us. among us," adds the candid stu handed it down, "unless he b log of wood (as all the papists parenthetically), doubts that pure and undefiled. It is evid lievers that Dr. Luther is an living God, called to feed Christ sheep with the Word of God."²

This discourse and the act was crowned mark an import the Reformation. The disput had inwardly detached Luther f. But the moment in which he b was that in which he declared formal manner his entire separa Bishop of Rome and his church tachment to the universal Chur had been founded by the apos Christ. At the eastern gate of lit up a fire that has been burni centuries.

"The pope," said he, "has tl and for this reason: the first is for he condemns religion; the se the emperor, for he condemns power; the third is against so condemns marriage."³ When proached with inveighing too sev popery: "Alas!" replied he, " could speak against it with a v der, and that each of my words derbolt!"⁴

The firmness spread to Lut and fellow-countrymen. A whe lied around him. The universit

¹ *Musa ewig in jenem Leben verlohren se* xxii. 333.

² *Lutherum esse Dei vivens angelum Christi oves pascat.* L. Opp. Lat. ii. 123.

³ L. Opp. (W.) xxii. 131.

⁴ *Und ein jeglich Wort eine Donnerst* &

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particular grew daily more attached to, to whom it was indebted for its life and glory. Carlstadt then raised against that "furious lion of Florschütz" all human and divine laws, and under foot the principles of ruth. Melancthon, also, about this ressed the states of the empire in a characterized by the elegance and peculiar to this amiable man. It eply to a work attributed to Emser, ished under the name of Rhadinus, divine. Never had Luther himself rith greater energy; and yet there ace in Melancthon's language that way to every heart.

showing by various passages of that the pope is not superior to the hops: "What is it," says he to the the empire, "that prevents our the pope of the rights that we have m?"¹ It matters little to Luther our riches, that is to say, the treas- Europe, are sent to Rome; but the use of his grief and ours is, that the pontiffs and the reign of the pope endanger the souls of men but enn them. Each one may judge for whether it is becoming or not to e his money for the maintenance of xury; but to judge of religion and l mysteries is not within the scope mmonalty. It is on this ground, t Luther appeals to your faith and that all pious men unite with him, loud, others with sighs and groans. membrance that you are Christians, s of a christian people, and wrest l relics of Christendom from the of Antichrist. They are deceivers end that you have no authority over That same spirit which animated inst the priests of Baal, urges you, precedent, to abolish the Roman on, which is much more horrible idolatry of Baal."² Thus spoke e Melancthon to the princes of Ger-

cries of alarm were heard among is of the Reformation. Timid minds o extreme measures of conciliation, ppts, in particular, expressed the xxiety. "All this matter has been mere play," wrote Luther to him. ve said yourself, that if God does not things, it is impossible they can be he tumult becomes more and more us, and I do not think it will ever sed, except at the last day."³ Thus er encourage these affrighted minds. sturies have passed away, and the as not yet subsided!

"The papacy," continued he, "is no longer what it was yesterday and the day before. Let it excommunicate and burn my writings!let it slay me!.....it shall not check that which is advancing. Some great portent is at our doors.¹ I burnt the bull, at first with great trembling, but now I experience more joy from it than from any action I have ever done in my life."²

We involuntarily stop, and are delighted at reading in Luther's great soul the mighty future that was preparing. "O my father," said he to Staupitz in conclusion, "pray for the Word of God and for me. I am carried away and tossed about by these waves."³

Thus war was declared on both sides. The combatants threw away their scabbards. The Word of God reasserted its rights, and deposed him who had taken the place of God himself. Society was shaken. In every age selfish men are not wanting who would let human society sleep on in error and corruption; but wise men, although they may be timid, think differently. "We are well aware," said the gentle and moderate Melancthon, "that statesmen have a dread of innovation; and it must be acknowledged that, in this sad confusion which is denominated human life, controversies, and even those which proceed from the justest causes, are always tainted with some evil. It is requisite, however, that in the Church, the Word and commandments of God should be preferred to every mortal thing.⁴ God threatens with his eternal anger those who endeavour to suppress the truth. For this reason it was a duty, a christian duty, incumbent on Luther, and from which he could not draw back, especially as he was a doctor of the Church of God, to reprove the pernicious errors which unprincipled men were disseminating with inconceivable effrontery. If controversy engenders many evils, as I see to my great sorrow," adds the wise Philip, "it is the fault of those who at first propagated error, and of those who, filled with diabolical hatred, are now seeking to uphold it."

But all men did not think thus. Luther was overwhelmed with reproaches: the storm burst upon him from every quarter of heaven. "He is quite alone," said some; "he is a teacher of novelties," said others.

"Who knows," replied Luther, sensible of the call that was addressed to him from on high, "if God has not chosen and called me,⁵ and if they ought not to fear that, by despising me, they despise God himself? Moses was alone at the departure from Egypt; Elijah was alone in the reign of King Abab;

¹ Omnino aliquid portentis præ foribus est. L. Epp. i. 542. What a presentiment of the future!

² Primum trepidus et orans, sed nunc lætior quam ullo totius vitæ meæ facto. Ibid.

³ Ego fluctibus his raptor et volvor. Ibid.

⁴ Sed tamen in Ecclesia necesse est anteferrî mandatum Dei omnibus rebus humanis. Melanct. Vita Lutheri.

⁵ Wer weiss ob mich Gott dazu berufen und erwählt hat. Foundation of the articles condemned by the bull of Rome. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 338.

stat quominus pape quod dedimus jus adimamus. Ref. i. 207.
gravis illam, multo terrorem Baalis idolatriæ, asperditionem. Ibid.
ne egressis tumultuatur, ut nisi extremo die se- nse non videretur. L. Epp. i. 541.

Isaiah alone in Jerusalem; Ezekiel alone in Babylon.....God never selected as a prophet either the high-priest or any other great personage; but ordinarily he chose low and despised men, once even the shepherd Amos. In every age, the saints have had to reprove the great, kings, princes, priests, and wise men, at the peril of their lives.....And was it not the same under the New Testament? Ambrose was alone in his time; after him, Jerome was alone; later still, Augustine was alone.....I do not say that I am a prophet;¹ but I say that they ought to fear, precisely because I am alone and they are many. I am sure of this, that the Word of God is with me, and that it is not with them.

"It is said also," continues he, "that I put forward novelties, and that it is impossible to believe that all the other doctors were so long in error.

"No! I do not preach novelties. But I say that all christian doctrines have been lost sight of by those who should have preserved them; namely, the learned and the bishops. Still I doubt not that the truth remained in a few hearts, even were it with infants in the cradle.² Poor peasants and simple children now understand Jesus Christ better than the pope, the bishops, and the doctors.

"I am accused of rejecting the holy doctors of the Church. I do not reject them; but, since all these doctors endeavour to prove their writings by Holy Scripture, Scripture must be clearer and surer than they are. Who would think of proving an obscure passage by one that was obscurer still? Thus, then, necessity obliges me to have recourse to the Bible, as all the doctors have done, and to call upon it to pronounce upon their writings; for the Bible alone is lord and master.

"But (say they) men of power persecute him. Is it not clear, according to Scripture, that the persecutors are generally wrong, and the persecuted right; that the majority has ever been on the side of falsehood, and the minority on that of truth? Truth has in every age caused an outcry."³

Luther next examines the propositions condemned in the bull as heretical, and demonstrates their truth by proofs drawn from the Holy Scriptures. With what vigour especially does he not maintain the doctrine of Grace!

"What! before and without grace, nature can hate sin, avoid it, and repent of it; while even after grace is come, this nature loves sin, seeks it, longs for it, and never ceases contending against grace, and being angry with it; a state which all the saints mourn over continually!.....It is as if men said

that a strong tree, which I cannot bend by the exertion of all my strength, would bend of itself, as soon as I left it, or that a torrent which no dikes or barriers can check, would cease running as soon as it was left alone.No! it is not by reflecting on sin and its consequences that we arrive at repentance; but it is by contemplating Jesus Christ, his wounds, and his infinite love.¹ The knowledge of sin must proceed from repentance, and not repentance from the knowledge of sin. Knowledge is the fruit, repentance is the tree. In my country, the fruit grows on the tree; but it would appear that in the states of the holy Father the tree grows on the fruit."

The courageous doctor, although he protests, still retracts some of his propositions. Our astonishment will cease when we see the manner in which he does it. After quoting the four propositions on indulgences, condemned by the bull,² he simply adds:—

"In submission to the holy and learned bull, I retract all that I have ever taught concerning indulgences. If my books have been justly burnt, it is certainly because I made concessions to the pope on the doctrine of indulgences; for this reason I condemn them to the flames."

He retracts also with respect to John Huss: "I now say that not a *few* articles, but *all* the articles of John Huss are wholly christian. By condemning John Huss; the pope has condemned the Gospel. I have done five times more than he, and yet I much fear I have not done enough. Huss only said that a wicked pope is not a member of Christendom; but if Peter himself were now sitting at Rome, I should deny that he was pope by Divine appointment."

CHAPTER XI.

Coronation of Charles the Fifth—The Nuncio Alexander—Shall Luther's Books be Burnt?—Alexander and the Emperor—The Nuncios and the Elector—Duke John's Son in Behalf of Luther—Luther's Calmness—The Elector protects Luther—Reply of the Nuncios—Erasmus at Cologne—Erasmus at the Elector's—Declaration of Erasmus—Advice of Erasmus—System of Charles V.

THE mighty words of the reformer sunk deep into men's hearts, and contributed to their emancipation. The sparks that flew from every one of them were communicated to the whole nation. But still a greater question remained to be solved. Would the prince in whose states Luther was residing, favour or oppose the execution of the bull? The reply appeared doubtful. The elector, as well as all the princes of the empire, was at Aix-

¹ Ich sage nicht dass Ich ein Prophet sey. L. Opp. (L.) viii. 328.

² Und sollten's ettel Kinder in der Wiege seyn. Ibid.

³ Warheit hat allzeit rumbort. Ibid. 328.

¹ Man soll zuvor Christum in seine Wunden sehen, und aus denselben seine Liebe gegen uns. L. Opp. (L.) viii. 328.

² Prop. 19 to 22. Ibid. 328.

ille. Here the crown of Charlemagne rested on the head of the youngest but werful monarch of Christendom. An pomp and magnificence were dis- in this ceremony. Charles V., Fre- princes, ministers, and ambassadors, immediately to Cologne. Aix-la- s, where the plague was raging, to pour its whole population into this city on the banks of the Rhine.

ag the crowd of strangers who d this city were the two papal nun- rino Caraccioli and Jerome Aleander. li, who had already been ambassador court of Maximilian, was commis- congratulate the new emperor, and with him on political matters. But ad discovered that, to succeed in ex- ing the Reformation, it was neces- end into Germany a nuncio specially ed for this work, and of a character, d activity fitted for its accomplish- Aleander had been selected.¹ This wards invested with the purple of linals, would appear to have been ad from a family of respectable anti- not from Jewish parents, as it n said. The guilty Borgia invited come to be the secretary of his son— Cæsar before whose murderous sword e trembled.² "Like master, like ys an historian, who thus compares r to Alexander VI. This judgment : opinion too severe. After Borgia's leander applied to his studies with our. His knowledge of Greek, He- haldee, and Arabic, gained him the on of being the most learned man of

He devoted himself with his whole every thing he undertook. The zeal ich he studied languages was by no inferior to that which he exerted ds in persecuting the Reformation. attached him to his own service. storians speak of his epicurean man- omanists, of the integrity of his life.³ I appear that he was fond of luxury, and amusement. "Aleander is liv- Venice like a grovelling epicurean, high dignity," wrote his old friend s concerning him. All are agreed in ng that he was violent, prompt in his full of ardour, indefatigable, impe- d devoted to the pope. Eck was the d intrepid champion of the schools: r, the haughty ambassador of the ert of the pontiffs. He seemed born nuncio.

had made every preparation to de- e monk of Wittenberg. The duty

of attending the coronation of the emperor, as the pope's representative, was a mere secondary mission in Aleander's eyes, yet calculated to facilitate his task by the respect it secured for him. But he was specially charged to prevail upon Charles to crush the rising Reformation.⁴

As soon as Aleander arrived at Cologne, he and Caraccioli set every wheel in motion to have Luther's heretical works burnt throughout the empire, but particularly under the eyes of the German princes assembled in that city. Charles V. had already given his consent with regard to his hereditary states. The agitation of men's minds was excessive. "Such measures," said they to Charles's ministers and the nuncios themselves, "far from healing the wound, will only increase it. Do you imagine that Luther's doctrines are found only in those books that you are throwing into the fire? They are written, where you cannot reach them, in the hearts of the nation.⁵.....If you desire to employ force, it must be that of countless swords unsheathed to massacre a whole nation.⁶ A few logs of wood piled up to burn a few sheets of paper will effect nothing; and such arms are unbecoming the dignity of an emperor and of a pontiff." The nuncio defended his burning piles: "These flames," said he, "are a sentence of condemnation written in colossal characters, equally intelligible to those who are near and those who are afar off,—to the learned and ignorant,—and even to those who cannot read."

But it was not in reality papers and books that the nuncio wanted: it was Luther himself. "These flames," resumed he, "are not sufficient to purify the infected air of Germany.⁴ If they terrify the simple, they do not punish the wicked. We require an imperial edict against Luther's person."⁵

Aleander did not find the emperor so compliant when the reformer's life was in question, as when his books only were concerned.

"As I have but recently ascended the throne," said he to Aleander, "I cannot without the advice of my councillors and the consent of the princes strike such a blow as this against a numerous faction surrounded by so many powerful defenders. Let us first learn what our father, the Elector of Saxony, thinks of this matter;⁶ we shall afterwards see what reply we can make to the pope." The nuncios, therefore, proceeded to make trial of their artifices and eloquence on the elector.

The first Sunday in November, Frederick having attended mass in the Greyfriars' con-

m flagrantissimum religionis, ardor indolis.... quanta solertia.... Pallavicini, i. 84.
t. i. p. 19. Capello, Venetian Ambassador at
ed, says of Cesar: Tutta Roma trema di esso
il faza amazzar.... Extracted by Ranke from a
see in the archives of Vienna.
i libri als ein gebohrner Jude und schändlicher
enrichen. Seckend. 1808. Integritas vite qua
stuz. Pallavicini, i. 84.

1 Cui tota sollicitudo ininteretur nascentis hæresis evel-
lenda. Pallavicini, i. 83.
2 Altiusque insculptam in mentibus universæ fere Ger-
manie. Ibid. i. 85.
3 In vi innumerabilium gladiolorum qui infinitum populum
trucidarent. Ibid.
4 Non satis ad expurgandum aerem Germanie jam tabi-
ficum. Ibid. p. 83.
5 Cesaris edictum in caput.... Lutheri. Ibid.
6 Audiamus sententia hac in re patrum nostrorum Fredericum.
L. Opp. Lat. ii. 117.

vent, Caraccioli and Aleander begged an audience. He received them in the presence of the Bishop of Trent and several of his councillors. Caraccioli first presented the papal brief. Of a milder disposition than Aleander, he thought it his duty to win over the prince by his flatteries, and began by eulogizing him and his ancestors. "It is to you," said he, "that we look for the salvation of the Roman Church and of the Roman Empire."

But the impetuous Aleander, wishing to come to the point, hastily stepped forward and interrupted his colleague, who modestly gave way: "It is to me and Eck," said he, "that this business of Martin's has been intrusted. Look at the imminent dangers into which this man is plunging the christian republic. If we do not make haste to apply some remedy, the empire is ruined. Why were the Greeks destroyed, but because they abandoned the pope? You cannot remain united to Luther without separating from Jesus Christ.¹ I require two things of you, in the name of his holiness: *first*, that you will burn Luther's writings; *secondly*, that you will inflict on him the punishment he deserves, or at least that you will deliver him up to the pope.² The emperor and all the princes of the empire have declared their willingness to accede to our request; you alone hesitate still."

Frederick replied, through the medium of the Bishop of Trent: "This matter is too serious to be settled now. We will let you know our determination."

The situation in which Frederick was placed was a difficult one. What part ought he to take? On the one side were the emperor, the princes of the empire, and the supreme pontiff of Christendom, whose authority the elector had as yet no idea of throwing off; on the other, a monk, a feeble monk; for it was he only that they demanded. Charles's reign had just commenced. Ought Frederick, the oldest and wisest of all the princes of Germany, to sow disunion in the empire? Besides, how could he renounce that ancient piety which led him even to the sepulchre of Christ?

Other voices were then heard. A young prince, who afterwards wore the electoral crown, and whose reign was signalized by the greatest misfortunes, John Frederick, son of Duke John, the elector's nephew, and Spalatin's pupil, a youth seventeen years of age, had received in his heart a sincere love for the truth, and was firmly attached to Luther.³ When he saw the reformer struck by the Roman anathemas, he embraced his

cause with the warmth of a young man and of a youthful prince. He wrote doctor and to his uncle, nobly entreating the latter to protect Luther against his enemies. On the other hand, Spalatin, formerly true very dejected, Pontanus, and the other councillors who were with the elector at Cologne, represented to the prince that he must not to abandon the reformer.⁴

In the midst of this general agitation man alone remained tranquil: it was Luther. While it was sought to preserve his influence of the great, the monk in hiding at Wittenberg thought that it was for him to save the great ones of the world. "If the Gospel," wrote he to Spalatin, "is of a nature to be propagated on earth by the powers of this world, God would have intrusted it to fishermen.⁵ I am not to the princes and pontiffs of this world to defend the Word of God. They have to do to shelter themselves from the threats of the Lord and of his Anointed; it is in order that they may have knowledge of the Divine Word, and that they may be saved."

Luther's expectation was not deceived. That faith, which a council at Wittenberg concealed, exerted its power in the palaces of Cologne. Frederick, shaken perhaps for a moment, grew firm by degrees. He was indignant at the pope, in defiance of his earnest entreaties to examine into the matter in Germany; he decided upon it at Rome at the request of his personal enemy of the reformer, and in his absence this opponent should have published in Saxony a bull that threatened the existence of the university and the rights of his subjects. Besides, the elector was convinced that Luther was wronged. He was deterred at the thought of delivering a great man into the hands of his cruel enemies. Justice was the principle on which he acted, and not the wishes of the pope. He decided on the determination of not giving up Luther to Rome. On the 4th of November, Frederick's councillors (in the presence of the elector at Trent), replied that he had seen with pain the advantage that Dr. Eck had of his absence to involve in the election several persons who were not in favour of the bull; that since his departure only, it was possible that as many innocent of learned and ignorant men, of the clergy and laity, might have united and attacked the cause and appeal of Luther;⁶ that his imperial majesty nor any other had shown that Luther's writings were refuted, and that they only deserved to be thrown into the fire; and finally he

¹ Qui ita loquenti de improviso sese addidit Aleander. L. Opp. Lat. II. 117.

² Non posset cum Luthero conjungi, quin se jungeretur a Christo. Pallav. I. 68.

³ Ut de eo supplicium sumeret, vel capsum pontifici transmitteret. L. Opp. Lat. II. 117.

⁴ Sonderliche Gunst und Gnade zu mir unwürdiglich und den grossen Willen und Lust zu der heiligen göttlichen Wahrheit. L. Opp. I. 628. Letter to John Frederick, 20th October 1521.

⁵ Assidue fabelle ministrorum, illi jugiter ne Lutherum decerneret. Pallav. I. 68.

⁶ Evangelium aut tale esset, quod potentatibus propagaretur aut servaretur, non illud plebs demandasset. L. Opp. I. 621.

⁷ Ut ingens vis populi, doctorum, et rudium, professorum, sese conjungerint. L. Opp. Lat. II.

that Doctor Luther should be furnished with a safe-conduct, so that he might appear before a tribunal of learned, pious, and impartial judges.

After this declaration, Aleander, Caraccioli, and their followers, retired to deliberate.¹ This was the first time that the elector had publicly made known his intentions with regard to the reformer. The nuncios had expected quite a different course from him. Now (they had thought) that the elector, by maintaining his character for impartiality, would draw dangers upon himself the whole extent of which he could not foresee, he will not hesitate to sacrifice the monk. Thus Rome had reasoned. But her machinations were doomed to fail before a force that did not enter into her calculations, — the love of justice and of truth.

Being re-admitted into the presence of the elector's councillors, the imperious Aleander said: "I should like to know what the elector would think, if one of his subjects should choose the king of France, or any other foreign prince, for judge." Seeing that nothing could shake the Saxon councillors, he said: "We will execute the bull; we will hunt out and burn Luther's writings. As for his person," added he, affecting a contemptuous indifference, "the pope is not desirous of staining his hands with the blood of the wretched man."

The news of the reply the elector had made to the nuncios having reached Wittenberg, Luther's friends were filled with joy. Melancthon and Amsdorff, especially, indulged in the most flattering anticipations. "The German nobility," said Melancthon, "will direct their course by the example of this prince, whom they follow in all things, as their Nestor. If Homer styled his hero the *bulwark of the Greeks*, why should we not call Frederick the *bulwark of the Germans*?"²

The oracle of courts, the torch of the schools, the light of the world, Erasmus, was then at Cologne. Many princes had invited him, to be guided by his advice. At the epoch of the Reformation, Erasmus was the leader of the moderates; he imagined himself to be so, but without just cause; for when truth and error meet face to face, justice lies not between them. He was the chief of that philosophical and academical party which, for ages, had attempted to correct Rome, but had never succeeded; he was the representative of human wisdom, but that wisdom was too weak to batter down the high places of Popery. It needed that wisdom from God, which men often call foolishness, but at whose voice mountains crumble into dust. Erasmus would neither throw himself into the arms of Luther, nor sit at the pope's feet. He hesitated, and

often wavered between these two powers, attracted at one time towards Luther, then suddenly repelled in the direction of the pope. "The last spark of christian piety seems nearly extinguished," said he in his letter to Albert; "and 'tis this which has moved Luther's heart. He cares neither for money nor honours."³ But this letter, which the imprudent Ulrich of Hütten had published, caused Erasmus so much annoyance, that he determined to be more cautious in future. Besides, he was accused of being Luther's accomplice, and the latter offended him by his imprudent language. "Almost all good men are for Luther,"⁴ said he; "but I see that we are tending towards a revolt.....I would not have my name joined with his. That would injure me without serving him."⁵ "So be it," replied Luther; "since that annoys you, I promise never to make mention either of you or of your friends." Such was the man to whom both the partisans and enemies of the Reformation applied.

The elector, knowing that the opinion of a man so much respected as Erasmus would have great influence, invited the illustrious Dutchman to visit him. Erasmus obeyed the order. This was on the 5th December. Luther's friends could not see this step without secret uneasiness. The elector was standing before the fire, with Spalatin at his side, when Erasmus was introduced. "What is your opinion of Luther?" immediately demanded Frederick. The prudent Erasmus, surprised at so direct a question, sought at first to elude replying. He screwed up his mouth, bit his lips, and said not a word. Upon this the elector, raising his eyebrows, as was his custom when he spoke to people from whom he desired to have a precise answer (says Spalatin), fixed his piercing glance on Erasmus.⁶ The latter, not knowing how to escape from his confusion, said at last, in a half jocular tone: "Luther has committed two great faults: he has attacked the crown of the pope and the bellies of the monks."⁷ The elector smiled, but gave his visitor to understand that he was in earnest. Erasmus then laying aside his reserve, said: "The cause of all this dispute is the hatred of the monks towards learning, and the fear they have of seeing their tyranny destroyed. What weapons are they using against Luther?—clamour, cabals, hatred, and libels. The more virtuous a man is, and the greater his attachment to the Gospel, the less is he opposed to Luther."⁸ The severity of the

¹ Et futurum erat....ut tandem prorsus exstingueretur illa scintilla Christianæ pietatis; hæc moverunt andream Lutheri....qui nec honores ambiebat, nec pecuniam cupiebat. Erasm. Epp. Lond. 1642, p. 566.

² Favent vero ferme boni omnes. Corp. Ref. I. 205.

³ Er will von mir ungenüet seyn. I. Epp. I. 525. Nam ea res me gravat, et Lutherum non sublevari. Corp. Ref. I. 206.

⁴ Da sperret auch wahrlich mein gnädigster Herr seine Augen nur wohl auf....Spalatin, Hist. MS. in Seckend. p. 229.

⁵ Lutherus peccavit in duobus, nempe quod tetigit coronam pontificis et ventres monachorum.

⁶ Cum optimis quisque et evangelicæ doctrinæ proximum

¹ Quo audito, Marius et Aleander seorsim cum suis locuti sunt. I. Opp. Lat. II. 117.

² America appellatione nuncrum Germanicæ. Corp. Ref. I. 212.

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bull has aroused the indignation of all good men, and no one can recognise in it the gentleness of a vicar of Christ.¹ Two only, out of all the universities, have condemned Luther; and they have only condemned him, not *proved* him in the wrong. Do not be deceived; the danger is greater than some men imagine. Arduous and difficult things are pressing on.² To begin Charles's reign by so odious an act as Luther's imprisonment, would be a mournful omen. The world is thirsting for evangelical truth;³ let us beware of setting up a blamable opposition. Let this affair be inquired into by serious men,—men of sound judgment; this will be the course most consistent with the dignity of the pope himself!"

Thus spoke Erasmus to the elector. Such frankness may perhaps astonish the reader; but Erasmus knew whom he was addressing. Spalatin was delighted. He went out with Erasmus, and accompanied him as far as the house of the Count of Nuenar, provost of Cologne, where Erasmus was residing. The latter, in an impulse of frankness, on retiring to his study, took a pen, sat down, wrote a summary of what he had said to the elector, and forwarded the paper to Spalatin; but ere long the fear of Alexander came over the timid Erasmus; the courage that the presence of the elector and his chaplain had communicated to him had evaporated; and he begged Spalatin to return the too daring paper, for fear it should fall into the hands of the terrible nuncio. But it was too late.

The elector, feeling re-assured by the opinion of Erasmus, spoke to the emperor in a more decided tone. Erasmus himself endeavoured, in nocturnal conferences,⁴ like those of Nicodemus of old, to persuade Charles's councillors that the whole business should be referred to impartial judges. Perhaps he hoped to be named arbitrator in a cause which threatened to divide the christian world. His vanity would have been flattered by such an office. But at the same time, and not to lose his credit at Rome, he wrote the most submissive letters to Leo, who replied with a kindness that seriously mortified Alexander.⁵ From love to the pope, the nuncio would willingly have reprimanded the pope; for Erasmus communicated these letters from the pontiff, and they added still more to his credit. The nuncio complained of it to Rome. "Pretend not to notice this man's wickedness," was the reply; "prudence enjoins this: we must leave a door open to repentance."⁶

Charles at the same time adopted a "see-

saw" system, which consisted in flattering the pope and the elector, and appearing to incline by turns towards each, according to the necessities of the moment. One of his ministers, whom he had sent to Rome on Spanish business, arrived at the very moment that Doctor Eck was clamorously urging on Luther's condemnation. The wily ambassador immediately saw what advantage his master might derive from the Saxon monk. "Your Majesty," he wrote on the 12th May 1520 to the emperor, who was still in Spain, "ought to go into Germany, and show some favour to a certain Martin Luther, who is at the Saxon court, and who by the sermons he preaches gives much anxiety to the court of Rome."¹ Such from the commencement was the view Charles took of the Reformation. It was of no importance for him to know on which side truth or error might be found, or to discern what the great interests of the German nation required. His only question was, what policy demanded, and what should be done to induce the pope to support the emperor. And this was well known at Rome. Charles's ministers intimated to Alexander the course their master intended following. "The emperor," said they, "will behave towards the pope as he behaves towards the emperor;² for he has no desire to increase the power of his rivals, and particularly of the King of France." At these words the imperious nuncio gave way to his indignation. "What!" replied he, "supposing the pope should abandon the emperor, must the latter renounce his religion? If Charles wishes to avenge himself thus.....let him tremble! this baseness will turn against himself." But the nuncio's threats did not shake the imperial diplomatists.

CHAPTER XII.

Luther on Confession—Real Absolution—Antichrist—Luther's Popularity—Satires—Ulrich of Hütten—Lucas Cranach—The Carnival at Wittenberg—Staupitz intimates—Luther's Labours—His Humility—Progress of the Reformation.

If the legates of Rome failed with the mighty ones of this world, the inferior agents of the papacy succeeded in spreading troubles among the lower ranks. The army of Rome had heard the commands of its chief. Fanatical priests made use of the bull to alarm timid consciences, and well-meaning but unenlightened ecclesiastics considered it a sacred duty to act in conformity with the instructions of the pope. It was in the confessional that Luther had commenced his

¹ Sicur, minime offensu Luthero. Axiomata Erasmi in l. Opp. Lat. II. 115.

² Bulla a seculis probos omnes offendit, ut indigna militum Christi vicario. Ibid.

³ Urgent ardua negotia. Ibid.

⁴ Mundus sicut veritatem evangelicam. Ibid.

⁵ Sollicitatis per nocturnos congressus. . . Pallav. I. 87.

⁶ Que male torquebant Alexandrum. Ibid.

⁷ Prudentis erat consilii, hominis pravitatem dissimulare. Ibid. 88.

¹ Despatches of Manuel Llorente, I. 398.

² Cesarem ita se gesturum erga Pontificem, uti se Pontifex erga Cesarem gereret. Pallav. I. 91.

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against Rome;¹ it was in the con- at Rome contended against the adherents. Scouted in the face of the bull, the bull became powerful in the tribunals. "Have you read the bull?" asked the confessors; "do any of them? do you regard it as heretical?" And if the penitent pronounced the anathema, refused absolution. Many were troubled. Great agitation prevailed among the people. This skilful man was fair to restore to the papal yoke already won over to the Gospel. He attributed herself on having in the century erected this tribunal, so apted to render the free con-

Christians the slaves of the Word, as long as this remains standing, is informed of these proceedings.

he do, unaided, to baffle this The Word, the Word pro-

flly and courageously, shall be

The Word will find access to the consciences, those terrified by it find strength. A powerful voice necessary, and Luther's voice heard. He addressed the penitent with a noble dis- ciplinary considerations. "When I ask whether you approve of my Word," said he, "reply: 'You are a man and not an inquisitor or a gaoler. I confess what my conscience says: yours is not to sound and secrets of my heart. Give me and then dispute with Luther, and with whomsoever you please; convert the sacrament of penance into a combat.'—And if the Word will not give way, then (continues) would rather go without absolution be uneasy: if man does not God will. Rejoice that you are God himself, and appear at the Word in fear. At the last judgment I will have to give an account of you, for he has refused you. They are of the sacrament, but they have us of the strength and grace connected with it. It is not in their power, but in our own God has placed salvation. Dis- he sacrament, altar, priest, and Word of God, condemned by more than all these things. The Word without the sacrament, but it without the Word. Christ, the will undertake to give you spi-

Luther's voice sink into every conscience, and make its way into

every troubled family, imparting courage and faith. But he was not content simply with defending himself; he felt that he ought to become the assailant, and return blow for blow. A Romish theologian, Ambrose Catharinus, had written against him. "I will stir up the bile of this Italian beast," said Luther.² He kept his word. In his reply, he proved, by the revelations of Daniel and St. John, by the epistles of St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. Jude, that the reign of Antichrist, predicted and described in the Bible, was the Papacy. "I know for certain," said he in conclusion, "that our Lord Jesus Christ lives and reigns. Strong in this assurance, I should not fear many thousands of popes. May God visit us at last according to his infinite power, and show forth the day of the glorious advent of his Son, in which he will destroy the wicked one."³ And let all the people say, Amen!"

And all the people did say, Amen! A holy terror seized upon their souls. It was Antichrist whom they beheld seated on the pontifical throne. This new idea, which derived greater strength from the prophetic descriptions launched forth by Luther into the midst of his contemporaries, inflicted the most terrible blow on Rome. Faith in the Word of God took the place of that faith which the Church alone had hitherto enjoyed; and the power of the pope, long the object of adoration among nations, had now become a source of terror and detestation.

Germany replied to the papal bull by overwhelming Luther with its acclamations. Although the plague was raging at Wittemberg, new students arrived every day, and from four to six hundred disciples habitually sat at the feet of Luther and Melancthon in the halls of the academy. The two churches belonging to the convent and the city were not large enough for the crowd that hung listening to the reformer's words. The prior of the Augustines was fearful that these temples would fall under the weight of the hearers.⁴ But this spiritual movement was not confined within the walls of Wittemberg; it spread through Germany. Princes, nobles, and learned men from every quarter, addressed Luther in letters breathing consolation and faith. The doctor showed the chaplain more than thirty such.⁵

The Margrave of Brandenburg came one day to Wittemberg, with several other princes, to visit Luther. "They desired to see the man," said the latter.⁶ In truth, all were desirous of seeing the man whose words had moved the people, and made the pontiff of the West totter upon his throne.

The enthusiasm of Luther's friends in-

¹ Italice bestie bilem movebo. L. Epp. I. 570.

² Ostendat illum diem adventus glorie Filii sui, quo destruetur iniquus iste. L. Opp. Lat. II. 162.

³ Es möchte noch gar die Kirche und Capelle um der Menge willen einfallen. Spalatin in Seckend. p. 265.

⁴ Mehr als dreysaig Briefe von Fürsten. . . Ibid.

⁵ Videre enim hominem voluerunt. L. Epp. I. 644, dated 16th January 1521.

⁶ Fourth Lateran Council, under Innocent III. ch. der rechte Bischoff Christus selber spei- (L.) xvi. 246.

creased every day. "What unheard-of foolishness in Emser," exclaimed Melancthon, "who has ventured to measure himself with our Hercules, not perceiving the finger of God in every one of Luther's actions,¹ as Pharaoh would not see it in those of Moses." The gentle Melancthon found words of power to arouse those who seemed to be retrograding or even remaining stationary. "Luther has stood up for the truth," wrote he to John Hess, "and yet you keep silence!.....He is alive and prospering still, although the lion (Leo) is chafing and roaring. Bear in mind that it is impossible for Roman impiety to approve of the Gospel.² How can this age be wanting in men like Judas, Caiaphas, Pilate, or Herod? Arm yourself, therefore, with the weapons of God's Word against such adversaries."

All Luther's writings, his Lord's Prayer, and particularly his new edition of the German Theology,³ were perused with avidity. Reading clubs were formed for the circulation of his works among their members. His friends reprinted them, and got them distributed by hawkers. They were recommended from the pulpit. There was a general wish for a German Church; and the people demanded that no one should henceforth be invested with any ecclesiastical dignity, unless he could preach to the people in the vulgar tongue, and that in every quarter the bishops of Germany should resist the papal power.

Nor was this all: biting satires against the principal ultramontanists were circulated throughout the provinces of the empire. The opposition rallied all its forces around this new doctrine, which gave it precisely what it stood in need of.....a justification in the eyes of religion. Most of the lawyers, wearied by the encroachments of the ecclesiastical tribunals, attached themselves to the reform, but the humanists, in particular, eagerly embraced this party. Ulrich Hütten was indefatigable. He addressed letters to Luther, to the legates, and to the most considerable men in Germany. "I tell you, and repeat it, Marino," said he to the legate Caraccioli, in one of his works, "the darkness with which you had covered our eyes is dispersed; the Gospel is preached; the truth is proclaimed; the absurdities of Rome are overwhelmed with contempt; your decrees languish and die; liberty is beginning to dawn upon us!"⁴

Not content with employing prose, Hütten had recourse to verse also. He published his *Outcry on the Lutheran Conflagration*,⁵ in

which, appealing to Jesus Christ, he beseeches him to consume with the brightness of his countenance all who dared deny his authority. Above all, he set about writing in German. "Hitherto," said he, "I have written in Latin, a tongue not intelligible to every one; but now I address all my fellow-countrymen!" His German rhymes unveiled to the people the long and disgraceful catalogue of the sins of the Roman court. But Hütten did not wish to confine himself to mere words; he was eager to interfere in the struggle with the sword; and he thought that the vengeance of God should be accomplished by the swords and halberds of those valiant warriors of whom Germany was so proud. Luther opposed this mad project: "I desire not," said he, "to fight for the Gospel with violence and bloodshed. I have written to Hütten to this effect."⁶

The celebrated painter Lucas Cranach published, under the title of the *Passion of Christ and Antichrist*, a set of engravings which represented on one side the glory and magnificence of the pope, and on the other the humiliation and sufferings of the Redeemer. The inscriptions were written by Luther. These engravings, designed with considerable skill, produced an effect beyond all previous example. The people withdrew from a church that appeared in every respect so opposed to the spirit of its Founder. "This is a very good work for the laity," said Luther.⁷

Many persons wielded weapons against the papacy, that had but little connexion with the holiness of a christian life. Emser had replied to Luther's book (*To the Goat of Leipsic*) by another whose title was *To the Bull of Wittenberg*. The name was not ill-chosen. But at Magdeburg Emser's work was suspended to the common gibbet, with this inscription: "The book is worthy of the place," and a scourge was hung at its side, to indicate the punishment the author merited.⁸ At Döblin some persons were under the papal bull, in ridicule of its ineffectual thunders, "The nest is here, but the birds have flown."⁹

The students at Wittenberg, taking advantage of the license of the carnival, dressed up one of their number in a costume similar to the pope's, and paraded him with great pomp through the streets of the city, but in a manner somewhat too ludicrous, as Luther observes.¹⁰ When they reached the great square, they approached the river, and some,

¹ Dei digitum esse que a Martino fant. Corp. Ref. I. 282.

² Non posse Evangelium Romanæ impietati probari.

Ibid. 280.

³ See vol. I. p. 75.

⁴ Abiata illa est a vobis inducta olim nostris oculis caligo, predicator Evangelium... apes est libertatis. Ulrich ab Hütten Eques, Mar. Carac. L. Opp. Lat. II. 176.

⁵ Quo tu oculos, pie Christe, tuos, frontaque severa Tende supercilium, teque esse ostende neganti. Qui te contemnantur, litur, mediumque tonanti Ostendunt digitum, laudem ille te ostende potentem.

Te

Te videt ferus ille Leo, te tota malorum
Sentiat illuvies, scelerataque Roma tremiscat,
Ultorem scelerum discant te vivere saltem,
Qui regere negant.

In Incendium Lutherianum Exclamatio Ulrichi Hütten Equitis, Mar. Carac. L. Opp. Lat. II. 176.

¹ Nolle vi et cæde pro Evangelio certari; ita ut scripsi ad hominem. L. Epp. I. 543.

² Bonus est pro laicis liber. L. Epp. I. 571. This book,

which deserves reprinting, I found in the library of Zurich.

³ In publico infamiae loco affixus. Ibid. 660.

⁴ Das Nest ist hier, die Vögel sind ausgeflogen. Ibid. 370.

⁵ Nimis ludere Papam personatum circumvenerunt solum et pompaticum. Ibid. 561.

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inding a sudden attack, appeared desir-
of throwing the pope into the water.
the pontiff, having little inclination for
a bath, took to his heels; his cardinals,
pe, and familiars imitated his example,
rising into every quarter of the city.
students pursued them through the
ts; and there was hardly a corner in
emberg where some Roman dignitary
not taken refuge from the shouts and
hter of the excited populace.¹ "The
y of Christ," says Luther, "who makes
ockery of kings, and even of Christ,
y deserves to be thus mocked himself."
ur opinion he is wrong; truth is too
tful to be thus profaned. She should
at without the aid of ballads, caricatures,
the masquerades of a carnival. Perhaps,
out these popular demonstrations, her
as would be less apparent; but it would
urer, and consequently more lasting.
ever that may be, the imprudent and
diced conduct of the Roman court had
ed universal antipathy; and this very
by which the papacy thought to crush
whole reformation, was precisely that
h made the revolt burst out in every
ter.

at the reformer did not find intoxication
triumph in every thing. Behind that
ot in which he was dragged by a people
ed and transported with admiration,
was not wanting the slave to remind
of his miserable state. Some of his
ds seemed inclined to retrace their steps.
pitz, whom he designated his father,
ared shaken. The pope had accused
and Staupitz had declared his willing-
to submit to the decision of his holiness.
fear," wrote Luther to him, "that by
pting the pope for judge, you seem to
t me and the doctrines I have main-
ed. If Christ loves you, he will constrain
to recall your letter. Christ is con-
ned, stripped, and blasphemed; this is a
not to fear, but to raise the voice.² For
reason, while you exhort me to be hum-
I exhort you to be proud; for you have
much humility, as I have too much pride.
world may call me proud, covetous, an
lterer, a murderer, antipope, one who is
lty of every crime.....What matters it!
vided I am not reproached with having
skedly kept silence at the moment our
rd said with sorrow: *I looked on my right
nd, and beheld, but there was no man that
ld know me.* (Ps. cxlii.) The Word of
us Christ is a Word not of peace but of
sword. If you will not follow Jesus
rist, I will walk alone, will advance alone,
d alone will I carry the fortress."³
Thus Luther, like a general at the head of
army, surveyed the whole field of battle;

and while his voice inspirited new soldiers to
the conflict, he discovered those of his troops
who appeared weak, and recalled them to the
line of duty. His exhortations were heard
every where. His letters rapidly followed
each other. Three presses were constantly
occupied in multiplying his writings.⁴ His
words ran through the people, strengthening
the alarmed consciences in the confessionals,
upholding in the convents timid souls that
were ready to faint, and maintaining the
rights of truth in the palaces of princes.

"In the midst of the storms that assail
me," wrote Luther to the elector, "I hoped
to find peace at last. But now I see that this
was the vain thought of a man. From day
to day the waters rise, and already I am en-
tirely surrounded by the waves. The tem-
pest is bursting upon me with frightful
tumult.⁵ In one hand I grasp the sword,
with the other I build up the walls of Zion."⁶
His ancient ties are broken: the hand that
had hurled against him the thunders of ex-
communication had snapped them asunder.
"Excommunicated by the bull," said he,
"I am absolved from the authority of the
pope and of the monastic laws. Joyfully do
I welcome this deliverance. But I shall
neither quit the habit of my order nor the
convent."⁷ And yet, amid this agitation, he
does not lose sight of the dangers to which
his soul is exposed in the struggle. He per-
ceives the necessity of keeping a strict watch
over himself. "You do well to pray for me,"
wrote he to Pellican, who resided at Basle.
"I cannot devote sufficient time to holy ex-
ercises; life is a cross to me. You do well to ex-
hort me to modesty: I feel its necessity; but I
am not master of myself; I am carried away
by mysterious impulses. I wish no one ill;⁸
but my enemies press on me with such fury,
that I do not sufficiently guard against the
temptations of Satan. Pray, then, for me!"

Thus the reformer and the Reformation
were hastening towards the goal whither
God called them. The agitation was gain-
ing ground. The men who seemed likely
to be most faithful to the hierarchy be-
gan to be moved. "Those very persons,"
says Eck ingenuously enough, "who hold
the best livings and the richest prebends
from the pope, remain as mute as fishes.
Many of them even extol Luther as a man
filled with the Divine spirit, and style the
defenders of the pope mere sophists and flat-
terers."⁹ The Church, apparently full of
vigour, supported by treasures, governments,
and armies, but in reality exhausted and
feeble, having no love for God, no christian
life, no enthusiasm for the truth, found itself

¹ Cum tria prela solus ego occupare cogar. L. Epp. I. 582.

² Videns rem tumultuosissimo tumultu tumultuantem. Ibid. 584.

³ Una manu gladium apprehendens et altera murum edificaturus. Ibid. 586.

⁴ Ab ordinis et Pape legibus solutus....quod gaudeo et amplector. Ibid. 586.

⁵ Compos mei non sum, rapior aecio quo spirita, cum nemini me male velle conscius sim. Ibid. 585.

⁶ Reynald Epist. J. Eckli ad Cardinalem Contararium.

⁷ Fugitum cum cardinalibus, episcopis, familiarique in diversas partes oppidi dispererunt et insecuti sunt. Epp. I. 714 Feb. 1521.
⁸ Non enim hoc tempus timendi sed clamandi. Ibid. 587.
⁹ Quod si tu non vis sequi, sine me ire et rapti. Ibid. 588.

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face to face with men who were simple but courageous, and who, knowing that God is with those who contend in behalf of his Word, had no doubt of victory. In every age it has been seen how great is the strength of an idea to penetrate the masses, to stir up nations, and to hurry them, if required, by thousands to the battle-field and to death. But if so great be the strength of a human idea, what power must not a heaven-descended idea possess, when God opens to it the gates of the heart! The world has not often seen so much power at work; it was seen, however, in the early days of Chris-

tianity, and in the time of the Reformation, and it will be seen in future ages. He despised the riches and grandeur of those who were contented with a life of poverty, began to be moved in all that was holiest upon earth,—the doctrine of faith and of grace. All the elements were fermenting beneath the tattered surface of society; and the fire of enthusiasm urged souls to spring forward with courage into this new life, this epoch of renovation, which had just opened before them with so much grandeur, and toward which Providence was hurrying the nation.

BOOK VII.

THE DIET OF WORMS.—1521, JANUARY TO MAY.

CHAPTER I.

Victories of the Word of God—The Diet of Worms—Policy of Rome—Difficulties—Charles demands Luther—The Elector to Charles V.—State of Feeling—Alarm of Alexander—The Elector departs without Luther—Alexander arouses Rome—Excommunication of Pope and Communion with Christ—Fulminations of the Bull—Luther's Motives in the Reformation.

THE Reformation, commenced by the struggles of an humble spirit in the cell of a cloister at Erfurth, had continually increased. An obscure individual, bearing in his hand the Word of Life, had stood firm before the mighty ones of the world, and they had shaken before him. He had wielded this arm of the Word of God, first against Tetzel and his numerous army; and those greedy merchants, after a brief struggle, had fled away: he next employed it against the Roman legate at Augsburg; and the legate in amazement had allowed the prey to escape him: somewhat later with its aid he contended against the champions of learning in the halls of Leipsic; and the astonished theologians had beheld their syllogistic weapons shivered in their hands: and, lastly, with this single arm, he had opposed the pope, when the latter, disturbed in his slumbers, had risen on his throne to blast the unfortunate monk with his thunders; and this same Word had paralyzed all the power of this head of Christendom. A final struggle remained to be undergone. The Word was destined to triumph over the emperor of the West, over the kings and princes of the earth; and then, victorious over all the powers of the world, to uprise in the Church, and reign as the very Word of God.

The entire nation was agitated. Princes

and nobles, knights and citizens, clergy, towns and country,—all participated in the struggle. A mighty religious revolution of which God himself was the prime but which was also deeply rooted in the lives of the people, threatened to overthrow the long-venerated chief of the Roman hierarchy. A new generation of a serious, active, and energetic spirit, filled the cities, courts, castles, rural districts, and frequently even the cloisters. A sentiment that a great transformation of society was at hand, inspired all with holy enthusiasm. What would be the opinion of the emperor with regard to this movement of the age? and what would be of this formidable impulse by which things were carried along?.....

A solemn diet was about to be called: this was the first assembly of the empire over which Charles was to preside at Nuremberg, where it should have been in accordance with the Golden Bull. Suffering from the plague, it was compelled to meet at Worms on the 6th January. Never before had so many princes gathered in diet; each one was desirous of participating in this first act of the emperor's government, and was pleased at the opportunity of displaying his power. The youthful landgrave Philip of Hesse, among others, who was afterwards so important a part in the Reformation, arrived at Worms, about the middle of January, with six hundred horsemen, whom were warriors celebrated for their valour.

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But a much stronger motive inclined the electors, dukes, archbishops, landgraves, margraves, counts, bishops, barons, and lords of the empire, as well as the deputies of the towns, and the ambassadors of the kings of Christendom, to throng with their brilliant trains the roads that led to Worms. It had been announced that, among other important matters to be laid before the diet, would be the nomination of a council of regency to govern the empire during Charles's absence, and the jurisdiction of the imperial chamber; but public attention was more particularly directed to another question, which the emperor had also mentioned in his letters of convocation: that of the Reformation. The great interests of worldly policy grew pale before the cause of the monk of Wittemberg. It was this which formed the principal topic of conversation between the noble personages who arrived at Worms.

Every thing announced that the diet would be stormy, and difficult to manage. Charles, who was hardly twenty years of age, was pale, of weak health, and yet a graceful horseman, able to break a lance like others of his time; his character was as yet undeveloped; his air was grave and melancholy, although of a kindly expression, and he had not hitherto shown any remarkable talent, and did not appear to have adopted any decided line of conduct. The skilful and active William de Croi, lord of Chièvres, his high chamberlain, tutor, and prime minister, who enjoyed an absolute authority at court, died at Worms: numerous ambitions here met; many passions came into collision; the Spaniards and the Belgians vied with each other in their exertions to insinuate themselves into the councils of the young prince; the nuncios multiplied their intrigues; the German princes spoke out boldly. It might easily be foreseen that the underhanded practices of parties would have a principal share in the struggle.¹

But over all these scenes of agitation hovered a terrible will—the Roman papacy, which, inflexible as the destiny of the ancients, had unceasingly crushed for ages past every doctor, king, or people that had opposed its tyrannous progress. A letter written at Rome in the month of January 1521, and by a Roman citizen, reveals its intentions. "If I am not mistaken, the only business in your diet will be this affair of Luther, which gives us much more trouble than the Turk himself. We shall endeavour to gain over the young emperor by threats, by prayers, and feigned caresses. We shall strive to win the Germans by extolling the piety of their ancestors, and by making them rich presents, and by lavish promises. If these methods do not succeed, we shall depose the emperor; abolve the people from their obedience; elect another (and he will be one that suits us) in

his place; stir up civil war among the Germans, as we have just done in Spain;² and summon to our aid the armies of the kings of France, England, and all the nations of the earth.³ "Probity, honour, religion, Christ—we shall make light of all, provided our tyranny be saved."⁴ A very slight familiarity with the history of the papacy is sufficient to show that these words are a faithful description of its policy. It is identically what Rome has always done when she has had the power: only the times were now a little changed. We shall soon behold her busy at her task.

Charles opened the diet on the 28th January 1521, the festival of Charlemagne. His mind was filled with the high importance of the imperial dignity. He said, in his opening discourse, that no monarchy could be compared with the Roman empire, to which nearly the whole world had submitted in former times; that unfortunately this empire was a mere shadow of what it once had been; but that, by means of his kingdoms and powerful alliances, he hoped to restore it to its ancient glory.

But numerous difficulties immediately presented themselves to the young emperor. What must he do, placed between the papal nuncio and the elector to whom he was indebted for his crown? How can he avoid displeasing either Aleander or Frederick? The first entreated the emperor to execute the pope's bull, and the second besought him to take no steps against the monk until he had been heard. Desirous of pleasing both parties, the young prince, during his stay at Oppenheim, had written to the elector to bring Luther with him to the diet, assuring him that no injustice should be shown to the reformer, that no violence should be used towards him, and that learned men should confer with him.

This letter, accompanied by others from Chièvres and the count of Nassau, threw the elector into great perplexity. At every moment the alliance of the pope might become necessary to the young and ambitious emperor, and then Luther's fate was sealed. If Frederick should take the reformer to Worms, he might be leading him to the scaffold. And yet Charles's orders were precise. The elector commanded Spalatin to communicate to Luther the letters he had received. "The adversaries," said the chaplain to him, "are making every exertion to hasten on this affair."⁴

Luther's friends were alarmed, but he himself did not tremble. His health wavered at that

¹ Robertson's History of Charles V., book III.

² *Cæsarem deponemus, populos subjectione debita liberabimus, seditionem inter Germanos, quemadmodum nunc inter Hispanos, concitabimus, Gallum, Anglum, et omnes terre reges ad arma convocabimus.* Roderer, Nachrichten, i. 178.

³ *Tantum ut voti compotes eradere valeamus, nihil pensat apud nos erit, non Christus, neque fides, pietas, honestas, probitas, dummodo tyrannis nostra sit salva.* Ibid.

⁴ *Adversarios omnia moliri ad maturandum id negotii.* L. Epp. i. 582.

¹ *In going over and discussing Reichstag zur schlichter zu.* ...Reichend. p. 222.

time very weak; but that was a trifling matter for him. "If I cannot go to Worms in good health," replied he to the elector, "I will be carried there, sick as I am. For if the emperor calls me, I cannot doubt that it is the call of God himself. If they desire to use violence against me, and that is very probable (for it is not for their instruction that they order me to appear), I place the matter in the Lord's hands. He still lives and reigns who preserved the three young men in the burning fiery furnace. If He will not save me, my life is of little consequence. Let us only prevent the Gospel from being exposed to the scorn of the wicked, and let us shed our blood for it, for fear they should triumph. It is not for me to decide whether my life or my death will contribute most to the salvation of all. Let us pray God that our young emperor may not begin his reign by imbruing his hands in my blood. I would rather perish by the sword of the Romans. You know what chastisement was inflicted on the Emperor Sigismund after the murder of John Huss. You may expect every thing from me..... except flight and recantation.¹ Fly I cannot, and still less retract!

Before receiving Luther's reply, the elector had formed his resolution. This prince, who was advancing in the knowledge of the Gospel, now became more decided in his conduct. He felt that the conference at Worms would not have a favourable result. "It appears a difficult matter," he wrote in reply to Charles, "to bring Luther with me to Worms; I beseech you to relieve me from this anxiety. Furthermore, I have never been willing to defend his doctrine, but only to prevent his being condemned without a hearing. The legates, without waiting for your orders, have permitted themselves to take a step at once dishonouring Luther and myself; and I much fear that they thus provoked him to commit a very imprudent act which might expose him to great danger, if he were to appear before the diet." The elector alluded to the burning of the papal bull.

But the rumour of Luther's coming was already current through the city. Men eager for novelty were delighted; the emperor's courtiers were alarmed; but none showed greater indignation than the papal legate. On his journey, Aleander had been able to discover how far the Gospel announced by Luther had found an echo in all classes of society. Men of letters, lawyers, nobles, the inferior clergy, the regular orders, and the people, were gained over to the Reformation.² These friends of the new doctrine walked boldly with heads erect; their language was fearless and daring; an invincible

terror froze the hearts of the papal Rome. The papacy was still its buttresses were tottering; for already distinguished a presage, like that indistinct murmur the mountain falls and crumbles Aleander on the road to Worms, frequently unable to contain himself, desired to dine or sleep in any place the learned, the nobles, nor the people among the supposed partisans dared receive him; and the haughty was obliged to seek a lodging at the lowest class.³ Aleander was frightened to think his life in danger. He arrived at Worms, and to his Reformation was then superadded the feeble personal indignities he had suffered immediately used every exertion to prevent the appearance of the bold and Luther. "Would it not be said he," to behold laymen examine a cause already condemned by the Pope? Nothing is so alarming to a Roman as inquiry; and yet, should this inquiry in Germany, and not at Rome, would be the humiliation, even the condemnation to be agreed upon; but such a result appears means certain. Will not Luther's eloquence, which has already such ravages, drag many princes into inevitable destruction? Aleander Charles closely: he entreated, and spoke as the nuncio of the Holy Church.⁴ Charles submitted, and the elector that the time accorded having already elapsed, this month the papal excommunication, so he would not retract what he had said. Frederick must leave him behind. But this prince had already Saxony without Luther. "I pray to be favourable to our elector," said he, as he saw him depart. "I all our hopes for the restoration of peace repose. His enemies will dare and they will not leave a stone; but God will confound the counsellors of the papal throne. As for us, let us make share of the combat by our teaching and our prayers." Luther was deeply being forbidden to come to Worms.

It was not sufficient for Aleander. Luther did not appear at Worms: his condemnation. He was continuing the princes, prelates, and members of the diet; he accused the time monk not only of disobedience

¹ Omnia de me presumas præter fugam et palinodiam. *Ep. l. 335.*

² Multitudo....turba pauperum, nobilium....grammatici....causidici....inferiores ecclesiastici....facilio multorum regularium....*Pallav. l. 92.*

¹ He omnes conditiones petulantæ grassatum cubilbet incutiebant. *Pallav. l. 93.*

² Neminem nactus qui auderet ipsum exsordidatæ hospitæ egre diverit. *Ibid.*

³ Legati Romani nolunt ut audiatur hoc Minantur multa. *Ep. p. 157.*

⁴ Καὶ πάντα λόγῳ κινεῖσθαι. *Co. 24th January.*

⁵ Cum dolore legi novissimas Caroli litteras. *Ibid.*

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not even of sedition, rebellion, im-
d blasphemy. But the very tone of
betrayed the passions by which he
ated. "He is moved by hatred and
e, much more than by zeal and
as the general remark;¹ and fre-
i violent as were his speeches, he
converts to his sentiments.² Some
bserved to him that the papal bull
condemned Luther conditionally;
ld not altogether conceal the joy
at this humiliation of the haughti-
ome. The emperor's ministers on
and, the ecclesiastical electors on
, showed a marked coldness; the
at the pope might feel the neces-
guing with their master; the latter,
ontiff might purchase their support
r price. A feeling of Luther's in-
redominated in the assembly; and
could not contain his indignation.
e coldness of the diet made the
s impatient than the coldness of
ome, which had had so much dif-
taking a serious view of this quarrel
anken German," did not imagine
ull of the sovereign pontiff would
tual to humiliate and reduce him.
esumed all her carelessness,³ and
er additional bulls nor money. But
they bring this matter to an issue
oney?⁴ Rome must be awakened.
ittered a cry of alarm. "Germany
ing from Rome," wrote he to the
e Medicis; "the princes are sepa-
me the pope. Yet a little more
a little more negotiation, and hope
ne. Money! money! or Germany

woke at this cry; the vassals of
7, casting off their torpor, hastily
ir redoubtable thunderbolts in the
The pope issued a new bull;⁵ and
munication, with which the hereti-
had as yet been only threatened,
edly pronounced against him and
berents. Rome, by breaking the
ich still bound him to the Church,
l Luther's liberty, and with in-
erty came an increase of strength.
the pope, he took refuge with
at the feet of Christ. Ejected from
rd courts of the temple, he felt
gly that he was himself a temple
welt the living God.
great glory," said he, "that we
believing in Christ, and by eating
possess within us, in all their

*Idia et vindicta libidine quam zelo pietatis,
anis Cochleus, de actis et scriptis Martini
1545, p. 27, verso. Cochleus was all his life
at inveterate of Luther's enemies. He will
pon the stage.*

*ibus suis orationibus parum promovit. Coch-
quendam securitas Romanam pervaserat. Pal-*

*la ad varios pro eadem sumptus. Ibid.
denique amittende Germanis ex parcimo-
quidam. Ibid.*
maum Pontificum, &c. Bullarium Romanum.

vigour, his power, wisdom, and righteous-
ness, as it is written, *Whoso believeth in me,
in him do I dwell.* Wonderful abiding-place!
marvellous tabernacle! far superior to that
of Moses, and magnificently adorned within,
with beautiful hangings, curtains of purple,
and ornaments of gold; while without, as on
the tabernacle that God commanded to be
built in the desert of Sinai, we perceive
nought but a rude covering of goats' hair and
rams' skins.¹ Often do Christians stumble,
and, to look at them outwardly, they seem
all weakness and reproach. But this matters
not, for beneath this weakness and this fool-
ishness dwells in secret a power that the
world cannot know, and which yet overcom-
eth the world; for Christ dwelleth in us. I
have sometimes beheld Christians walking
lamely and with great feebleness; but when
came the hour of conflict or of appearing be-
fore the bar of the world, Christ suddenly
stirred within them, and they became so
strong and so resolute, that Satan fled away
frightened from before their face."²

Such an hour would soon strike for Luther;
and Christ, in whose communion he dwelt,
could not fail him. Meantime Rome rejected
him with violence. The reformer and all
his partisans were accursed, whatever their
rank and power, and dispossessed, with their
inheritors, of all their honours and goods.
Every faithful Christian, who valued the sal-
vation of his soul, was to flee at the sight of
this accursed band. Wherever the heresy
had been introduced, the priests were en-
joined, on Sundays and festivals, at the hour
when the churches were thronged with wor-
shippers, to publish the excommunication
with due solemnity. The altars were to be
stripped of their ornaments and sacred ves-
sels; the cross to be laid on the ground;
twelve priests holding tapers in their hands
were first to light them, and immediately
dashing them violently to the earth, to ex-
tinguish them under their feet; the bishop
was then to proclaim the condemnation of
these unbelievers; all the bells were to be
rung; the bishops and priests were to utter
their anathemas and maledictions, and preach
boldly against Luther and his adherents.

The excommunication had been published
in Rome twenty-two days, but probably had
not yet reached Germany, when Luther,
being informed that there was some talk of
summoning him to Worms, wrote a letter to
the elector, drawn up in such a manner that
Frederick might show it to the diet. Luther
was desirous of correcting the erroneous ideas
of the princes, and of frankly laying before
this august tribunal the true nature of a
cause so misunderstood. "I rejoice with all
my heart, most serene Lord," says he, "that
his imperial majesty desires to summon me
before him-touching this affair. I call Jesus

¹ Exodus xxvi. 7, 14.

² So wrote sich der Christus, dass sie so fest wurden, dass
der Teufel fliehen musste. L. Opp. ii. 613, on John vi. 56.

Christ to witness, that it is the cause of the whole German nation, of the universal Church, of the christian world, nay, of God himself.....and not of an individual, especially such a one as myself.¹ I am ready to go to Worms, provided I have a safe-conduct, and learned, pious, and impartial judges. I am ready to answer.....for it is not from a presumptuous spirit, or with any view to personal advantage, that I have taught the doctrine with which I am reproached: it is in obedience to my conscience and to my oath as doctor of the Holy Scriptures: it is for the glory of God, for the salvation of the Christian Church, for the good of the German nation, and for the extirpation of so much superstition, abuse, evil, scandal, tyranny, blasphemy, and impiety."

This declaration, drawn up at a moment so solemn for Luther, merits particular attention. Such were the motives of his actions, and the inward springs that led to the revival of christian society. This is very different from the jealousy of a monk or the desire of marriage!

CHAPTER II.

A Foreign Prince—Council of Politicians—Conference between the Confessor and the Chancellor—Inutility of these Manœuvres—Alexander's Activity—Luther's Words—Charles yields to the Pope.

BUT all this was of little consequence to politicians. However noble might have been the idea Charles had formed of the imperial dignity, Germany was not the centre of his interests and of his policy. He understood neither the spirit nor the language of Germany. He was always a Duke of Burgundy, who to many other sceptres had united the first crown of Christendom. It was a remarkable circumstance that, at the moment of its most intimate transformation, Germany should elect a foreign prince, to whom the necessities and tendencies of the nation were but of secondary importance. Undoubtedly the emperor was not indifferent to the religious movement, but it had no meaning in his eyes, except so far as it threatened the pope. War between Charles and Francis I. was inevitable; the principal scene of that war would be Italy. The alliance of the pope became therefore daily more necessary to Charles's projects. He would have preferred detaching Frederick from Luther, or satisfying the pope without offending Frederick. Many of his courtiers manifested in the affair of the Augustine monk that disdainful coldness which politicians generally

affect when there is any question. "Let us avoid all extreme measures," they say. "Let us entangle Luther in negotiations, and reduce him to silencing concessions. The protestant is stiff and not to fan the flame. falls into the net, we are victors." Accepting a compromise, he will self and ruin his cause. For he will decree certain exterior concessions, the elector will be satisfied: the gained; and matters will resume their ordinary course."

Such was the project formed by the emperor's confidants. The Wittenbergers seem to have divined this. "They are trying to win men," said Melancthon, "and are in the dark."¹ Charles's confessor, Johann Eck, a man of great weight, a skilful, a wily monk, took upon himself the direction of the scheme. Glapion, full confidence of Charles; and imitating the Spanish custom, intrusted him almost entirely with the care of matters pertaining to the emperor. As soon as Charles had been named, Leo hastened to win over Glapion, which the confessor very gratefully acknowledged.² He could make no better use of the pontiff's generosity than this heresy, and he applied it to his task.³

Among the elector's council was Gory Bruck, or Pontanus, the man of intelligence, decision, who was a better theological man than many doctors, and whose wisdom was able of resisting the wiles of Charles's court. Glapion, knowing the influence, requested him to go with him, and introducing him had been a friend of the reformer, he had an air of kindness: "I was filled in reading Luther's first writing with him a vigorous tree, which has many goodly branches, and gave protection to the Church of the most precious people, it is true, have entertained views before his time; yet no man has had the noble courage of truth without fear. But when I look on the *Captivity of Babylon*, one overwhelmed with blows and in a foot. I do not think," added "that brother Martin will acknowledge self to be the author of it; I do either his usual style or learn some discussion, the confessor. "Introduce me to the elector, in his presence I will show him Luther's writings." The chancellor replied that the

¹ Concilio, quæ Christo teste, Dei, christiani orbis, ecclesie catholice, et totius Germanicæ nationis, et non unius cujus personæ aut hominis. L. Ep. 1. 661.

¹ Concilium tentant et experiantur. 24 Feb.

² Benignis officiis recens a Pontifice delatus.

³ In eam in eo toto negotio singulare profectum dedit. Ibid.

the diet left his highness no leisure, and besides he did not mix himself up with this matter. The monk was vexed at seeing his demand rejected. "Nevertheless," continued the chancellor, "since you say there is no evil without a remedy, explain yourself."

Assuming a confidential air, the confessor replied: "The emperor earnestly desires to see a man like Luther reconciled with the Church; for his books (previous to the publication of the treatise on the *Captivity of Babylon*) were rather agreeable to his majesty.....¹ The irritation caused by the bull no doubt excited Luther to write the latter work. Let him then declare that he had no intention of troubling the repose of the Church, and the learned of every nation will side with him. Procure me an audience with his highness."

The chancellor went to Frederick. The elector well knew that any retractation whatsoever was impossible: "Tell the confessor," answered he, "that I cannot comply with his request; but continue your conference."

Glapio received this message with every demonstration of respect; and changing his line of attack, he said: "Let the elector name some confidential persons to deliberate on this affair."

THE CHANCELLOR.—"The elector does not propose to defend Luther's cause."

THE CONFESSOR.—"Well, then, you at least can discuss it with me.....Jesus Christ is my witness that I make this proposition from love to the Church and Luther, who has opened so many hearts to the truth."²

The chancellor, having refused to undertake a task which belonged to the reformer, prepared to withdraw.

"Stay," said the monk.

THE CHANCELLOR.—"What remains to be done?"

THE CONFESSOR.—"Let Luther deny that he wrote the *Captivity of Babylon*."

THE CHANCELLOR.—"But the pope's bull condemns all his other writings."

THE CONFESSOR.—"That is because of his obstinacy. If he disclaims this book, the pope in his omnipotence can easily pardon him. What hopes may we not entertain now that we have so excellent an emperor!".....

Perceiving that these words had produced some effect on the chancellor, the monk hastily added: "Luther always desires to argue from the Bible. The Bible.....it is like wax, you may stretch it and bend it as you please. I would undertake to find in the Bible opinions more extravagant even than Luther's. He is mistaken when he changes every word of Christ into a commandment." And then, wishing to act upon the fears of his hearer, he added: "What would be the result if to-day or to-morrow the emperor

should have recourse to arms? Reflect upon this." He then permitted Pontanus to retire.

The confessor laid fresh snares. "A man might live ten years with him, and not know him at last," said Erasmus.

"What an excellent book is that of Luther's on Christian Liberty," said he to the chancellor, whom he saw again a few days after; "what wisdom! what talent! what wit! it is thus that a real scholar ought to write.....Let both sides choose men of irreproachable character, and let the pope and Luther refer the whole matter to their decision. There is no doubt that Luther would come off victorious on many points.¹ I will speak about it to the emperor. Believe me, I do not mention these things solely on my own authority. I have told the emperor that God would chastise him and all the princes, if the Church, which is the spouse of Christ, be not cleansed from all the stains that defile her. I added, that God himself had sent Luther, and commissioned him to reprove men for their offences, employing him as a scourge to punish the sins of the world."²

The chancellor, on hearing these words (which reflected the feelings of the age, and showed the opinion entertained of Luther even by his adversaries), could not forbear expressing his astonishment that his master was not treated with more respect. "There are daily consultations with the emperor on this affair," said he, "and yet the elector is not invited to them. He thinks it strange that the emperor, who is not a little indebted to him, should exclude him from his councils."

THE CONFESSOR.—"I have been present only once at these deliberations, and then heard the emperor resist the solicitations of the nuncios. Five years hence it will be seen what Charles has done for the reformation of the Church."

"The elector," answered Pontanus, "is unacquainted with Luther's intentions. Let him be summoned and have a hearing."

The confessor replied with a deep sigh: "I call God to witness how ardently I desire to see the reformation of Christendom accomplished."

To protract the affair and to keep the reformer silent was all that Glapio proposed. In any case, Luther must not come to Worms. A dead man returning from the other world and appearing in the midst of the diet would have been less alarming to the nuncios, the monks, and all the papal host, than the presence of the Wittemberg doctor.

"How many days does it take to travel

¹ Es sey nicht zu zweifeln dass Luthers in vielen Artikeln werde den Sieg davon tragen....Seckend. p. 338.

² Dass Gott diesen Mann gesandt.....dass er eine Geissel sey um der Sünden willen. Weimar State Papers, Ibid. 339.

¹ Es haben dessen Elster Ihre Majestät.....um etwas gehalten. Weimar State Papers. Seckend. p. 334.

² Es seyn das Wort zu vielen Guten erdient....Ibid.

from Wittenberg to Worms?" asked the confessor with an assumed air of indifference; and then, begging Pontanus to present his most humble salutations to the elector, he retired.

Such were the manœuvres resorted to by the courtiers. They were disconcerted by the firmness of Pontanus. That just man was immovable as a rock during all these negotiations. The Roman monks themselves fell into the snares they had laid for their enemies. "The Christian," said Luther in his figurative language, "is like a bird tied near a trap. The wolves and foxes prowl round it, and spring on it to devour it; but they fall into the pit and perish, while the timid bird remains unhurt. It is thus the holy angels keep watch around us, and those devouring wolves, the hypocrites and persecutors, cannot harm us."¹ Not only were the artifices of the confessor ineffectual, but his admissions still more confirmed Frederick in his opinion that Luther was right, and that it was his duty to protect him.

Men's hearts daily inclined more and more towards the Gospel. A Dominican prior suggested that the emperor, the kings of France, Spain, England, Portugal, Hungary, and Poland, with the pope and the electors, should name representatives to whom the arrangement of this affair should be confided. "Never," said he, "has implicit reliance been placed on the pope alone."² The public feeling became such that it seemed impossible to condemn Luther without having heard and confuted him.³

Aleander grew uneasy, and displayed unusual energy. It was no longer against the elector and Luther alone that he had to contend. He beheld with horror the secret negotiations of the confessor, the proposition of the prior, the consent of Charles's ministers, the extreme coldness of Roman piety, even among the most devoted friends of the pontiff, "so that one might have thought," says Pallavicini, "that a torrent of iced water had gushed over them."⁴ He had at length received from Rome the money he had demanded; he held in his hand the energetic briefs addressed to the most powerful men in the empire.⁵ Fearing to see his prey escape, he felt that now was the time to strike a decisive blow. He forwarded the briefs, scattered the money profusely, and made the most alluring promises; "and, armed with this threefold weapon," says the historian, Cardinal Pallavicini, "he made a fresh attempt to bias the wavering assembly of electors in the pope's favour."⁶ But around the emperor in particular he laid his snares. He took advantage

of the dissensions existing between German and Spanish ministers. He beset the monarch unceasingly. All the paragon, awakened by his voice, Charles. "Daily deliberations," wrote the elector to his brother John, "are held under the ban of the pope and of the emperor; they endeavour to injure him in his way. Those who parade in their midst the Romans, with all their followers, are indefatigable zeal in this task."¹

Aleander did in reality urge the nation of the reformer with a violence Luther characterizes as marvellous. The apostate nuncio,² as Luther styled him, transported by anger beyond the bounds of prudence, one day exclaimed: "If men pretend to shake off the yoke of obedience to Rome, we will act in such a manner that, exterminated by mutual slaughter, you shall perish in your own blood." "This is how the pope feeds Christ," adds the reformer.

But such was not his own language asked nothing for himself. "Luther," said Melancthon, "to purchase at of his own life the glory and advantage of the Gospel."³ But he trembled at the thought of the calamities that might be the consequence of his death. He pictured himself a misled people revenging his martyrdom in the blood of his adversaries and especially of the priests. He felt from so dreadful a responsibility. He said he, "checks the fury of his subjects but if it breaks forth.....then shall a storm burst upon the priests which has devastated Bohemia....." "We are clear of this, for I have earnestly besought the German nobility to oppose the emperor by wisdom, and not by the sword,"⁴ "war upon the priests,—a class with rage or strength,—would be to fight women and children."

Charles V. could not resist the solicitation of the nuncio. His Belgian and Spanish devotion had been developed by his presence at Adrian, who afterwards occupied the imperial throne. The pope had addressed in a brief, entreating him to give the law to the bull by an imperial edict no purpose will God have invested by the sword of the supreme power," "if you do not employ it, not only the infidels, but against the heretics who are far worse than they." "Accord one day in the beginning of February, moment when every one in Wor-

¹ L. Opp. (W.) xii. 1666.

² Und neminem dem Papæ allein geglaubt. Seeck. p. 323.

³ Spathinus scribit tantum favoris Evangelio esse latius se inaudire et inconvictum damnari non speret. L. Opp. i. 224. Feb. 2.

⁴ Hinc aquæ manabat, quæ succensæ pietatis ætatem refrigerabat. Pallav. i. 24.

⁵ Mandata, pecunias ac diplomata. Ibid. 25.

⁶ Trapiet hæc industria panno Aleander....Ibid.

¹ Das thun die in rothen Hüten prangen. Seeck.
² Miro furore Papiste moluntur mihi mala.

³ Nuntius apostolicus (a play upon the words *nuntius* and *apostolicus*, 'apostolic and apostate') as viribus. Ibid. 220.

⁴ Ut mutis cadibus assumpti, vestro cruore. L. Opp. i. 225.

⁵ Libenter etiam morte sua Evangelii gloriam tum erit. Corp. Ref. i. 245.

⁶ Non ferro, sed consiliis et edictis. L. Opp. i.

making preparations for a splendid tournament, and when the emperor's tent was already erected, the princes who were arming themselves to take part in the brilliant show were summoned to the imperial palace. After listening to the reading of the papal bull, a stringent edict was laid before them, enjoining its immediate execution. "If you can recommend any better course," added the emperor, following the usual custom, "I am ready to hear you."

An animated debate immediately took place in the assembly. "This monk," wrote a deputy from one of the free cities of Germany, "gives us plenty of occupation. Some would like to crucify him, and I think that he will not escape; only it is to be feared that he will rise again the third day." The emperor had imagined that he would be able to publish his edict without opposition from the states; but such was not the case. Their minds were not prepared. It was necessary to gain over the diet. "Convince this assembly," said the youthful monarch to the nuncio. This was all that Aleander desired; and he was promised a hearing before the diet on the 13th of February.

CHAPTER III.

Aleander introduced to the Diet—Aleander's Speech—Luther is accused—Rome is justified—Appeal to Charles against Luther—Effect of the Nuncio's Speech.

The nuncio prepared for this solemn audience. This was an important duty, but Aleander was not unworthy of it. He was not only ambassador from the sovereign pontiff, and surrounded with all the splendour of his high office, but also one of the most eloquent men of his age. The friends of the Reformation looked forward to this sitting with apprehension. The elector, pretending indisposition, was not present; but he gave some of his councillors orders to attend, and take notes of the nuncio's speech.

When the day arrived, Aleander proceeded towards the assembly of the princes. The feelings of all were excited; many were reminded of Annas and Caiaphas going to Pilate's judgment-seat and calling for the death of *this fellow who perverted the nation*.¹ "Just as the nuncio was about to cross the threshold, the usher of the diet," says Pallavicini, "approaching him rudely, thrust him back by a blow on the breast."² "He was a Lutheran at heart," adds the Romanist historian. If this story be true, it shows no doubt an excess of passion; but at the same time it furnishes us with a standard by which to measure the influence that Luther's words

had excited even in those who guarded the doors of the imperial council. The proud Aleander, recovering himself with dignity, walked forward and entered the hall. Never had Rome been called to make its defence before so august an assembly. The nuncio placed before him the documents that he had judged necessary, namely, Luther's works and the papal bulls; and, as soon as the diet was silent, he began:—

"Most august emperor, most mighty princes, most excellent deputies! I appear before you in defence of a cause for which my heart glows with the most ardent affection. It is to retain on my master's head that triple crown which you all adore: to maintain that papal throne for which I should be willing to deliver my body to the flames, if the monster, that has engendered this growing heresy that I am now to combat, could be consumed at the same stake and mingle his ashes with mine."³

"No! the whole difference between Luther and the pope does not turn on the papal interests. I have Luther's books before me, and a man only needs have eyes in his head to see that he attacks the holy doctrines of the Church. He teaches that those alone communicate worthily whose consciences are overwhelmed with sorrow and confusion because of their sins, and that no one is justified by baptism, if he has not faith in the promise of which baptism is the pledge.⁴ He denies the necessity of works to obtain heavenly glory. He denies that we have the liberty and power of obeying the natural and Divine law. He asserts that we sin of necessity in every one of our actions. Has the arsenal of hell ever sent forth weapons better calculated to break the bonds of decency?.....He preaches in favour of the abolition of monastic vows. Can we imagine any greater sacrilegious impiety?.....What desolation should we not witness in the world, were those who are the salt of the earth to throw aside their sacred garments, desert the temples that re-echo with their holy songs, and plunge into adultery, incest, and every vice!.....

"Shall I enumerate all the crimes of this Augustine monk? He sins against the dead, for he denies purgatory; he sins against heaven, for he says that he would not believe even an angel from heaven; he sins against the Church, for he maintains that all Christians are priests; he sins against the saints, for he despises their venerable writings; he

¹ Dummodo mecum una monstrum nascente heresis accideret. Pallav. l. 37. Beckendorff and many Protestant historians after him, have asserted that Pallavicini himself composed the speech he puts into Aleander's mouth. It is true that the cardinal states he had arranged it in the form in which he presents it to his readers; but he points out the sources whence he had taken it, and in particular, Aleander's letters deposited in the Archives of the Vatican (Acta Wormatic. fol. 14 and 90); in my opinion, therefore, I should betray partiality by rejecting it wholly. I quote some of the features of this speech from Protestant and Romanist sources.

² Baptismus neminem justificare, sed fidem in verbum promissionis, cui additur Baptismus. Cochleus, Act. Luth. 25.

¹ Luke xiii. 2.

² Pectoris ejus pectori admotis repulerit. Pallav. l. 113.

sins against councils, for he designates that of Constance an assembly of devils; he sins against the world, for he forbids the punishment of death to be inflicted on any who have not committed a deadly sin.¹ Some of you may say that he is a pious man.....I have no desire to attack his private life, but only to remind this assembly that the devil often deceives people in the garb of truth."

Aleander, having spoken of the doctrine of purgatory condemned by the Council of Florence, laid at the emperor's feet the papal bull on this council. The Archbishop of Mentz took it up, and gave it to the Archbishops of Treves and Cologne, who received it reverently, and passed it to the other princes. The nuncio, after having thus accused Luther, proceeded to the second point, which was to justify Rome:—

"At Rome, says Luther, the mouth promises one thing, the hand does another. If this were true, must we not come to the very opposite conclusion? If the ministers of a religion live conformably to its precepts, it is a sign that the religion is false. Such was the religion of the ancient Romans..... Such is that of Mahomet and of Luther himself; but such is not the religion which the Roman pontiffs teach us. Yes, the doctrine they profess condemns them all, as having committed faults; many, as guilty; and some (I will speak frankly) as criminal.²This doctrine exposes their actions to the censure of men during their lives, to the brand of history after their death.³ Now, I would ask what pleasure or profit could the popes have found in inventing such a religion?

"The Church, it may be said, was not governed by the Roman pontiffs in the primitive ages.—What conclusion shall we draw from this? With such arguments we might persuade men to feed on acorns, and princes to wash their own linen."⁴

But his adversary—the reformer—was the special object of the nuncio's hatred. Boiling with indignation against those who said that he ought to be heard, he exclaimed: "Luther will not allow himself to be instructed by any one. The pope had already summoned him to Rome, and he did not comply. Next, the pope cited him before the legate at Augsburg, and he did not appear until he had procured a safe-conduct, that is to say, after the legate's hands were tied, and his tongue alone was left unfettered.....⁵ Ah!" said Aleander, turning towards Charles V.,

"I entreat your imperial Majesty thing that may lead to your repentance not interfere in a matter which concerns the laity. Perform your own duty. Let Luther's doctrines be interdicted throughout the length and breadth of the empire: let his writings be burnt wherever. Fear not! In Luther's error is enough to burn a hundred thousandetics.....¹ And what have we to fear from a multitude?.....Its insolence makes it terrible before the conflict, but in its cowardice renders it contemptible to reign princes?.....But the King has forbidden the introduction of doctrines into his kingdom; and the King of England is preparing an assault with royal hand. You know what are the elements of Hungary, Italy, and Spain: there is not one of your neighbours much he may hate you, who wish much evil as this heresy would do. For if our adversary's house adjoins, we may desire it to be visited with not with the plague.....What are the Lutherans? A crew of insolent peccators, corrupt priests, dissolute monks, lawyers, and degraded nobles, with men of low people, whom they have perverted. How far superior to the Catholic party in number, ability, and strength to the weak.....But if not laid to the roots of this poison, the death-blow is not struck, then it overshadows the heritage of Christ with its branches, changing the vineyard into a gloomy forest, turning the kingdom of God into a den of wolves, and reducing Germany to that frigid barbarism and desolation which brought upon Asia by the super-Mahomet."

The nuncio was silent. He had spoken for three hours. The enthusiasm of the assembly had produced a deep impression. The princes looked at each other, excited and alarmed, saying and murmurs soon arose from the assembly against Luther and his partisans. Eloquent Luther had been present; he had been able to reply to this speech; and by the avowals extorted from the nuncio by the recollection of his father, the infamous Borgia, he had shown these very arguments, intended for Rome, were of themselves its condemnation if he had shown that the doctrine proved its iniquity was not invented as the orator said, but was that which Christ had given to the world.

¹ Weil er verbieth jemand mit Todes Strafe zu belegen, der nicht eine Todtsünde begangen. Beckend. p. 353.

² Multos ut quadrantes reos, nonnullos (dicam ingenue) ut sceleratos. Pallav. l. 101.

³ Linguarum vituperandi dum vivunt, historiarum infamie post mortem. Ibid.

⁴ In the Odyssey, Homer represents the princess Nausicaa going with her maidens to the river side to wash her garments. The classical reader will be familiar with the allusion to acorns, which the heathen writers supposed to be the earliest food of the human race, "when first in woods the naked savage ran."

⁵ Quod idem erat, ac revinctis legali brachia, et linguae soluta soluta. Ibid. 306.

¹ Dass 100,000 Ketzer ihrerthalben verbrannt werden. Beck, p. 352.

² Vehementer exterriti atque commoti, alii tuebantur, atque in Lutherum claque fautores emperant. Cochleus, p. 20.

which the Reformation was re-establishing in its primitive splendour; if he had presented a faithful and animated picture of the errors and abuses of the papacy, and had shown how the religion of Christ had been made an instrument of self-interest and rapacity; the effect of the nuncio's harangue would have been instantly nullified. But no one rose to speak. The assembly remained under the impression produced by this speech; and, agitated and transported, showed itself ready to extirpate Luther's heresy by force from the soil of the empire.¹

Nevertheless, it was a victory only in appearance. It was among the purposes of God that Rome should have an opportunity of displaying her reasons and her power. The greatest of her orators had spoken in the assembly of the princes; he had given utterance to all that Rome had to say. But it was precisely this last effort of the papacy that became a signal of defeat in the eyes of many who had listened to it. If a bold confession is necessary for the triumph of truth, the surest means of destroying error is to make it known without reserve. Neither the one nor the other, to run its course, should be concealed. The light tests all things.

CHAPTER IV.

Sentiments of the Princes—Speech of Duke George—Character of the Reformation—One Hundred and One Grievances—Charles gives Way—Alexander Strasskema—The Grandees of Spain—Peace of Luther—Death and no Retraction.

A few days were sufficient to dissipate the first impression, as is ever the case when an orator conceals the emptiness of his arguments by high-sounding words.

The majority of the princes were ready to sacrifice Luther; but no one desired to imitate the rights of the empire and the grievances of the Germanic nation. They were very ready to give up the insolent monk who had dared speak so boldly; but they were the more resolved to make the pope feel the justice of a reform demanded by the chiefs of the nation. It was accordingly Luther's most determined personal enemy, Duke George of Saxony, who spoke with the greatest energy against the encroachments of Rome. The grandson of Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, although offended by the doctrine of Grace preached by the reformer, had not yet lost the hope of a moral and ecclesiastical reform. The principal cause of his irritation against the monk of Wittenberg was, that by his despised doctrines he was spoiling the whole affair. But now, seeing

the nuncio affecting to involve Luther and the reform of the Church in one and the same condemnation, George suddenly rose in the assembly of the princes, to the great astonishment of those who knew his hatred of the reformer. "The diet," said he, "must not forget its grievances against the court of Rome. How many abuses have crept into our states! The annats, which the emperor granted voluntarily for the good of Christianity, now exacted as a due; the Roman courtiers daily inventing new regulations to monopolize, sell, and lease the ecclesiastical benefices; a multitude of transgressions connived at; rich transgressors undeservedly tolerated, while those who have no money to purchase impunity are punished without mercy; the popes continually bestowing on their courtiers reversions and reserves, to the detriment of those to whom the benefices belong; the *commendams* of the abbeys and convents of Rome conferred on cardinals, bishops, and prelates, who appropriate their revenues, so that not a single monk is to be found in a convent where there should be twenty or thirty; stations multiplied to infinity, and stalls for the sale of indulgences set up in every street and public place of our cities—stalls of Saint Anthony, of the Holy Ghost, of Saint Hubert, of Saint Cornelius, of Saint Vincent, and so forth; companies purchasing at Rome the right to hold such markets, then buying permission of their bishop to display their wares, and squeezing and draining the pockets of the poor to obtain money; the indulgence, that ought only to be granted for the salvation of souls, and that should be earned by prayer, fasting, and works of charity, sold according to a tariff; the bishops' officials oppressing the lowly with penances for blasphemy, adultery, debauchery, and the violation of any festival, but not even reprimanding the clergy who commit similar crimes; penalties imposed on those who repent, and devised in such a manner that they soon fall again into the same error and give more money:¹these are some of the abuses that cry out against Rome. All shame has been put aside, and their only object is.....money! money! money!.....so that the preachers who should teach the truth utter nothing but falsehoods, and are not only tolerated, but rewarded, because the greater their lies the greater their gain. It is from this foul spring that such tainted waters flow. Debauchery stretches out the hand to avarice. The officials invite women to their dwellings under various pretexts, and endeavour to seduce them, at one time by threats, at another by presents, or if they cannot succeed, they ruin their good fame."² Alas! it is the

¹ Sondern dass er es bald wieder begehe und mehr Geld erlegen müsse. Weimar State Papers, Seckend. p. 384.

² Dass sie Weibsbilder unter mancherley Schein beschleichen, selbige sodann mit Drohungen und Geschenken zu fällen suchen, oder in einen bösen Verdacht bringen. Ibid. p. 384.

¹ Lutheranism haruam esse funditus evellendam. Palaeus, l. 101; Roscoe's Leo X. chap. 112.

scandal caused by the clergy that huris so many poor souls into eternal condemnation ! A general reform must be effected. An oecumenical council must be called to bring about this reform. For these reasons, most excellent princes and lords, I humbly entreat you to take this matter into your immediate consideration." Duke George then handed in a list of the grievances he had enumerated. This was some days after Aleander's speech. The important catalogue has been preserved in the archives of Weimar.

Even Luther had not spoken with greater force against the abuses of Rome; but he had done something more. The duke pointed out the evil; Luther had pointed out both the cause and the remedy. He had demonstrated that the sinner receives the true indulgence, that which cometh from God, solely by faith in the grace and merits of Jesus Christ; and this simple but powerful doctrine had overthrown all the markets established by the priests. "How can a man become pious?" asked he one day. "A gray friar will reply, By putting on a gray hood and girding yourself with a cord. A Roman will answer, By hearing mass and by fasting. But a Christian will say, Faith in Christ alone justifies and saves. Before works, we must have eternal life. But when we are born again, and made children of God by the Word of grace, then we perform good works."¹

The duke's speech was that of a secular prince; Luther's that of a reformer. The great evil in the church had been its excessive devotion to outward forms, its having made of all its works and graces mere external and material things. The indulgences were the extreme point of this course; and that which was most spiritual in Christianity, namely, pardon, might be purchased in shops like any other commodity. Luther's great work consisted in employing this extreme degeneration of religion to lead men and the Church back to the primitive sources of life, and to restore the kingdom of the Holy Ghost in the sanctuary of the heart. Here, as often happens in other cases, the remedy was found in the disease itself, and the two extremes met. From that time forward, the Church, that for so many centuries had been developed externally in human ceremonies, observances, and practices, began to be developed internally in faith, hope, and charity.

The duke's speech produced a proportionally greater impression, as his hostility to Luther was notorious. Other members of the diet brought forward their respective grievances, which received the support of the ecclesiastical princes themselves.² "We have a pontiff who loves only the chase and his pleasures," said they; "the benefices of the German nation are given away at Rome

to gunners, falconers, footmen, as grooms, guardsmen, and other peop class, ignorant, inexperienced, and to Germany."³

The diet appointed a committee up all these grievances; they were amount to a hundred and one. A de composed of secular and ecclesiastics presented the report to the emperor ing him to see them rectified, as engaged to do in his capitulation. a loss of Christian souls!" said Charles V.; "what depredations! tortions, on account of the scandals the spiritual head of Christendom rounded! It is our duty to prevent and dishonour of our people. For son we most humbly but most entreat you to order a general ref and to undertake its accomplish There was at that time in christia an unknown power operating on pri people alike, a wisdom from on hi encing even the adversaries of the tion, and preparing for that eman whose hour was come at last.

Charles could not be insensible t monstres of the empire. Neither the nuncio had expected them. I confessor had threatened him with geance of Heaven, unless he refor Church. The emperor immediately the edict commanding Luther's wr be burnt throughout the empire, an tuted a provisional order to deliv books into the keeping of the magis

This did not satisfy the assembl desired the appearance of the reform unjust, said his friends, to condemn without a hearing, and without lea his own mouth whether he is the books that are ordered to be bu doctrines, said his adversaries, have hold of men's minds, that it is imp check their progress, unless we fic from himself. There shall be no d with him; and if he avows his writi refuses to retract them, then we will one accord, electors, princes, estat holy empire, true to the faith of o tors assist your majesty to the utmo power in the execution of your decr

Aleander in alarm, and fearing ev from Luther's intrepidity and the i of the princes, instantly strained eve to prevent the reformer's appeara went from Charles's ministers to the most favourably inclined to the p from them to the emperor himself.⁴ not lawful," said he, "to question v sovereign pontiff has decreed. Th

¹ Büchsenmeistern, Falknern, Pfistern, E Stallknechten, Trabanten.....Kapp's Nachlese i Urkunden, III. 202.

² Dass eine Besserung und gemeine Reformatio Ibid. 202.

³ L. Opp. (L.) xlii. 367.

⁴ Quam ob rem sedulo contestatus est apud C ministros. Pallav. I. 113.

¹ L. Opp. (W.) xxi. 704, 705.
² Beckand. Vorrede von Frick.

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union with Luther, you say; but," he, "will not the energy of this man, the fire of his eyes, the eloquent language, and the mysterious which he is animated, be sufficient tumult?" Already many adore him, and in every place you may find him surrounded with a glory like encircles the heads of the blessed are resolved to summon him but at least do not put him under the of the public faith!" These latter were meant either to intimidate or prepare the way for his destruc-

cio found an easy access to the Spain. In Spain, as in Germany, ion to the Dominican inquisitors al. The yoke of the inquisition, en thrown off for a time, had just ed on their necks by Charles. A party in that peninsula sympa- Luther; but it was not thus with ea, who had discovered on the o Rhine what they had hated he- rences. Inflamed with the most iticism, they were impatient to new heresy. Frederick, duke of articular, was transported with ever he heard the Reformation. He would gladly have waded l of all these sectarians. Luther summoned to appear, but already re name powerfully stirred the istendom assembled at Worms. who thus moved all the powers seemed alone undisturbed. The Worms was alarming. Luther's a terrified. "There remains no us but your good wishes and vrote Melancthon to Spalatin. God would deign to purchase at f our blood the salvation of the rld!"⁴ But Luther was a stranger tting himself up in his quiet cell, dicated on and applied to himself s in which Mary, the mother of aims: *My soul doth magnify the ny spirit hath rejoiced in God my or he that is mighty hath done to ins; and holy is his name. He strength with his arm; he hath put ghty from their seats, and exalted degree.*⁵ These are some of the hat filled Luther's heart: "He utt.....says Mary. What great the part of a young girl! With rd she brands all the strong with ll the mighty with feebleness, all th fully, all those whose name is n earth with disgrace, and casts

all strength, all might, all wisdom, and all glory at the feet of God.¹ His arm, continues she, meaning by this the power by which he acts of himself, without the aid of any of his creatures: mysterious power!.....which is exerted in secrecy and in silence until His designs are accomplished. Destruction is at hand, when no one has seen it coming: relief is there, and no one had suspected it. He leaves His children in oppression and weakness, so that every man says: They are lost!.....But it is then He is strongest; for where the strength of men ends, there begins that of God. Only let faith wait upon him..... And, on the other hand, God permits his adversaries to increase in grandeur and power. He withdraws his support, and suffers them to be puffed up with their own.² He empties them of His eternal wisdom, and lets them be filled with their own, which is but for a day. And while they are rising in the brightness of their power, the arm of the Lord is taken away, and their work vanishes as a bubble bursting in the air."

It was on the 10th of March, at the very moment when the imperial city of Worms was filled with dread at his name, that Luther concluded this explanation of the *Magnificat*.

He was not left quiet in his retreat. Spalatin, in conformity with the elector's orders, sent him a note of the articles which he would be required to retract. A retraction, after his refusal at Augsburg!....."Fear not," wrote he to Spalatin, "that I shall retract a single syllable, since their only argument is, that my works are opposed to the rites of what they call the Church. If the Emperor Charles summons me only that I may retract, I shall reply that I will remain here, and it will be the same as if I had gone to Worms and returned. But, on the contrary, if the emperor summons me that I may be put to death as an enemy of the empire, I am ready to comply with his call;³ for, with the help of Christ, I will never desert the Word on the battle-field. I am well aware that these bloodthirsty men will never rest until they have taken away my life. Would that it were the papists alone that would be guilty of my blood!"

CHAPTER V.

Shall Luther have a Safe-conduct—The Safe-conduct—Will Luther come—Holy Thursday at Rome—The Pope and Luther.

At last the emperor made up his mind. Luther's appearance before the diet seemed the

spem, ardore vultus, et oris spiritu ad con-
suetum. Pallav. l. iii.
idem publicum illi prebendam. Ibid.
debatur aliquando furentibus modis agitari.
in mediat nostro sanguine salutem Christi-
an. Ref. l. xii.
k

¹ *Magnificat*. L. Opp. Wittenb. Deutsch. Aug. III. 11.
etc.

² Er zieht seine Kraft heraus und lässt sie von eigenem
Kraft sich aufblähen. Ibid. etc.

³ Si ad me occidendum deinceps vocare velit. eadem
me venturum. L. Opp. l. etc.

only means calculated to terminate an affair which engaged the attention of all the empire. Charles V. resolved to summon him, but without granting him a safe-conduct. Here Frederick was again compelled to assume the character of a protector. The dangers by which the reformer was threatened were apparent to all. Luther's friends, says Cochleus, feared that he would be delivered into the pope's hands, or that the emperor himself would put him to death, as undeserving, on account of his heresy, that any faith should be kept with him.¹ On this question there was a long and violent debate² between the princes. Struck at last by the extensive agitation then stirring up the people in every part of Germany, and fearing that during Luther's journey some unexpected tumult or dangerous commotion might burst forth in favour of the reformer,³ the princes thought the wisest course would be to tranquillize the public feelings on this subject; and not only the emperor, but also the Elector of Saxony, Duke George, and the Landgrave of Hesse, through whose territories he would have to pass, gave him each a safe-conduct.

On the 6th of March, 1521, Charles V. signed the following summons addressed to Luther:—

"Charles, by the grace of God Emperor elect of the Romans, always August, &c. &c.

"Honourable, well-beloved, and pious! We and the States of the Holy Empire here assembled, having resolved to institute an inquiry touching the doctrine and the books that thou hast lately published, have issued, for thy coming hither and thy return to a place of security, our safe-conduct and that of the empire, which we send thee herewith. Our sincere desire is, that thou shouldst prepare immediately for this journey, in order that within the space of the twenty-one days fixed by our safe-conduct, thou mayst without fail be present before us. Fear neither injustice nor violence. We will firmly abide by our aforesaid safe-conduct, and expect that thou wilt comply with our summons. In so doing, thou wilt obey our earnest wishes.

"Given in our imperial city of Worms, this sixth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1521, and the second of our reign.

"CHARLES.

"By order of my Lord the Emperor, witness my hand, ALBERT, Cardinal of Mentz, High-chancellor.

"NICHOLAS ZWIL."

The safe-conduct contained in the letter was directed: "*To the honourable, our well-beloved and pious Doctor Martin Luther, of the order of Augustines.*"

It began thus:

¹ Tanquam perdo heretico nulla sit servanda fides. Cochleus, p. 22.

² Longa consultatio difficilisque discrepatio. Ibid.

³ Cum autem grandis ubique per Germaniam fore totam excitatio ecclesiarum animarum commotio. Ibid.

"We, Charles, the fifth of that name, by the grace of God Emperor elect of Spain, always August, King of Spain, Two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Hungary, Dalmatia, of Croatia, &c., Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders, of the Tyrol," &c. &c.

Then the king of so many states, being that he had cited before him a fine monk named Luther, enjoined all lords, magistrates, and others, to respect his safe-conduct which had been given him in pain of the displeasure of the empire.

Thus did the emperor confer the "well-beloved, honourable, and pious man whom the head of the Church communicated. This document being thus drawn up, purposely to remove trust from the mind of Luther's friends. Gaspard Sturm was commended to bear this message to the reformer, to accompany him to Worms. The apprehending some outburst of publication, wrote on the 12th of March, magistrates of Wittenberg to provide security of the emperor's officer, and him a guard, if it was judged necessary. The herald departed.

Thus were God's designs fulfilled. His will that this light, which he had kindled in the world, should be set upon a lamp, emperor, kings, and princes, immediately began to carry out His purpose, knowing it. It costs Him little to kindle what is lowliest. A single act of His suffices to raise the humble native, and to lift him from an obscure cottage to the throne, in which kings were assembled. In 1521 there is neither small nor great, and at good time, Charles and Luther meet.

But will Luther comply with this summons? His best friends were doubtful. "Doctor Martin has been summoned to Worms; but I do not know whether he will come. I cannot augur any good." Three weeks later (on the 16th of March) this excellent prince, seeing the danger, wrote again to Duke John: "The cardinals and bishops are attacking Luther very harshly; God grant that all may come out well! Would to God that I could secure him a favourable hearing!"

While these events were taking place at Worms and Wittenberg, the Pope doubled his attacks. On the 28th of March (which was the Thursday before Easter) Rome re-echoed with a solemn excommunication. It was the custom to publish that season the terrible bull *In Cane*, which is a long series of maledictions against the heretics, and which approaches to the

¹ Lucas Cranach's Stammbuch, &c. herausgegeben von Meisner, p. 12.

² Die Cardinale und Bischöfe sind ihm hart zu Leide. p. 262.

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a sovereign pontiff was to officiate occupied with the papal guards, a crowd of people that had flocked from all parts of Italy to receive the son of the holy father. Branches of myrtle decorated the open space of the cathedral; tapers were lighted before the entrance of the temple, and there the scene was elevated. On a sudden echoes with the loud pealing of a pope, wearing his pontifical robes, seated in an arm-chair, appears on the throne; the people kneel down, all heads bowed, the colours are lowered, the ground their arms, and a solemn service. A few moments after, the pope stretches out his hands, raises his hands towards heaven, and then slowly turns towards the earth, making the sign of the cross. Thrice he repeats this service. Again the noise of bells reverberates through the air, proclaiming far and near the benediction of the pontiff; some move hastily step forward, each holding a taper in his hand: these they light, and after tossing them violently away, as if they were the flames of hell, the people are moved and agitated; words of malediction are hurled from the roof of the temple.¹

When as Luther was informed of this publication, he published its tenor, with remarks written in that cutting spirit which he was so great a master. This publication did not appear till afterwards, we will insert in this work of its most striking features. We read the high-priest of Christendom on the steps of the cathedral, and the Witte-monk answering him from the farthest of Germany.² It is something characteristic in the conduct of these two voices.

POPE.—"Leo, bishop".....

L.—"Bishop!.....yes, as the wolf is called: for the bishop should exhort to the doctrine of salvation, and not forth imprecations and maledictions".....

POPE.—"Servant of all the servants".....

L.—"At night, when we are drunk; in the morning, our name is Leo, lord of the Romans".....

POPE.—"The Roman bishops, our predecessors, have been accustomed on this to employ the arms of righteousness".....

L.—"Which, according to your ancient excommunication and anathema; according to Saint Paul, long-suffering, and love." (2 Cor. vi. 6, 7.)

remains as described in various works; among them "Festsbuch einer Reise durch Deutschland und Frankreich," 1817, iv. 94. The principal features are of the 15th century. Bull and Luther's commentary, see Die Bullen des Papstes, L. Opp. (L.) xviii. 1.

THE POPE.—"According to the duties of the apostolic office, and to maintain the purity of the christian faith".....

LUTHER.—"That is to say, the temporal possessions of the pope."

THE POPE.—"And its unity, which consists in the union of the members with Christ, their head,.....and with his vicar"....

LUTHER.—"For Christ is not sufficient: we must have another besides."

THE POPE.—"To preserve the holy communion of believers, we follow the ancient custom, and excommunicate and curse, in the name of Almighty God, the Father".....

LUTHER.—"Of whom it is said: *God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world.*" (John iii. 17.)

THE POPE.—"The Son, and the Holy Ghost, and according to the power of the apostles Peter and Paul.....and our own"....

LUTHER.—"Our own! says the ravenous wolf, as if the power of God was too weak without him."

THE POPE.—"We curse all heretics,—Garasi,¹ Patarins, Poor Men of Lyons, Arnoldists, Speronists, Passageni, Wickliffites, Hussites, Fratricelli".....

LUTHER.—"For they desired to possess the Holy Scriptures, and required the pope to be sober and preach the Word of God."

THE POPE.—"And Martin Luther, recently condemned by us for a similar heresy, as well as all his adherents, and all those whosoever they may be, who show him any countenance".....

LUTHER.—"I thank thee, most gracious pontiff, for condemning me along with all these Christians! It is very honourable for me to have my name proclaimed at Rome on a day of festival, in so glorious a manner, that it may run through the world in conjunction with the names of these humble confessors of Jesus Christ."

THE POPE.—"In like manner, we excommunicate and curse all pirates and corsairs".....

LUTHER.—"Who can be a greater corsair and pirate than he that robs souls, imprisons them, and puts them to death?"

THE POPE.—"Particularly those who navigate our seas".....

LUTHER.—"Our seas!.....Saint Peter, our predecessor, said: *Silver and gold have I none* (Acts iii. 6); and Jesus Christ said: *The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; but ye shall not be so* (Luke xxii. 25). But if a waggon filled with hay must give place on the road to a drunken man, how much more must Saint Peter and Christ himself give way to the pope!"

THE POPE.—"In like manner we excommunicate and curse all those who falsify our bulls and our apostolical letters".....

LUTHER.—"But God's letters, the Holy Scriptures, all the world may condemn and burn."

¹ This name has been altered; read Garasi or Garsari.

THE POPE.—“In like manner we excommunicate and curse all those who intercept the provisions that are coming to the court of Rome”.....

LUTHER.—“He snarls and snaps, like a dog that fears his bone will be taken from him.”¹

THE POPE.—“In like manner we condemn and curse all those who withhold any judiciary dues, fruits, tithes, or revenues, belonging to the clergy”.....

LUTHER.—“For Christ has said: *If any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also* (Matt. v. 40), and this is our commentary.”

THE POPE.—“Whatever be their station, dignity, order, power, or rank; were they even bishops or kings”.....

LUTHER.—“*For there shall be false teachers among you, who despise dominion and speak evil of dignities*, says Scripture.” (Jude 8.)

THE POPE.—“In like manner we condemn and curse all those who, in any manner whatsoever, do prejudice to the city of Rome, the kingdom of Sicily, the islands Sardinia and Corsica, the patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany, the duchy of Spoleto, the marquisate of Ancona, the Campagna, the cities of Ferrara and Benevento, and all other cities or countries belonging to the Church of Rome.”

LUTHER.—“O Peter! thou poor fisherman! whence didst thou get Rome and all these kingdoms? all hail, Peter! king of Sicily!.....and fisherman at Bethsaida!”

THE POPE.—“We excommunicate and curse all chancellors, councillors, parliaments, procurators, governors, officials, bishops, and others, who oppose our letters of exhortation, invitation, prohibition, mediation, execution.”.....

LUTHER.—“For the holy see desires only to live in idleness, in magnificence, and debauchery; to command, to intimidate, to deceive, to lie, to dishonour, to seduce, and commit every kind of wickedness in peace and security.....

“Oh Lord, arise! it is not as the papists pretend; thou hast not forsaken us; thou hast not turned away thine eyes from us!”

Thus spoke Leo at Rome and Luther at Wittenberg.

The pontiff having ended these maledictions, the parchment on which they were written was torn in pieces, and the fragments scattered among the people. Immediately the crowd began to be violently agitated, each one rushing forward and endeavouring to seize a scrap of this terrible bull. These were the holy relics that the Papacy offered to its faithful adherents on the eve of the great day of grace and expiation. The multitude soon dispersed, and the neighbourhood of the cathedral became deserted and

silent as before. Let us now return to Wittenberg.

CHAPTER VI.

Luther's Courage—Bagenhagen at Wittenberg—Melancthon's Desires to Luther—Amsdorf, Schurf and Sauer—Hüt V.

It was now the 24th of March. A imperial herald had passed the city in which Luther resided. Sturm waited upon the doctor, and the citation from Charles V. What a solemn moment for the reformer and his friends were in consternation. Without excepting Frederick the V declared for him. The knights, who had given utterance to their threats, the powerful Charles despised however, was not discomposed. “Papist,” said he, on seeing the angry friends, “do not desire my coming to but my condemnation and my death matters not! Pray, not for me, but Word of God. Before my blood be cold, thousands of men in the world will have become responsible for having it! The most holy adversary of Christ, the master, the generalissimo derers, insists on its being shed. Let God's will be done! Christ will his Spirit to overcome these miserable error. I despise them during my shall triumph over them by my. They are busy at Worms about come to retract; and this shall be my tion: I said formerly that the Christ's vicar; now I assert that Lord's adversary, and the devil's. And when he was apprized that all pits of the Franciscans and Dominicans sounded with imprecations and mal against him: “Oh! what deep feel!” exclaimed he.² He knew that done God's will, and that God was why then should he not set out with Such purity of intention, such liberal science, is a hidden but incalculable that never fails the servant of God, ders him more invulnerable than if by coats of mail and armed hosts.

At this time there arrived at Wittenberg a man who, like Melancthon, was to be Luther's friend all his life, and fort him at the moment of his death. This was a priest named Bugenhagen

¹ Denuntium et perditum. L. Epp. i. 288.

² Ut hoc Satanae ministro et contumacem vive mortem. Ibid. 279.

³ Quod mirum quam gaudeam. Ibid. 287.

⁴ Venit Wittenbergam paulo ante her Luther Wormatensis indicta. Melch. Adami Vita Bugenl

¹ Et sic wie ein Hund um ein Bein wilien. L. Opp. (L.) viii. 12.

ns of age, who had fled from the se-
which the Bishop of Camin and
Bogislas of Pomerania exercised on
ids of the Gospel, whether ecclesiast-
sions, or men of letters.¹ Sprung from
rial family, and born at Wollin in
nia (whence he is commonly called
aus), Bugenhagen had been teaching
ow from the age of twenty years.
ng eagerly crowded around him; the
nd the learned emulated each other
ing his society. He diligently studied
Scriptures, praying God to enlighten
One day towards the end of Decem-
ber, Luther's book on the *Captivity of*
was put into his hands as he sat at
with several of his friends. "Since
h of Christ," said he, after running
over the pages, "many heretics have
the Church; but never yet has there
such a pest as the author of this
Having taken the book home and
it two or three times, all his opinions
anged; truths quite new to him pre-
sented themselves to his mind; and on re-
some days after to his colleagues, he
The whole world is lying in the
darkness. This man alone sees the
Several priests, a deacon, and the
himself, received the pure doctrine of
a, and in a short time, by the power
preaching, they led their hearers
historian) back from human super-
to the sole and effectual merits of
Christ.⁴ Upon this a persecution
ut. Already the prisons re-echoed
groans of many individuals. Bugen-
dled from his enemies and arrived at
berg. "He is suffering for love to
pel," wrote Melancthon to the electo-
plain. "Whither could he fly, but
asylum), and to the protection
since?"⁵

so one welcomed Bugenhagen with
joy than Luther. It was agreed be-
hem, that immediately after the de-
of the reformer, Bugenhagen should
lecture on the Psalms. It was thus
Providence led this able man to sup-
sume measure the place of him whom
berg was about to lose. A year
Bugenhagen was placed at the head of
sch in this city, over which he pre-
sided for six years. Luther styled him in
dial manner *The Pastor*.
er was about to depart. His friends,
thought that if God did not inter-
a miraculous manner, he was going
in death. Melancthon, far removed
his native town, was attached to Luther

with all the affection of a susceptible heart.
"Luther," said he, "supplies the place of all
my friends; he is greater and more admir-
able for me than I can dare express. You
know how Alcibiades admired Socrates;¹
but I admire Luther after another and in a
christian fashion." He then added these
beautiful and sublime words: "Every time
I contemplate Luther, I find him constantly
greater than himself."² Melancthon desired
to accompany Luther in his dangers; but
their common friends, and no doubt the doc-
tor himself, opposed his wishes. Ought not
Philip to fill his friend's place? and if the
latter never returned, who then would there
be to direct the work of the Reformation?
"Would to God," said Melancthon, resigned,
yet disappointed, "that he had allowed me
to go with him."³

The impetuous Amsdorff immediately de-
clared that he would accompany the doctor.
His strong mind found pleasure in confront-
ing danger. His boldness permitted him to
appear fearlessly before an assembly of kings.
The elector had invited to Wittemberg, as
professor of jurisprudence, Jerome Schurf, the
son of a physician at St. Gall, a celebra-
ted man, of gentle manners, and very inti-
mate with Luther. "He has not yet been
able to make up his mind," said Luther, to
pronounce sentence of death on a single
malefactor."⁴ This timid man, however,
desired to assist the doctor by his advice in
this perilous journey. A young Danish stu-
dent, Peter Suaven, who resided with Me-
lancthon, and who afterwards became cele-
brated by his evangelical labours in Pome-
rania and Denmark, likewise declared that
he would accompany his master. The youth
of the schools were also to have their repre-
sentative at the side of the champion of
truth.

Germany was moved at the sight of the
perils that menaced the representative of her
people. She found a suitable voice to give
utterance to her fears. Ulrich of Hütten
shuddered at the thought of the blow about
to be inflicted on his country. On the
1st of April, he wrote to Charles V. himself:
"Most excellent emperor," said he, "you
are on the point of destroying us, and your-
self with us. What is proposed to be done
in this affair of Luther's, except to ruin our
liberty, and to crush your power? In the
whole extent of the empire there is not a
single upright man that does not feel the
deepest interest in this matter."⁵ The priests
alone set themselves against Luther, because
he has opposed their enormous power, their
scandalous luxury, and their depraved lives;

men, etiam et scholasticos in vincula conjecit.
de Vita Bugenagii, p. 213.
que adjuvant, quibus divinitus se regi ac doceri
videtur. p. 213.
sacris sanctioribus rebus; hic vir unus et solus
est. Ibid. p. 212.
satisfactionem ad unicum Christi meritum tradu-
cit. Ibid. p. 212.

¹ Alcibiades was convinced that the society of Socrates
was a support the gods had given him for his instruction
and security. Pintarch-Alcibiades.
² Quem quoties contempior, se ipso subinde majorem ju-
dico. Corp. Ref. l. 264.

³ Utinam licuisset mihi una profectus. Ibid. 265.

⁴ L. Opp. (W.) xlii. 207. 1618.

⁵ Neque enim quam late est Germania, ulli boni sunt, &c.
L. Opp. Lat. ii. 148, verso.

and because he has pleaded, in behalf of Christ's doctrine, for the liberty of our country, and for purity of morals.

"O emperor! discard from your presence these Roman ambassadors, bishops, and cardinals, who desire to prevent all reformation. Did you not observe the sorrow of the people as they saw you arrive on the banks of the Rhine, surrounded by these red-hatted gentry.....and by a band of priests, instead of a troop of valiant warriors?.....

"Do not surrender your sovereign majesty to those who desire to trample it under foot! Have pity on us! Do not drag yourself and the whole nation into one common destruction. Lead us into the midst of the greatest dangers, under the weapons of your soldiers, to the canon's mouth;¹ let all nations conspire against us; let every army assail us, so that we can show our valour in the light of day, rather than that we should be thus vanquished and enslaved obscurely and stealthily, like women, without arms and unresisting.....Alas! we had hoped that you would deliver us from the Roman yoke, and overthrow the tyranny of the pontiff. God grant that the future may be better than these beginnings!

"All Germany falls prostrate at your feet;² with tears we entreat and implore your help, your compassion, your faithfulness; and by the holy memory of those Germans who, when all the world was subject to Rome, did not bow their heads before that haughty city, we conjure you to save us, to restore us to ourselves, to deliver us from bondage, and take revenge upon our tyrants!"

Thus, by the mouth of this knight, spoke the German nation to Charles V. The emperor paid no attention to this epistle, and probably cast it disdainfully to one of his secretaries. He was a Fleming, and not a German. His personal aggrandizement, and not the liberty and glory of the empire, was the object of all his desires.

CHAPTER VII.

Departure for the Diet of Worms—Luther's Farewell—His Condemnation is posted up—Cavalcade near Erfurt—Meeting between Jonas and Luther—Luther in his former Convent—Luther preaches at Erfurt—Incident—Faith and Works—Concourse of People and Luther's Courage—Luther's Letter to Spalatin—Stay at Frankfurt—Fears at Worms—Plan of the Imperialists—Luther's Firmness.

It was now the 2d of April, and Luther had to take leave of his friends. After apprizing Lange, by a note, that he would spend the Thursday or Friday following at Erfurt,³ he

bade farewell to his colleagues.

Melancthon, he said with an agitated voice, "My dear brother, if I do not, I should my enemies put me to death to teach, and stand fast in the truth in my stead, since I shall no longer labour for myself. If your death will be of little consequence, committing his soul to the hands of a faithful, Luther got into the carriage at Wittenberg. The town-council had provided him with a modest conveyance, and an awning, which the travellers could remove at pleasure. The imperial eagle, rode on horseback attended by his servant. Next came Schurff, Amsdorff, and Suaven. The friends of the Gospel and the Wittenberg were deeply agitated, vowing God's aid, burst into tears, and Luther began his journey.

He soon discovered that gloomy thoughts filled the hearts of all his hearers. No respect was shown his magistrates merely presented him a customary cup of wine. At Namet a priest, probably J. Langer, with stern zeal, who carefully preserved a portrait of the famous Jerome (who was burnt at Florence in the order of Pope Alexander VI.), as a symbol of freedom and morality, as well as of the evangelical truth. Having seen the portrait of the Italian priest, he approached Luther, and he remained in silence. The latter under this mute representation was intimated, but his intrepid soul remained firm. "It is Satan," said he, "that would by these terrors, the confession of sin in the assembly of princes, for he would blow it would inflict upon his people." "Stand firm in the truth thou art called to," said the priest solemnly, "God will as firmly stand by thee!"

After passing the night at Weimar, where he had been hospitably entertained by the burgomaster, Luther arrived at Erfurt on the evening of the 10th. He had hardly been a minute in the town, when he was hailed by cries in every direction: it was the shout of his condemnation. "Look at the herald," he turned his head, and with astonishment saw the imperial heralds going from street to street, carrying with them the emperor's edict, commanding his writings to be deposited with the town magistrates. Luther doubted not that this notable display of severity was intended to frighten him from undertaking the journey, so that he might be condemned and refused to appear. "Well, doctor

¹ Dico non in manifestum potius periculum, duo in ferrum, duo in ignem. L. Opp. Lat. II. 182.

² Omnes nunc Germaniam quasi ad gremio provocatum habet. Ibid. 184.

³ L. Opp. I. 388.

¹ Terrorem hunc a Sathana abdi dicit asseri p. 117.

² Er wollte bey der erkandten Wahrheyt nicht anhalten....Mathaeus Historien. p. 21. 2d edition of 1568.

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ed the imperial herald in alarm. Luther; "although intercity, I shall go on! I rely on my safe-conduct."

Luther had an audience with the Elector of Saxony, here. The prince invited him and the reformer consented. Flowed from the doctor's agitated face, a Franciscan monk, who heard John Voit, the friend of Freus, was then converted to the doctrine. He left his convent, and somewhat later became a monk at Wittenberg. The Elector gave Luther the money necessary.

Luther the reformer proceeded to Wittenberg, which was the city of his youth. To meet his friend Lange, if not to him, he might enter the city. When about three or four miles from the city, near the village of Wittenberg, he received a troop of horsemen in the distance. Were they enemies? In a short time Crocius, a university, Eobanus Hesse, the anthon, and whom Luther knew as poets, Euricius Cordus, and others, to the number of twenty, members of the university, greeted him with acclamations. The inhabitants of Erfurth, on the road, and gave utterance to words which were eager to see the man who had declared war against the

at twenty-eight years old, by Jonas, had outstripped the others, after studying the law, had been appointed rector of that university in 1519. Receiving the light of the Gospel as shining forth in every man, had entertained the desire of being a theologian. "I think," wrote he, "that God has elected you to make known the glory of Christ." All his thoughts were now on Wittenberg and Luther. Here, when he was as yet a lawyer, who was a man of active and spirit, had set out on foot in a few friends, and had crossed the Rhine with robbers, and cities decimated by plague, in order to visit his father then at Brussels. Shall he not confront other dangers in the reformer to Worms? He begged the favour to be granted or consented. Thus met these who were to labour together all the task of renovating the

Church. Divine Providence gathered round Luther men who were destined to be the light of Germany: Melancthon, Amsdorff, Bugenhagen, and Jonas. On his return from Worms, Jonas was elected provost of the Church of Wittenberg, and doctor of divinity. "Jonas," said Luther, "is a man whose life is worth purchasing at a large price, in order to retain him on earth."¹ No preacher ever surpassed him in his power of captivating his hearers.—"Pomeranus is a critic," said Melancthon; "I am a dialectician, Jonas is an orator. Words flow from his lips with admirable beauty, and his eloquence is full of energy. But Luther surpasses us all."² It appears that about this time a friend of Luther's childhood, and also one of his brothers, increased the number of his escort.

The deputation from Erfurth had turned their horses' heads. Luther's carriage entered within the walls of the city, surrounded by horsemen and pedestrians. At the gate, in the public places, in the streets where the poor monk had so often begged his bread, the crowd of spectators was immense. Luther alighted at the convent of the Augustines, where the Gospel had first given consolation to his heart. Lange joyfully received him; Usingen, and some of the elder fathers, showed him much coldness. There was a great desire to hear him preach; the pulpit had been forbidden him, but the herald, sharing the enthusiasm of those about him, gave his consent.

On the Sunday after Easter the church of the Augustines of Erfurth was filled to overflowing. This friar, who had been accustomed in former times to unclothe the doors and sweep out the church, went up into the pulpit, and opening the Bible, read these words:—*Peace be unto you. And when he had so said, he showed unto them his hands and his side* (John xx. 19, 20.) "Philosophers, doctors, and writers," said he, "have endeavoured to teach men the way to obtain everlasting life, and they have not succeeded. I will now tell it to you."

This has been the great question in every age; accordingly Luther's hearers redoubled their attention.

"There are two kinds of works," continued the reformer: "works not of ourselves, and these are good; our own works, and they are of little worth. One man builds a church; another goes on a pilgrimage to St. Jago of Compostella or St. Peter's; a third fasts, prays, takes the cowl, and goes barefoot; another does something else. All these works are nothingness, and will come to nought; for our own works have no virtue in them. But I am now going to tell you what is the true work. God has raised one

at Erfordiam ingredit. L. Epp. l. 308.

et pervenerat, ibi Jonas,

l. primæque famæ Chori.

Eob. Hess. Marti Secunda.

quoddam electum ad illustrandam a. H. H.

Strom. Epp. v. 12.

¹ Vir est quem oportuit multo pretio emptum et servatum in terra. Weismann. l. 143.

² Pomeranus est grammaticus, ego sum dialecticus. Jonas est orator,..... Lutherus vero nobis omnibus actoribus, Knapp Narrat. de J. Jona. p. 51.

man from the dead, the Lord Jesus Christ, that He might destroy death, extirpate sin, and shut the gates of hell. This is the work of salvation. The devil thought he had the Lord in his power, when he saw Him hanging between two thieves, suffering the most disgraceful martyrdom, accursed of God and of men.....But the Godhead displayed its power, and destroyed death, sin, and hell.....

"Christ has vanquished! this is the joyful news! and we are saved by his work, and not by our own. The pope says differently: but I affirm that the holy mother of God herself was saved, neither by her virginity, nor by her maternity, nor by her purity, nor by her works, but solely by the instrumentality of faith and the works of God."

While Luther was speaking, a sudden noise was heard; one of the galleries cracked, and it was feared that it would break down under the pressure of the crowd. This incident occasioned a great disturbance in the congregation. Some ran out from their places; others stood motionless through fright. The preacher stopped a moment, and then stretching out his hand, exclaimed with a loud voice: "Fear nothing! there is no danger: it is thus the devil seeks to hinder me from proclaiming the Gospel, but he will not succeed."¹ At these words, those who were flying halted in astonishment and surprise; the assembly again became calm, and Luther, undisturbed by these efforts of the devil, continued thus: "You say a great deal about faith (you may perhaps reply to me): show us how we may obtain it. Well, I will teach you. Our Lord Jesus Christ said: *Peace be unto you! behold my hands*, that is to say, Behold, O man! it is I, I alone, who have taken away thy sin, and ransomed thee; and now thou hast peace, saith the Lord.

"I have not eaten of the fruit of the forbidden tree," resumed Luther, "nor have you; but we have all partaken of the sin that Adam has transmitted to us, and have gone astray. In like manner, I have not suffered on the cross, neither have you; but Christ has suffered for us; we are justified by God's work, and not by our own.....I am (saith the Lord) thy righteousness and thy redemption.

"Let us believe in the Gospel and in the epistles of St. Paul, and not in the letters and decretals of the popes."

After proclaiming faith as the cause of the sinner's justification, Luther proclaims works as the consequence and manifestation of salvation.

"Since God has saved us," continues he, "let us so order our works that they may be acceptable to him. Art thou rich? let thy goods administer to the necessities of the poor! Art thou poor? let thy services be acceptable to the rich! If thy labour is

useful to thyself alone, the service pretendest to render unto God is :

In the whole of this sermon the word about himself; not a single the circumstances in which he nothing about Worms, or Char nuncios; he preaches Christ, and C At this moment, when the eyes world are upon him, he has no himself: this stamps him as a tr of God.

Luther departed from Erfurth, through Gotha, where he preach sermon. Myconius adds, that as were leaving the church, the d down from the pediment some had not moved for two hundred y doctor slept at the convent of t times at Reinhardsbrunn, and fi proceeded to Eisenach, where he posed. Amsdorff, Jonas, Schur his friends were alarmed. He they tended him with the most anxiety, and John Oswald, the s the town, brought him a cordia having drunk a portion fell asle inigorated by this repose he w to continue his journey on the morning.

His progress resembled that o ous general. The people gazed tion on this daring man, who w lay his head at the feet of the e the empire.² An immense cro cagerly around him.³ "Ah!" "there are so many bishops and Worms!.....They will burn you, your body to ashes, as they did Huss." But nothing frightened "Though they should kindle a fir "all the way from Worms to V the flames of which reached to would walk through it in the n Lord,—I would appear before would enter the jaws of this Beh break his teeth, confessing the Christ."⁴

One day, just as he had ente and the crowd was pressing aron usual, an officer advanced and you the man that has undertaken the papacy? How can you hope to —"Yes," replied Luther, "I a I trust in God Almighty, whose commandment I have before me fier was touched, and looking a a milder air, said: "My dear f you say is a great matter. I am of Charles, but your Master is g mine. He will aid and prese Such was the impression produced

¹ L. Opp. (L.) xii. 688.

² Quosdamque iter faciebant, frequens erat

minum, videnda Lutheri stadia. Cochleus,

³ Iter facientem circumstant populi. Palla

L. 114.

⁴ Ein Feuer das bis an den Himmel reicht

⁵ Nun habt ihr einen grössern Herrn, den

¹ Agnosce hostias, hostis acerba, tuum. Hæm. Hist. iii.

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enemies were struck at the sight
 itudes that thronged around him;
 depicted his journey in far different
 The doctor arrived at Frankfort
 y the 14th of April.

the news of Luther's journey had
 Worms. The friends of the pope
 ght that he would not obey the
 summons. Albert, cardinal-arch-
 Mentz would have given any thing
 n on the road. New intrigues were
 tion to attain this result.

as Luther arrived in Frankfort,
 ome repose, and afterwards gave
 ce of his approach to Spalatin, who
 at Worms with the elector. This
 only letter he wrote during his
 "I am coming," said he, "although
 savoured to stop me on the road by
 Since I left Eisenach I have been
 state, and am still as I never was
 learn that Charles has published
 to frighten me. But Christ lives,
 I enter Worms in despite of all the
 ell, and of the powers of the air.²
 goodness, therefore, to prepare a
 r me."

xt day Luther went to visit the
 he learned William Nesse, a cele-
 grapher of that period. "Apply
 ty of the Bible, and to the investi-
 ruth," said he to the pupils. And
 ng his right hand on one of the
 and his left upon another, he pro-
 benediction on the whole school.
 r blessed the young, he was also
 of the aged. Catherine of Holz-
 widow far advanced in years, and
 d God, approached him and said:
 nts told me that God would raise
 who should oppose the papal vani-
 reserve His Word. I hope thou
 an, and I pray for the grace and
 t of God upon thy work."³

ere far from being the general
 in Frankfort. John Cochleus,
 e church of Our Lady, was one of
 devoted partizans of the papacy.
 ot repress his apprehensions when
 their pass through Frankfort on
 o Worms. He thought that the
 d need of devoted champions. It
 one had summoned him; but that
 ot. Luther had scarcely quitted
 hen Cochleus followed him, ready
 to sacrifice his life in defence of the
 the Church.⁴

*his multa propinatio, leta competatio, munda-
 scia: adeo ut Lutherus ipse alacris sonis tes-
 tamentum in eo oculis converteret, velut
 nam, sed rursus adhuc et cancellatus, equis
 scholæ, p. 39. In the tavern there was good
 rotations, and even the charms of music; so
 playing upon the harp, drew all eyes upon
 very Orpheus, and the more wonderful as he
 wore a cowl.
 a Wormatiensium, invitis omnibus portis inferni
 s ursum. L. Opp. l. 367.
 fens da der Verhörszene....Opp. Ellar. Ev.*

His transactum subsequitur, ut pro honore

The alarm was universal in the camp of
 the pope's friends. The heresiarch was ar-
 riving; every day and every hour brought
 him nearer to Worms. If he entered, all
 might perhaps be lost. Archbishop Albert,
 the confessor Glapio, and the politicians who
 surrounded the emperor, were confounded.
 How could they hinder this monk from com-
 ing? To carry him off by force was impos-
 sible, for he had Charles's safe-conduct.
 Stratagem alone could stop him. These art-
 ful men immediately conceived the following
 plan. The emperor's confessor and his head
 chamberlain, Paul of Amsdorff, hastily
 quitted Worms.¹ They directed their course
 towards the castle of Ebernburg, about ten
 leagues from the city, the residence of Francis
 of Sickingen,—that knight who had offered
 an asylum to Luther. Bucer, a youthful
 Dominican, chaplain to the elector-palatine,
 and who had been converted to the evangeli-
 cal doctrine by the disputation at Heidelberg,²
 had taken refuge in this "resting-place of
 the righteous." The knight, who did not
 understand much about religious matters,
 was easily deceived, and the character of the
 palatine chaplain facilitated the confessor's
 designs. In fact, Bucer was a man of pacific
 character. Making a distinction between
 fundamental and secondary points, he thought
 that the latter might be given up for the sake
 of unity and peace.³

The chamberlain and Charles's confessor
 began their attack. They gave Sickingen
 and Bucer to understand, that Luther was
 lost if he entered Worms. They declared
 that the emperor was ready to send a few
 learned men to Ebernburg to confer with
 the doctor. "Both parties," said they to the
 knight, "will place themselves under your
 protection." "We agree with Luther on all
 essential points," said they to Bucer; "it is
 now a question of merely secondary matters,
 and you shall mediate between us." The
 knight and the doctor were staggered. The
 confessor and the chamberlain continued:
 "Luther's invitation must proceed from you,"
 said they to Sickingen, "and Bucer shall
 carry it to him."⁴ Everything was arranged
 according to their wishes. Only let the too
 credulous Luther go to Ebernburg, his safe-
 conduct will soon have expired, and then
 who shall defend him?

Luther had arrived at Oppenheim. His
 safe-conduct was available for only three
 days more. He saw a troop of horsemen
 approaching him, and at their head soon re-
 cognised Bucer, with whom he had held
 such intimate conversations at Heidelberg.⁵

*Ecclesiam vitam suam.... exponeret. Cochleus, p. 39. This
 is the writer whom we quote so frequently.*

¹ Dass der Keyser seinen Reichtrater und Ihren Majest.
 Ober-Kammerling, zu Sickingen schickte. L. Opp. xvii. 367.

² See vol. I. p. 120.

³ Condocefaciebat *τὰ ἀσυναρτὰ* a probabilibus distin-
 guere, ut acirent que retinebada....M. Adami Vita Bucer,
 p. 221.

⁴ Dass er sollte den Luther zu sich fordern. L. Opp. xvii
 367.

⁵ Da kam Bucer zu, mit stillem Reutern. *Ibid.*

"These cavaliers belong to Francis of Sickingen," said Bucer, after the first interchange of friendship; "he has sent me to conduct you to his castle.¹ The emperor's confessor desires to have an interview with you. His influence over Charles is unlimited; everything may yet be arranged. But beware of Alexander!" Jonas, Schurff, and Amsdorff knew not what to think. Bucer was pressing; but Luther felt no hesitation. "I shall continue my journey," replied he to Bucer; "and if the emperor's confessor has anything to say to me, he will find me at Worms. I go whither I am summoned."

In the mean while, Spalatin himself began to be anxious and to fear. Surrounded at Worms by the enemies of the Reformation, he heard it said that the safe-conduct of a heretic ought not to be respected. He became alarmed for his friend. At the moment when the latter was approaching the city, a messenger appeared before him, with this advice from the chaplain: "Do not enter Worms!" And this from his best friend—the elector's confidant—from Spalatin himself!.....But Luther, undismayed, turned his eyes on the messenger, and replied: "Go and tell your master, that even should there be as many devils in Worms as tiles on the house-tops, still I would enter it!"² Never, perhaps, has Luther been so sublime! The messenger returned to Worms with this astounding answer. "I was then undaunted," said Luther, a few days before his death; "I feared nothing. God can indeed render a man intrepid at any time; but I know not whether I should now have so much liberty and joy."—"When our cause is good," adds his disciple Mathesius, "the heart expands, and gives courage and energy to evangelists as well as to soldiers."³

CHAPTER VIII.

Entry into Worms—Death-Song—Charles's Council—Capitlo and the Temporisers—Luther's numerous Visitors—Citation—Hütten to Luther—Luther proceeds to the Diet—Sa. Ing of Freudenberg—Imposing Assembly—The Chancellor's Speech—Luther's Reply—His Discretion—Saying of Charles V.—Alarm—Triumph—Luther's Firmness—Violence of the Spaniards—Advice—Luther's Struggles and Prayer—Strength of the Reformation—His Vow to the Scriptures—The Court of the Diet—Luther's Speech—Three Classes of Writings—He requires Proof of his Errors—Serious Warnings—He repeats his Speech in Latin—Here I stand: I can say no more—The Weakness of God stronger than Man—A new Attempt—Victory.

At length, on the morning of the 16th of April, Luther discovered the walls of the ancient city. All were expecting him. One absorbing thought prevailed in Worms.

Some young nobles, Bernard of Hilt Albert of Lindenau, with six kni other gentlemen in the train of the to the number of a hundred (if we lieve Pallavicini), unable to restri impatience, rode out on horseback him, and surrounded him, to form at the moment of his entrance. near. Before him pranced the herald, in full costume. Luther ca in his modest car. Jonas followed horseback, and the cavaliers were sides of him. A great crowd was for him at the gates. It was near when he passed those walls, from many persons had predicted he wou come forth alive. Every one was but as soon as the watchman on the the cathedral sounded his trumpet, into the streets to see the monk. was now in Worms.

Two thousand persons accompa through the streets of the city. The eagerly pressed forward to see him moment the crowd was increasing. much greater than at the public ent emperor. On a sudden, says an his man dressed in a singular costume, ing a large cross, such as is em funeral processions, made way thr crowd, advanced towards Luther, with a loud voice, and in that measured tone in which mass is sa repose of the soul, he sang these wo he were uttering them from the abo dead:—

Advenisti, O desiderabilis:
Quem expectabamus in tenebris!⁴

Thus a *requiem* was Luther's wel Worms. It was the court-fool of o dukes of Bavaria, who, if the story gave Luther one of those warnings at once with sagacity and irony, the history of these individuals fur many examples. But the shouts of titude soon drowned the *De Profundis* cross-bearer. The procession made with difficulty through the crowd. the herald of the empire stopped b hotel of the knights of Rhodes. sided the two councillors of the Frederick of Thun and Philip of Fe well as the marshal of the empire, Pappenheim. Luther alighted from and said as he touched the ground will be my defence."⁵—"I entero in a covered waggon, and in my gown," said he at a later period. people came out into the streets sight of Friar Martin."⁶

The news of his arrival filled Elector of Saxony and Alexander wit

¹ Und wollte mir überreden zu Sickingen gen Ebernberg zu kommen. L. Opp. xvii. 267.

² Wenn so viel Feind zu Worms wären, als Nadel auf dem Dächern noch wollt ich hinein. Ibid.

³ So wächst das Herz im Leibe....Math. p. 24.

⁴ At last thou'rt come, long looked-for one here waited for in the darkness of the grave. Vita Lutheri, p. 114.

⁵ Deme statit pro me. Pallav. l. 114.

⁶ L. Opp. xvii. 267.

and graceful Archbishop Albert, a middle position between the two as confounded at such boldness. possessed no more courage than uther, "it is true they would never me at Worms."

V. immediately summoned his The emperor's privy-councillors aired to the palace, for the alarm ed them also. "Luther is come," es; "what must we do?"

ishop of Palermo, and chancellor rs, replied, if we may credit the of Luther himself: "We have ulted on this matter. Let your ajesty get rid of this man at once. ligismund cause John Huss to be Ve are not bound either to give or the safe-conduct of a heretic."¹

id Charles, "we must keep our They submitted, therefore, to tho appearance before the diet.

he councils of the great were thus n account of Luther, there were ons in Worms who were delighted portunity of at length beholding rious servant of God. Capito, nd councillor to the Archbishop of s the foremost among them. This e man, who, shortly before, had the Gospel in Switzerland with dom,² thought it becoming the , then filled to act in a manner to his being accused of cowardice angelical, and of dissimulation by ists.³ Yet at Mentz he had pro- he doctrine of grace with much

At the moment of his departure, ceeded in supplying his place by a l zealous preacher named Hedio. of God was not bound in that city, t seat of the primacy of the Ger- ch. The Gospel was listened to mess; in vain did the monks on- , preach from the Holy Scriptures manner, and employ all the means wer to check the impulse given to ds: they could not succeed.⁴ But claiming the new doctrine, Capito to remain friendly with those who it. He flattered himself, as others areed in his opinions, that he might y be of great service to the Church. by their talk, if Luther was not all the Lutherans were not icated, it was owing to Capito's with the Archbishop Albert.⁵ dean of Frankfort, who reached out the same time as Luther, im-

mediately waited on Capito. The latter, who was, outwardly at least, on very friendly terms with Alexander, presented Cochleus to him, thus serving as a link between the two greatest enemies of the reformer.¹ Capito no doubt thought he was advancing Christ's cause by all these temporizing expedients, but we cannot find that they led to any good result. The event almost always baffles these calculations of human wisdom, and proves that a decided course, while it is the most frank, is also the wisest.

Meantime, the crowd still continued round the hotel of Rhodes, where Luther had alighted. To some he was a prodigy of wisdom, to others a monster of iniquity. All the city longed to see him.² They allowed him, however, a few hours after his arrival to recruit his strength, and to converse with his most intimate friends. But as soon as the evening came, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, ecclesiastics, and citizens, flocked about him. All, even his greatest enemies, were struck with the boldness of his manner, the joy that seemed to animate him, the power of his language, and that imposing elevation and enthusiasm which gave this simple monk an irresistible authority. But while some ascribed this grandeur to something divine, the friends of the pope loudly exclaimed that he was possessed by a devil.³ Visitors rapidly succeeded each other, and this crowd of curious individuals kept Luther from his bed until a late hour of the night.

On the next morning, Wednesday the 17th of April, the hereditary marshal of the empire, Ulrich of Pappenheim, cited him to appear at four in the afternoon before his imperial majesty and the states of the empire. Luther received this message with profound respect.

Thus everything was arranged; he was about to stand for Jesus Christ before the most august assembly in the world. Encouragements were not wanting to him. The impetuous knight, Ulrich Hütten, was then in the castle of Ebernburg. Unable to visit Worms (for Leo X. had called upon Charles V. to send him bound hand and foot to Rome), he resolved at least to stretch out the hand of friendship to Luther; and on this very day (17th April) he wrote to him, adopting the language of a king of Israel:⁴ "*The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee. Send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion. Grant thee according to thine own heart, and fulfil all thy counsel. Dearly beloved Luther! my venerable father!.....fear not, and stand firm. The counsel of the wicked has beset you, and they have opened*

¹ Majestati den Luther ante erote beyseit thäte n Rom.... L. Opp. xvii. 267.
² Book viii.
³ Nunquam vulgata vehementer calidum.... Lu-
menque discumbat. Cochleus, p. 36.
⁴ cum audisset veritatem, Verbum Dei alligatum
Omnem Hedio, Zw. Epp. p. 157.
⁵ In hoc districta dudum esset combustus, Lu-
therus, yaryu, nisi Capito aliter persuasisset
id. p. 165.

¹ Hic (Capito) illum (Cochleum) introduxit Hieronymus
Alexandro, nunci Leonis X. Cochleus, p. 36.
² Eadem die tota civitas solite confluit. Pallav. i. 114.
³ Ecce quid divinum suspicabatur; ex adverso alii
male demone obscuro existimabant. Ibid.
⁴ David in the 20th Psalm.

their mouths against you like roaring lions. But the Lord will arise against the unrighteous, and put them to confusion. Fight, therefore, valiantly in Christ's cause. As for me, I too will combat boldly. Would to God that I were permitted to see how they frown. But the Lord will purge his vineyard, which the wild boar of the forest has laid waste.....May Christ preserve you!"¹ Bucer did what Hütten was unable to do; he came from Ebernburg to Worms, and did not leave his friend during the time of his sojourn in that city.²

Four o'clock arrived. The marshal of the empire appeared; Luther prepared to set out with him. He was agitated at the thought of the solemn congress before which he was about to appear. The herald walked first; after him the marshal of the empire; and the reformer came last. The crowd that filled the streets was still greater than on the preceding day. It was impossible to advance; in vain were orders given to make way; the crowd still kept increasing. At length the herald, seeing the difficulty of reaching the town-hall, ordered some private houses to be opened, and led Luther through the gardens and private passages to the place where the diet was sitting.³ The people who witnessed this, rushed into the houses after the monk of Wittenberg, ran to the windows that overlooked the gardens, and a great number climbed on the roofs. The tops of the houses and the pavements of the streets, above and below, all were covered with spectators.⁴

Having reached the town-hall at last, Luther and those who accompanied him were again prevented by the crowd from crossing the threshold. They cried, "Make way! make way!" but no one moved. Upon this the imperial soldiers by main force cleared a road, through which Luther passed. As the people rushed forward to enter with him, the soldiers kept them back with their halberds. Luther entered the interior of the hall; but even there every corner was crowded. In the ante-chambers and deep recesses of the windows there were more than five thousand spectators,—Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and others. Luther advanced with difficulty. At last, as he drew near the door which was about to admit him into the presence of his judges, he met a valiant knight, the celebrated George of Freundsberg, who, four years later, at the head of his German lansquenets, bent the knee with his soldiers on the field of Pavia, and then charging the left of the French army, drove it into the Ticino, and in a great measure decided the captivity of the King of France. The old general, seeing Luther pass, tapped him on the shoulder, and shaking his head,

blanched in many battles, said his monk! poor monk! thou art no make a nobler stand than I or any; tains have ever made in the bloody battles! But if thy cause is just art sure of it, go forward in God's fear nothing! God will not forsake A noble tribute of respect paid rage of the sword to the court mind! *He that ruleth his spirit is he that taketh a city, were the king.*²

At length the doors of the opened. Luther went in, and welcomed many persons who formed of the diet. Never had man appeared so imposing an assembly. The Charles V., whose sovereignty extended great part of the old and new brother the Archduke Ferdinand, tors of the empire, most of whom now wear the kingly crown four dukes, the majority of independent sovereigns over countries less extensive, and among some whose names afterwards were able to the Reformation,—the Duke and his two sons; eight margraves archbishops, bishops, and abbots, bassadors, including those from France and England; the deputies free cities; a great number of princes and sovereign barons; the papal in all two hundred and four persons was the imposing court before which Martin Luther.

This appearance was of itself a tory over the papacy. The pope denounced the man, and yet there before a tribunal which, by this itself above the pope. The pope him under an interdict, and cut him off from all human society; and yet he was in respectful language, and received the most august assembly in the world; the pope had condemned him to perpetual and yet he was now about to sit thousands of attentive hearers drawn from the farthest parts of Christendom; immense revolution had thus been effected by Luther's instrumentality. Ready descending from her throne, was the voice of a monk that of humiliation.

Some of the princes, when the emotion of this son of the lowly Mansfeldt in the presence of the kings, approached him kindly, and said to him: "*Fear not the body, but are not able to kill the soul.*" another added: "*When ye shall be fore governors and kings for my sake*

¹ *Servet to Christus.* L. Opp. II. 175.

² Bucerus eodem venit. M. Adami Vita Buceri, p. 312.

³ Und ward also durch heimliche Gänge geführt. L. Opp. II. xvii. 674.

⁴ Doch lief das Volk häufig zu, und stieg sogar auf Dächer. Beck. p. 346.

¹ Mönchelein! mönchelein! du gehest jetzt einen solchen Stand zu thun, dergleichen ich Obrister, auch in unser allerercentesten Schulen nicht geübt haben.... Beck. p. 346.

² Proverbs xvi. 32.

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your Father shall speak in you." Thus the reformer comforted with his Master's words by the princes of this world. Meanwhile the guards made way for Luther. He advanced and stood before the face of Charles V. The sight of so august a assembly appeared for an instant to dazzle and intimidate him. All eyes were fixed on him. The confusion gradually subsided, and deep silence followed. "Say nothing," said the marshal of the empire to him, "because you are questioned." Luther was left alone.

After a moment of solemn silence, the chancellor of the Archbishop of Treves, John Eck, the friend of Alexander, and who did not feel confounded with the theologian of the same name, rose and said with a loud clear voice, first in Latin and then in German: "Martin Luther! his sacred and august imperial majesty has cited you to his throne, in accordance with the advice and counsel of the states of the holy Roman empire, to require you to answer two questions: First, Do you acknowledge these books to have been written by you?"—At the same time the imperial speaker pointed with his finger to about twenty volumes laid out on a table in the middle of the hall, directly in front of Luther. "I do not know they could have procured them," said Luther, relating this circumstance. It was the chancellor who had taken this trouble. "Silly," continued the chancellor, "Are you afraid to retract these books, and their contents, or do you persist in the opinions they have advanced in them?" Luther, having no mistrust, was about to answer the first of these questions in the affirmative, when his counsel, Jerome Schurff, by interrupting him, exclaimed aloud: "The titles of the books be read!" The Chancellor approached the table and read the titles. There were among them many devout works, quite foreign to the controversy. The enumeration being finished, Luther first in Latin, and then in German: "O most gracious emperor! Gracious princes and lords! The imperial majesty has asked me two questions."

"As to the first, I acknowledge as mine books that have just been named: I can say them."
"As to the second, seeing that it is a question which concerns faith and the salvation of the soul, and in which the Word of God, the most and most precious treasure either in heaven or earth,¹ is interested, I should act differently were I to reply without reflection. I might affirm less than the circum-

stance demands, or more than truth requires, and so sin against this saying of Christ:—*Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is heaven.* For this reason I entreat your imperial majesty, with all humility, to allow me time, that I may answer without offending against the Word of God."

This reply, far from giving grounds to suppose that Luther felt any hesitation, was worthy of the reformer and of the assembly. It was right that he should appear calm and circumspect in so important a matter, and lay aside every thing in this solemn moment that might cause a suspicion of passion or rashness. Besides, by taking reasonable time, he would give a stronger proof of the unalterable firmness of his resolution. In history we read of many men who by a hasty expression have brought great misfortunes upon themselves and upon the world. Luther restrained his own naturally impetuous disposition; he controlled his tongue, ever too ready to speak; he checked himself at a time when all the feelings by which he was animated were eager for utterance. This restraint, this calmness, so surprising in such a man, multiplied his strength a hundred-fold, and put him in a position to reply, at a later period, with such wisdom, power, and dignity, as to deceive the expectations of his adversaries, and confound their malice and their pride.

And yet, because he had spoken in a respectful manner, and in a low tone of voice, many thought that he hesitated, and even that he was dismayed. A ray of hope beamed on the minds of the partisans of Rome. Charles, impatient to know the man whose words had stirred the empire, had not taken his eyes off him. He turned to one of his courtiers, and said disdainfully, "Certainly this man will never make a heretic of me."¹ Then rising from his seat, the youthful emperor withdrew with his ministers into a council-room; the electors with the princes retired into another; and the deputies of the free cities, into a third. When the diet assembled again, it was agreed to comply with Luther's request. This was a great miscalculation in men actuated by passion.

"Martin Luther," said the Chancellor of Treves, "his imperial majesty, of his natural goodness, is very willing to grant you another day, but under condition that you make your reply *visâ voce*, and not in writing."

The imperial herald now stepped forward and conducted Luther back to his hotel. Menaces and shouts of joy were heard by turns on his passage. The most sinister rumours circulated among Luther's friends. "The diet is dissatisfied," said they; "the papal envoys have triumphed; the reformer

¹ So auch diesen Reichs-Gliedern sprachen Ihm einen Satz Christi's Worten, ein..... Matthew x. 26. 16. 26. Mark. p. 266.
sicher (ital.) überaus. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 266.
² Dies eine Frage vom Glauben und der Seelen Seligkeit und Gottes Wort belanget.....Ibid. 272.

¹ Hic certe nunquam effloret ut hereticum credendum. Pallav. l. III.

will be sacrificed." Men's passions were inflamed. Many gentlemen hastened to Luther's lodgings: "Doctor," said they, with emotion, "what is this? It is said they are determined to burn you!"¹ "If they do so," continued these knights, "it will cost them their lives!"—"And that certainly would have happened," said Luther, as, twenty years after, he quoted these words at Eisleben.

On the other hand, Luther's enemies exulted. "He has asked for time," said they; "he will retract. At a distance, his speech was arrogant; now his courage fails him.... He is conquered."

Perhaps Luther was the only man that felt tranquil at Worms. Shortly after his return from the diet, he wrote to Cuspianus, the imperial Councillor: "I write to you from the midst of the tumult (alluding probably to the noise made by the crowd in front of the hotel). I have just made my appearance before the emperor and his brother.².....I confessed myself the author of my books, and declared that I would reply to-morrow touching my retraction. With Christ's help, I shall never retract one tittle of my works."³

The emotion of the people and of the foreign soldiers increased every hour. While the opposing parties were proceeding calmly in the diet, they were breaking out into acts of violence in the streets. The insolence of the haughty and merciless Spanish soldiers offended the citizens. One of these myrmidons of Charles, finding in a bookseller's shop the pope's bull with a commentary written by Hütten, took the book and tore it in pieces, and then throwing the fragments on the ground, trampled them under foot. Others having discovered several copies of Luther's writing on the *Captivity of Babylon*, took them away and destroyed them. The indignant people fell upon the soldiers and compelled them to take to flight. At another time, a Spaniard on horseback pursued, sword in hand, through one of the principal streets of Worms, a German who fled before him, and the affrighted people dared not stop the furious man.⁴

Some politicians thought they had found means of saving Luther. "Retract your doctrinal errors," said they; "but persist in all that you have said against the pope and his court, and you are safe." Alexander shuddered with alarm at this counsel. But Luther, immovable in his resolution, declared that he had no great opinion of a political reform that was not based upon faith.

Glapio, the Chancellor ab Eck, and Alexander, by Charles's order, met early on the

morning of the 18th to concert the to be taken with regard to Luther.

For a moment Luther had felt when he was about to appear the day before so august an assembly. had been troubled in the presence of great princes, before whom nation bent the knee. The reflection that about to refuse to submit to the whom God had invested with power, disturbed his soul; and the necessity of looking for strength high. "The man who, when he is by the enemy, protects himself shield of faith," said he one day Perseus with the Gorgon's head.

looked at it fell dead. In like manner we present the Son of God to the devil.¹ On the morning of the 18th April, he was not without his material, in which the face of God shined from him. His faith grew, and enemies multiplied before him; his position was overwhelmed at the sight, his soul was as a ship tossed by a violent wind, which reels and sinks to the bottom of the abyss, and then mounts up again. In this hour of bitter sorrow he drinks the cup of Christ, and offers to him a little garden of Gethsemane falls to the earth, and utters the cries, which we cannot understand. We can figure to ourselves the deep anguish whence they ascend to God.

"O Almighty and Everlasting God, terrible is this world! Behold, in its mouth to swallow me up, and I have little trust in Thee!.....How weak is my flesh, and how powerful is Satan! the strength of this world only thou put my trust, all is over!.....My God is come,² my condemnation has pronounced!.....O God! O God!....do thou help me against all the powers of the world! Do this; thou shouldst.....thou alone.....for this is not my but Thine. I have nothing to do with this world! I should desire to see flow on peaceful and happy. But this is Thine.....and it is a righteous cause. O Lord! help me! Faith in the unchangeable God! In no man's my trust. It would be vain! All man is uncertain; all that cometh to pass.....O God! my God, hearest thou not?.....My God, art Thou dead? Thou canst not die! Thou hidest only! Thou hast chosen me for this! I know it well!.....Act, then, O God, stand at my side, for the sake of the beloved Jesus Christ, who is my shield, and my strong tower."

¹ Wie geht's; man sagt sie wollen euch verbrennen.....

L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 262.

² Hec hora coram Cesare et fratre Romano comitit. L.

Opp. i. 267.

³ Verum non eo optem quidem revocabo. Ibid.

⁴ Kappeler's Act. Urkunden, ii. 211.

¹ Also sollen wir den Sohn Gottes als Gorgo

L. Opp. (W.) xvii. 162.

² See L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 262.

³ Die Glosse ist schon gegeben; lit. the b

founder. Ibid.

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moment of silent struggle, he thus :
 "Where stayest Thou?.....O my
 ere art Thou?.....Come! come! I
 !.....I am ready to lay down my
 by truth.....patient as a lamb. For
 ause of justice—it is thine!.....I
 : separate myself from Thee, neither
 through eternity!.....And though
 d should be filled with devils,—
 y body, which is still the work of
 ds, should be slain, be stretched
 pavement, be cut in pieces.....re-
 ashes.....my soul is Thine!¹.....
 ave the assurance of Thy Word.
 belongs to Thee! It shall abide for
 Thee.....Amen!.....O God! help
 Amen!"

ayer explains Luther and the Re-
 History here raises the veil of
 uary, and discloses to our view the
 acc whence strength and courage
 arted to this humble and despised
 o was the instrument of God to
 te the soul and the thoughts of
 to open a new era. Luther and
 mation are here brought before us.
 ver their most secret springs. We
 ce their power was derived. This
 ge of a soul that offers itself up in
 of truth is to be found in a collec-
 cuments relative to Luther's appear-
 Vorns, under Number XVI., in the
 safe-conducts and other papers of a
 ature. One of his friends had no
 rheard it, and has transmitted it to
 In our opinion, it is one of the
 ous documents in all history.

se had thus prayed, Luther found
 e of mind without which man can
 thing great. He then read the
 God, looked over his writings, and
 o draw up his reply in a suitable
 he thought that he was about to
 mony to Jesus Christ and his Word,
 essence of the emperor and of the
 filled his heart with joy. As the
 his appearance was not far off, he
 r the Holy Scriptures that lay open-
 able, and with emotion placed his
 on the sacred volume, and raising
 towards heaven, swore to remain
 o the Gospel, and freely to confess
 even should he seal his testimony
 blood. After this he felt still more

o'clock the herald appeared and
 d him to the place where the diet
 ing. The curiosity of the people
 ased, for the answer was to be de-
 As the diet was occupied, Luther
 pelled to wait in the court in the
 an immense crowd, which heaved to
 ke the sea in a storm, and pressed
 mer with its waves. Two long

hours elapsed, while the doctor stood in this
 multitude so eager to catch a glimpse of him.
 "I was not accustomed," said he, "to those
 manners and to all this noise."¹ It would
 have been a sad preparation, indeed, for an
 ordinary man. But God was with Luther.
 His countenance was serene; his features
 tranquil; the Everlasting One had raised
 him on a rock. The night began to fall.
 Torches were lighted in the hall of the as-
 sembly. Their glimmering rays shone
 through the ancient windows into the court.
 Every thing assumed a solemn aspect. At last
 the doctor was introduced. Many persons
 entered with him, for every one desired to
 hear his answer. Men's minds were on the
 stretch; all impatiently awaited the decisive
 moment that was approaching. This time
 Luther was calm, free, and confident, with-
 out the least perceptible mark of embarrass-
 ment. His prayer had borne fruit. The
 princes having taken their seats, though not
 without some difficulty, for many of their
 places had been occupied, and the monk of
 Wittenberg finding himself again standing
 before Charles V., the chancellor of the
 Elector of Treves began by saying:

"Martin Luther! yesterday you begged
 for a delay that has now expired. Assuredly
 it ought not to have been conceded, as every
 man, and especially you, who are so great
 and learned a doctor in the Holy Scriptures,
 should always be ready to answer any ques-
 tions touching his faith.....Now, therefore,
 reply to the question put by his majesty,
 who has behaved to you with so much mild-
 ness. Will you defend your books as a
 whole, or are you ready to disavow some of
 them?"

After having said these words in Latin,
 the chancellor repeated them in German.

"Upon this, Dr. Martin Luther," say the
 Acts of Worms, "replied in the most sub-
 missive and humble manner. He did not
 bawl, or speak with violence; but with de-
 cency, mildness, suitability, and moderation,
 and yet with much joy and christian firm-
 ness."²

"Most serene emperor! illustrious prin-
 ces! gracious lords!" said Luther, turning
 his eyes on Charles and on the assembly,
 "I appear before you this day, in conformity
 with the order given me yesterday, and by
 God's mercies I conjure your majesty and
 your august highnesses to listen graciously
 to the defence of a cause which I am assured
 is just and true. If, through ignorance, I
 should transgress the usages and proprieties
 of courts, I entreat you to pardon me; for I
 was not brought up in the palaces of kings,
 but in the seclusion of a convent.

"Yesterday, two questions were put to me
 on behalf of his imperial majesty: the first,

¹ Des Geistes und Wesens war Ich gar nicht gewohnt,
 L. Opp. xvii. 554, 555.

² Behrte nicht sehr hoch heftig, sondern redet sich, still,
 klar, richtig und bescheiden. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 554.

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if I was the author of the books whose titles were enumerated; the second, if I would retract or defend the doctrine I had taught in them. To the first question I then made answer, and I persevere in that reply.

"As for the second, I have written works on many different subjects. There are some in which I have treated of faith and good works, in a manner at once so pure, so simple, and so scriptural, that even my adversaries, far from finding anything to censure in them, allow that these works are useful, and worthy of being read by all pious men. The papal bull, however violent it may be, acknowledges this. If, therefore, I were to retract these, what should I do?..... Wretched man! Among all men, I alone should abandon truths that friends and enemies approve, and I should oppose what the whole world glories in confessing.....

"Secondly, I have written books against the papacy, in which I have attacked those who, by their false doctrine, their evil lives, or their scandalous example, afflict the christian world, and destroy both body and soul. The complaints of all who fear God are confirmatory of this. Is it not evident that the laws and human doctrines of the popes entangle, torment, and vex the consciences of believers, while the crying and perpetual extortions of Rome swallow up the wealth and the riches of Christendom, and especially of this illustrious nation?.....

"Were I to retract what I have said on this subject, what should I do but lend additional strength to this tyranny, and open the floodgates to a torrent of impiety? Overflowing with still greater fury than before, we should see these insolent men increase in number, behave more tyrannically, and domineer more and more. And not only would the yoke that now weighs upon the christian people be rendered heavier by my retraction, but it would become, so to speak, more legitimate, for by this very retraction it would receive the confirmation of your most serene majesty and of all the states of the holy empire. Gracious God! I should thus become a vile cloak to cover and conceal every kind of malice and tyranny!.....

"Lastly, I have written books against individuals who desired to defend the Romish tyranny and to destroy the faith. I frankly confess that I may have attacked them with more acrimony than is becoming my ecclesiastical profession. I do not consider myself a saint; but I cannot disavow these writings, for by so doing I should sanction the impiety of my adversaries, and they would seize the opportunity of oppressing the people of God with still greater cruelty.

"Yet I am but a mere man, and not God; I shall therefore defend myself as Christ did. *If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil* (John xviii. 23), said he. How much more

should I, who am but dust and a who may so easily go astray, deem man to state his objections to my conduct.

"For this reason, most serene and you, most illustrious princes men of every degree, I conjure you by the mercy of God, to prove from the words of the prophets and apostles that I have acted thus. As soon as I am convinced of this, I will retract every error, and be the first to throw my books and throw them into the fire.

"What I have just said plainly shows, that I have carefully weighed the dangers to which I expose myself; but, far from being dismayed to see that the Gospel is now, as of old times, a cause of trouble and distress, this is the character—this is the nature of the Word of God. *I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword*, said Jesus Christ (x. 34). God is wonderful and terrible in his counsels; beware lest, by precluding dissensions, you should pervert the holy Word of God, and draw down upon yourselves a frightful deluge of insupportable dangers, of present disasters, and eternal desolation..... You should fear the reign of this young and noble prince, whom (under God) we build such expectations, not only should begin, but continue and close under the most favorable auspices. I might quote many sayings from the oracles of God," continue speaking with a noble courage in the presence of the greatest monarch of the time. "I might speak of the Pharaohs, of Babylon, and those of Israel, who have never more effectually contributed to their own destruction than when they heeded the counsels, to all appearance most strengthening their dominion. *God is on the mountains, and they know it not; we are turned in his anger* (Job ix. 5).

"If I say these things, it is not I who think that such great princes need advice, but because I desire to render Germany what she has a right to from her children. Thus, commending myself to your august majesty and to your serene highnesses, I humbly entreat you to suffer the hatred of my enemies out upon me an indignation that I merit."

Luther had pronounced these words with German modesty, but with warmth and firmness; he was obliged to repeat them in Latin. The emperor, like the German tongue. The impression which surrounded the reformer, and his own emotion, had been great. "I was in a great perspiration," he, "heated by the tumult, standing in the midst of the princes." Frederick

¹ This speech, as well as all the other expressions are taken literally from authentic documents. (L.) xvii. 776-780.

² Non clamose at modeste, non tamen sine auctoritate et constantia. L. Opp. Lat. II. 163.

¹ Nicht allein die Fenster, sondern auch Thür und Thor anstößte. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 873.

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uncillor to the Elector of Saxony, stationed by his master's orders at the reformer, to watch over him; violence might be employed against the condition of the poor monk, if you cannot repeat what you have will do, doctor." But Luther, after a pause to take breath, began again, and read his speech in Latin with the vigour as at first.¹

"I gave great pleasure to the Elector," says the reformer.

He had ceased speaking, the Chancellor Treves, the orator of the diet, said to him: "You have not answered the question put to you. You were not summoned to call in question the decisions of the diet. You are required to give a clear answer. Will you, or will you not?" Upon this Luther replied with hesitation: "Since your most serene and your high mightinesses require a clear, simple, and precise answer, I give you one,² and it is this: I cannot give my faith either to the pope or to the emperor, because it is clear as the day that they frequently erred and contradicted themselves. Unless therefore I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture, or by the reasoning,—unless I am persuaded by the passages I have quoted,—that they thus render my conscience against the Word of God, I cannot and I will not retract for it is unsafe for a Christian to go against his conscience." And then, standing upon this assembly before which and which held his life in its hands, he said: "HERE I STAND, I CAN DO NO OTHER; HELP ME! AMEN!"³

Constrained to obey his faith, led to his conscience to death, impelled by the necessity, the slave of his belief, and the slave still supremely free, like a vessel tossed by a violent tempest, and saved that which is more precious than life, runs and is dashed upon the rocks; he uttered these sublime words which will thrill our hearts at an interval of centuries: thus spoke a monk before the emperor and the mighty ones of the world; and this feeble and despised man, relying on the grace of the Most High, peared greater and mightier than his words contain a power against these mighty rulers can do nothing. The weakness of God, which is stronger than man. The empire and the pope in the one hand, and this obscure monk in the other, had met. God had brought these kings and these prelates to subvert their wisdom. The battle was over and the consequences of this defeat

of the great ones of the earth will be felt among every nation and in every age to the end of time.

The assembly was thunderstruck. Many of the princes found it difficult to conceal their admiration. The emperor, recovering from his first impression, exclaimed: "This monk speaks with an intrepid heart and unshaken courage."¹ The Spaniards and Italians alone felt confounded, and soon began to ridicule a greatness of soul which they could not comprehend.

"If you do not retract," said the chancellor, as soon as the diet had recovered from the impression produced by Luther's speech, "the emperor and the states of the empire will consult what course to adopt against an incorrigible heretic." At these words Luther's friends began to tremble; but the monk repeated: "May God be my helper; for I can retract nothing."²

After this Luther withdrew, and the princes deliberated. Each one felt that this was a critical moment for Christendom. The yes or the no of this monk would decide, perhaps for ages, the repose of the Church and of the world. His adversaries had endeavoured to alarm him, and they had only exalted him before the nation; they had thought to give greater publicity to his defeat, and they had but increased the glory of his victory. The partisans of Rome could not make up their mind to submit to this humiliation. Luther was again called in, and the orator of the diet said to him: "Martin, you have not spoken with the modesty becoming your position. The distinction you have made between your books was futile; for if you retracted those that contained your errors, the emperor would not allow the others to be burnt. It is extravagant in you to demand to be refuted by Scripture, when you are reviving heresies condemned by the general council of Constance. The emperor, therefore, calls upon you to declare simply, yes or no, whether you presume to maintain what you have advanced, or whether you will retract a portion?"—"I have no other reply to make than that which I have already made," answered Luther calmly. His moaning was understood. Firm as a rock, all the waves of human power dashed ineffectually against him. The strength of his words, his bold bearing, his piercing eyes, the unshaken firmness legible on the rough outlines of his truly German features, had produced the deepest impression on this illustrious assembly. There was no longer any hope. The Spaniards, the Belgians, and even the Romans, were dumb. The monk had vanquished these great ones of the earth. He had said no to the Church and to the empire. Charles V. arose, and all the assembly with him. "The diet will meet again to-morrow to hear

act. II. 166-167.
neque dentatum, neque cornutum. Ibid. p. 166.
you one that shall have neither horns nor tusk.
Ich; Ich kann nicht anders; Gott helfe mir.
 pp. (L.) xvii. 200.

¹ Der Mönch redet unerschrocken, mit getrostem Muth.
 Sect. 305.
² L. Opp. (W.) xv. 222.

the emperor's opinion," said the chancellor with a loud voice.

CHAPTER IX.

Tumult and Calmness—The Visage of Duke Eric—The Elector and Spalatin—The Emperor's Message—Proposal to violate the Safe-conduct—Violent Opposition—Enthusiasm in favour of Luther—Language of Conciliation—Fears of the Elector—Luther's numerous Visitors—Philip of Hesse.

NIGHT had closed in. Each man retired to his home in darkness. Two imperial officers formed Luther's escort. Some persons imagined that his fate was decided, that they were leading him to prison, whence he would never come forth but to mount the scaffold: an immense tumult broke out. Several gentlemen exclaimed: "Are they taking him to prison?"—"No," replied Luther, "they are accompanying me to my hotel." At these words the agitation subsided. Some Spanish soldiers of the emperor's household followed this bold man through the streets by which he had to pass, with shouts and mockery, while others howled and roared like wild beasts robbed of their prey.¹ But Luther remained calm and firm.

Such was the scene at Worms. The intrepid monk, who had hitherto boldly braved all his enemies, spoke on this occasion, when he found himself in the presence of those who thirsted for his blood, with calmness, dignity, and humility. There was no exaggeration, no mere human enthusiasm, no anger; overflowing with the liveliest emotion, he was still at peace; modest, though withstanding the powers of the earth; great in presence of all the grandeur of the world. This is an indisputable mark that Luther obeyed God, and not the suggestions of his own pride. In the hall of the diet there was one greater than Charles and than Luther. *When ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, take no thought how or what ye shall speak, saith Jesus Christ, for it is not ye that speak.*² Never perhaps had this promise been more clearly fulfilled.

A profound impression had been produced on the chiefs of the empire. This Luther had noticed, and it had increased his courage. The pope's ministers were provoked because John ab Eck had not sooner interrupted the guilty monk. Many lords and princes were won over to a cause supported with such conviction. With some, it is true, the impression was transient; but others, on the contrary, who concealed their sentiments at that time, at an after-period declared themselves with great courage.

Luther had returned to his home to recruit his body fatigued by trial. Spalatin and other friend him, and all together gave them. As they were conversing, a servant bearing a silver flagon filled with beer. "My master," said he, "I give it to Luther, "invites you to refresh self with this draught."—"My prince," said the Wittenberg doctor, "so graciously remembers me?" aged Duke Eric of Brunswick. "I was affected by this present from a lord, belonging to the prince," said the Wittenberg doctor. "His highness," continued the duke, "has condescended to taste it be it to you." Upon this Luther, thirsty, poured out some of the and after drinking it, he said: "Duke Eric has remembered me, Lord Jesus Christ remember him of his last struggle."¹ It was a trifling value; but Luther, desiring his gratitude to a prince who him at such a moment, gave him had—a prayer. The servant received this message to his master. At of his death the aged duke called to mind, and addressing a young Francis of Kramm, who was standing beside: "Take the Bible," said read it to me." The child read of Christ, and the soul of the dying comforted: *Whosoever shall give water to drink in my name, he shall have life, and shall not lose his reward.*

Hardly had the Duke of Brunswick gone away, when a messenger Elector of Saxony came with orders to come to him immediately. He had gone to the diet filled with grief. He had imagined that in the presence of the emperor, Luther's courage would fail; and hence he had been dismayed by the resolute bearing of the reformer. He was proud of being the protector of the man. When the chaplain arrived, the news was spread; the elector was down to supper with his court, the servants had brought in the news to their hands. As he saw Spalatin motioned him to follow, and he was alone with the chaplain in the chamber, he said: "Oh! how Frederick spoke before the emperor, and blessed the states of the empire! I only tremble should be too bold."² Frederick's resolution of protecting the cause courageously in future.

Aleander saw the impression produced; there was no time must induce the emperor to act. The opportunity was favourable.

¹ Subsecratiōne hominum Dei et longe regitū prosequenti
mat. l. c. c. p. l. c. l. 102.
² Mat. x. 19, 20.

¹ Also gedencke seiner unser Herr Christ
leiden Kampf. Sect. p. 324.
² O wie schön hat Vater Martinus geredet

was imminent. Leo X., desirous of saving his states, and caring little for the good of Christendom, was secretly negotiating two treaties at the same time,—one with Charles against Francis, the other with Francis against Charles.¹ In the former, he advised the emperor, for himself, the territories of Parma, Placentia, and Ferrara; in the second, he stipulated with the king for the portion of the kingdom of Naples, which was thus to be taken from Charles. The latter showed the importance of gaining Leo to his side in order to have his alliance in the war with his rival of France. It was a mere purchase of the mighty pontiff's friendship at the cost of Luther's life.

The day following Luther's appearance (April 19th), the emperor ordered a diet to be read to the diet, which he had written in French with his own hand.² "Dead to the christian emperors of Germany," said he, "from the catholic kings of France, from the archdukes of Austria, and the dukes of Burgundy, who have all renowned as defenders of the Roman Empire, I am firmly resolved to imitate the example of my ancestors. A single monk, by his own folly, has risen against the good of Christendom. To stay such impiety I sacrifice my kingdoms, my treasures, my lands, my body, my blood, my soul, my life.³ I am about to dismiss the same Luther, forbidding him to cause disorder among the people; I shall proceed against him and his adherents, obstinate heretics, by excommunication, interdict, and by every means called to destroy them.⁴ I call on the rulers of the states to behave like faithful vassals."

The emperor's address did not please every one. He was young and hasty, had not complied with the usual forms; he should first have dealt with the diet. Two extreme opinions immediately declared themselves. The friends of the pope, the Elector of Brandenburg, and several ecclesiastical princes, declared that the safe-conduct given to Luther could not be respected.⁵ "The Rhine," they said, "should receive his ashes, as it received those of John Huss a century ago." Charles, if we may credit an historian, repented in after-years that he did not adopt this infamous suggestion. "I should have said he, towards the close of his life, that I committed a great fault by allowing Luther to live. I was not to keep my promise with him; that

heretic had offended a Master greater than I,—God himself. I might and I ought to have broken my word, and to have avenged the insult he had committed against God: it is because I did not put him to death that heresy has not ceased to advance. His death would have stifled it in the cradle."⁶

So horrible a proposition filled the elector and all Luther's friends with dismay. "The punishment of John Huss," said the elector-palatine, "has brought too many misfortunes on the German nation for us ever to raise such a scaffold a second time."—"The princes of Germany," exclaimed even George of Saxony, Luther's inveterate enemy, "will not permit a safe-conduct to be violated. This diet, the first held by our new emperor, will not be guilty of so base an action. Such perfidy does not accord with the ancient German integrity." The princes of Bavaria, though attached to the Church of Rome, supported this protest. The prospect of death that Luther's friends had already before their eyes appeared to recede.

The rumour of these discussions, which lasted two days, circulated through the city. Party-spirit ran high. Some gentlemen, partisans of the reform, began to speak firmly against the treachery solicited by Alexander. "The emperor," said they, "is a young man whom the papists and bishops by their flatteries manage at their will."⁷ Pallavicini speaks of four hundred nobles ready to enforce Luther's safe-conduct with the sword. On Saturday morning placards were seen posted on the gates of houses and in the public places,—some against Luther, and others in his favour. On one of them might be read merely these expressive words of the Preacher: *Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child.*⁸ Sickingen, it was reported, had assembled at a few leagues from Worms, behind the impregnable ramparts of his stronghold, many knights and soldiers, and was only waiting to know the result of the affair before proceeding to action. The enthusiasm of the people, not only in Worms, but also in the most distant cities of the empire;⁹ the intrepidity of the knights; the attachment felt by many princes to the cause of the reformer, were all of a nature to show Charles and the diet that the course suggested by the Romanists might compromise the supreme authority, excite revolts, and even shake the empire.¹⁰ It was only the burning of a simple monk that was in ques-

lardini, lib. xiv. 175; Dumont, Corp. Dipl. vol. iv. i del papa Leone, che quando l'aveva fatto lega io. prima soleva dir che pero non si dovea restar con l'altro principe opposto. Suriano, Venetian letter at Rome, MS. in the archives of Venice. raphum in lingua Burgundica, ab ipso met enarochicus, p. 23.

thesaurus, amicos, corpus, sanguinem, vitam, us profundum. Pallav. l. i. 118.

edern Weges als zu verthigen. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. Lutherus das schlechte Geleit nicht möchte gehalten Beckend. p. 267.

¹ Sandoval, Hist. de Carlos V. quoted in Llorente's History of the Inquisition, ii. 57. According to Llorente, the supposition that, towards the end of his life, Charles inclined to evangelical opinions, is a mere invention of the Protestants and of the enemies of Philip II. This question is an historical problem which Llorente's numerous quotations seem unhappily to solve entirely in accordance with his statements.

² Eum esse puerum, qui nutu et blanditiis Papiatarum et Episcoporum trahatur quocunque velint. Cochleus, p. 33.

³ Eccles. x. 16.

⁴ Verum etiam in longinquis Germanie civitatibus, motus et murmura plebium. Cochleus, p. 33.

⁵ Es wäre ein Aufbruch daraus worden, says Luther. Thereupon an insurrection would have broken out.

tion; but the princes and the partisans of Rome had not, all together, sufficient strength or courage to do this. There can be no doubt, also, that Charles V., who was then young, feared to commit perjury. This would seem to be indicated by a saying, if it is true, which, according to some historians, he uttered on this occasion: "Though honour and faith should be banished from all the world, they ought to find a refuge in the hearts of princes." It is mournful to reflect that he may have forgotten these words when on the brink of the grave. But other motives besides may have influenced the emperor. The Florentine Vettori, the friend of Leo X. and of Machiavelli, asserts that Charles spared Luther only that he might thus keep the pope in check.¹

In the sitting of Saturday, the violent propositions of Alesander were rejected. Luther was beloved; there was a general desire to preserve this simple-minded man, whose confidence in God was so affecting; but there was also a desire to save the Church. Men shuddered at the thought of the consequences that might ensue, as well from the triumph as from the punishment of the reformer. Plans of conciliation were put forward; it was proposed to make a new effort with the doctor of Wittenberg. The Archbishop-elect of Mentz himself, the young and extravagant Albert, more devout than bold, says Pallavicini,² had become alarmed at the interest shown by the people and nobility towards the Saxon monk. Capito, his chaplain, who during his sojourn at Basle had formed an intimacy with the evangelical priest of Zurich, named Zwingle, a bold man in the defence of truth, and of whom we have already had occasion to speak, had also, there can be no doubt, represented to Albert the justice of the reformer's cause. The worldly archbishop had one of those returns to christian sentiments which we sometimes notice in his life, and consented to wait on the emperor, to ask permission to make a last attempt. But Charles refused every thing. On Monday, the 22d of April, the princes went in a body to repeat Albert's request. "I will not depart from what I have determined," replied the emperor. "I will authorize no one to communicate officially with Luther. But," added he, to Alesander's great vexation, "I will grant that man three days for reflection; during which time, you may exhort him privately."³ This was all that they required. The reformer, thought they, elevated by the solemnity of his appearance before the diet, will give way in a more friendly conference, and perhaps will be saved from the abyss into which he is about to fall

The Elector of Saxony knew the contrary, and hence was filled with apprehension. "If it were in my power," wrote he the next day to his brother Duke John, "I should be ready to defend Luther. You cannot imagine how far the partisans of Rome carry their attacks against me. Were I to tell you all, you would hear some most astonishing matters."⁴ They are resolved upon his destruction; and whoever manifests any interest for his safety, is immediately set down as a heretic. May God, who never abandons the cause of justice, bring all things to a happy end! Frederick, without showing his kindly feelings towards the reformer, confined himself to observing every one of his movements.

It was not the same with men of every rank in society who were then at Worms. They fearlessly displayed their sympathy. On Friday a number of princes, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, ecclesiastics, laymen, and of the common people, collected before the hotel where the reformer was staying; they went in and out one after another, and could hardly satisfy themselves with gazing on him.⁵ He had become the man of Germany. Even those who thought him in error were affected by the nobleness of soul that led him to sacrifice his life to the voice of his conscience. With many persons then present at Worms, the chosen men of the nation, Luther held conversations abounding in that salt with which all his words were seasoned. None quitted him without feeling animated by a generous enthusiasm for the truth. "How many things I shall have to tell you!" wrote George Vogler, private secretary to Casimir, margrave of Brandenburg, to one of his friends. "What conversations, how full of piety and kindness, has Luther had with me and others! What a charming person he is!"⁶

One day a young prince, seventeen years of age, came prancing into the court of the hotel; it was Philip, who for two years had ruled in Hesse. This youthful sovereign was of prompt and enterprising character, wise beyond his years, warlike, impetuous, and unwilling to be guided by any ideas but his own. Struck by Luther's speeches, he wished to have a nearer view of him. "He, however, was not yet on my side," said Luther, as he related this circumstance.⁷ He leapt from his horse, unceremoniously ascended to the reformer's chamber, and addressing him, said: "Well! dear doctor, how goes it?" "Gracious lord," answered Luther, "I hope all will go well." "From what I hear of you, doctor," resumed the landgrave smiling, "you teach that a woman may leave her husband and take another,

¹ Carlo si excusò di non poter procedere più oltre, rispetto al salvocondotto, ma la verità fu che concedendo che il Papa temeva molto di questa dottrina di Lutero, lo volle tenere con questo freno. Vettori, Istoria d'Italia. MS. in the Corsini Library at Rome, extracted by Ranke.

² Qui pio magis animo erat quam foris. Pallavicini, p. 118.

³ Quibus privatim exhortari hominem possent. Ibid. 118.

⁴ Wunder hören werden. Seckend. p. 285.

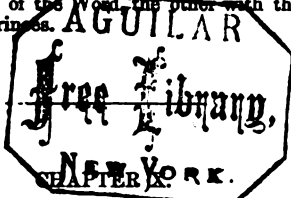
⁵ Und konnten nicht satt werden ihn zu sehen. L. Opp. xvii. 261.

⁶ Wie eine holdselige Person er ist. Mousel, Magas. 1. 307.

⁷ War noch nicht auf meiner Seite. L. Opp. xvii. 288.

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the former is become too old!" It was members of the imperial court who had is story to the landgrave. The ene- truth never fail to invent and propa- bles on the pretended doctrines of a teachers. "No, my lord," replied seriously; "I entreat your highness talk thus!" Upon this the young astily held out his hand to the doc- ok it heartily, and said: "Dear doc- ou are in the right, may God help He then left the room, sprung on e, and rode off. This was the first w between these two men, who were ds destined to be at the head of the tion, and to defend it,—the one with rd of the Word, the other with the princes.



with the Archbishop of Treves—Wehe's Kabor- Luther—Luther's Replies—Private Conversa- of Cochleus—Supper at the Archbishop's— at the Hotel of the Knights of Rhodes—A roposed—Luther's last interview with the Arch- /alt to a sick friend—Luther receives Orders to ms—Luther's Departure.

of Greiffenklau, archbishop of had with the permission of Charles taken the office of mediator. Rich- was on very intimate terms with tor of Saxony, and a good Roman- desired by settling this affair to service to his friend as well as to his

On Monday evening (22d April), uther was sitting down to table, a er came from the archbishop, inform- that this prelate desired to see him ext morning but one (Wednesday) lock.

aplain and Sturm the imperial he- ded on Luther before six o'clock on

But as early as four in the morning, had sent for Cochleus. The nuncio discovered in the man whom Capito duced to him, a devoted instrument ert of Rome, on whom he might upon himself. As he could not be at this interview, Aleander desired substitute. "Go to the residence hbishop of Treves," said he to the Frankfort; "do not enter into dis- vith Luther, but listen attentively t is said, so as to give me a faithful

The reformer with some of his rived at the archbishop's, where he e prelate surrounded by Joachim, of Brandenburg, Duke George of the bishops of Brandenburg and g, with several nobles, deputies of

the free cities, lawyers, and theologians, among whom were Cochleus and Jerome Wehe, chancellor of Baden. This skilful lawyer was anxious for a reformation in morals and discipline; he even went further: "the Word of God," said he, "that has been so long hidden under a bushel, must reappear in all its brightness."¹ It was this conciliatory person who was charged with the conference. Turning kindly to Luther, he said: "We have not sent for you to dispute with you, but to exhort you in a fraternal tone. You know how carefully the Scriptures call upon us to beware of the arrow that flieth by day, and the destruction that wasteth at noon-day. That enemy of mankind has excited you to publish many things contrary to true religion. Reflect on your own safety and that of the empire. Beware lest those whom Christ by his blood has redeemed from eternal death should be misled by you, and perish everlastingly.....Do not oppose the holy councils. If we did not uphold the decrees of our fathers, there would be nothing but confusion in the Church. The eminent princes who hear me feel a special interest in your welfare; but if you persist, then the emperor will expel you from the empire,² and no place in the world will offer you an asylum.....Reflect on the fate that awaits you!"

"Most serene prince," replied Luther, "I thank you for your solicitude on my account; for I am but a poor man, and too mean to be exhorted by such great lords."³ He then continued: "I have not blamed all the councils, but only that of Constance, because by condemning this doctrine of John Huss, *That the Christian Church is the assembly of all those who are predestined to salvation*,⁴ it has condemned this article of our faith, *I believe in the Holy Catholic Church*, and the Word of God itself. It is said my teaching is a cause of offence," added he; "I reply that the Gospel of Christ cannot be preached without offence. Why then should the fear or apprehension of danger separate me from the Lord and from that Divine Word which alone is truth? No! I would rather give up my body, my blood, and my life!"

The princes and doctors having deliberated, Luther was again called in, and Wehe mildly resumed: "We must honour the powers that be, even when they are in error, and make great sacrifices for the sake of charity." And then with greater earnestness of manner, he said: "Leave it to the emperor's decision, and fear not."

LUTHER.—"I consent with all my heart that the emperor, the princes, and even the

¹ Dass das Wort Gottes, welches so lange unter dem Scheffel verborgen gesteckt, heller scheine Beckend. p. 264.

² Und aus dem Reich vertrieben. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 523; Meiland, i. 97.

³ Agnosco enim me hominem, longe viliorum esse, quam ut a tantis principibus.... L. Opp. Lat. p. 101.

⁴ Ecclesia Christi est universitas predestinatorum. Deh.

t. mane hora quarta reaverit ad se Cochleus, undecet sciam....Cochleus, p. 26.

meanest Christian, should examine and judge my works; but on one condition, that they take the Word of God for their standard. Men have nothing to do but to obey it. Do not offer violence to my conscience, which is bound and chained up with the Holy Scriptures."¹

THE ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG.—"If I rightly understand you, doctor, you will acknowledge no other judge than the Holy Scriptures?"

LUTHER—"Precisely so, my lord, and on them I take my stand."²

Upon this the princes and doctors withdrew; but the excellent Archbishop of Treves could not make up his mind to abandon his undertaking. "Follow me," said he to Luther, as he passed into his private room; and at the same time ordered John ab Eck and Cochleus on the one side, and Schurff and Amsdorff on the other, to come after. "Why do you always appeal to Scripture," asked Eck with warmth; "it is the source of all heresies." But Luther, says his friend Mathesius, remained firm as a rock, which is based on the true rock,—the Word of the Lord. "The pope," replied he, "is no judge in the things belonging to the Word of God. Every Christian should see and decide for himself how he ought to live and die."³ They separated. The partisans of the Papacy felt Luther's superiority, and attributed it to there being no one present capable of answering him. "If the emperor had acted wisely," says Cochleus, "when summoning Luther to Worms, he would also have invited theologians to refute his errors."

The Archbishop of Treves repaired to the diet, and announced the failure of his mediation. The astonishment of the young emperor was equal to his indignation. "It is time to put an end to this business," said he. The archbishop pressed for two days more; all the diet joined in the petition; Charles V. gave way. Aleander, no longer able to restrain himself, burst out into violent reproaches.⁴

While these scenes were passing in the diet, Cochleus burned to gain a victory in which kings and prelates had been unsuccessful. Although he had from time to time dropped a few words at the archbishop's, he was restrained by Aleander's injunction to keep silence. He resolved to find compensation, and as soon as he had rendered a faithful account of his mission to the papal nuncio, he called on Luther. He went up to him in the most friendly manner, and expressed the vexation he felt at the emperor's resolution. After dinner, the conversation became animated.⁵ Cochleus urged Luther

to retract. The latter shook his head. Several nobles who were at the table could hardly contain themselves; they were indignant that the partiss should insist, not upon convincer Scripture, but on constraining Luther. "Well, then," said Cochleus to patient under these reproaches, dispute publicly with you, if you pronounce your safe-conduct."⁶ Luther demanded was a public What ought he to do? To refuse safe-conduct would be to endan throw doubts on the justice of his guests perceived in this proposed framed with Aleander, whom Frankfort had just quitted, Vollrat of Watzdorf by name, either from the embarrassment of so difficult a choice. This fiermant at a snare, the sole object to deliver Luther into the hand cuttioner,⁷ rose hastily, seized the priest, and pushed him out of the blood no doubt would have been other guests had not left the table moment, and mediated between knight and Cochleus, who tried alarm.⁸ The latter retired in to the hotel of the Knights of Rh probably it was in the heat of these words had fallen from there had been no preconcerted between him and Aleander to e into so treacherous a snare. The denies, and we are inclined to testimony. And yet just before Luther's lodging he had been in con Aleander.

In the evening, the Archbishop assembled at supper the persons attended that morning's conference thought that this would be a rebending their minds, and bringing closer together. Luther, so firm before arbitrators and judges, was so good-humoured and jovial might reasonably hope any thing. The archbishop's chancellor, who so formal in his official capacity, to this new essay, and toward the repeat proposed Luther's latter prepared to return the wine was poured out, and, his usual custom, he had made the cross on his glass, when suddenly in his hands, and the wine was the table. The guests were astonished must have contained poison!"

¹ Und wollte mit mir disputiren, ich Geleit aufsetzen. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 589.

² Atque ita traheret cum carnificibus. C Das ihm das Blut über den Kopf ge man nicht gewehret hätte. L. Opp. (L.) xv.

³ Es müsse Gift darinnen gewesen seyn speak of this circumstance; but Ræzelberg, ther's, and physician to the Elector John tions it in a manuscript in the library at that he had it from an eye-witness.

⁴ Sie wollten sein Gewissen, das mit Gottes Wort und heiliger Schrift gebunden und gefangen wäre, nicht dringen. Hist. p. 57.

⁵ Ja darauf stehe ich. L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 590.

⁶ Ein Christenmensch muss zusehen und richten....L. Opp. (L.) xvii.

⁷ He is Aleander scurrone conquectus est. Pallav. l. 120.

⁸ Furore praedito. Cochleus, p. 34.

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some of Luther's friends aloud. But the doctor, without betraying any agitation, replied with a smile: "My dear Sirs, either this wine was not intended for me, or else it would have disagreed with me." And then he added calmly: "There is no doubt the glass broke because after washing it it was dipped too soon into cold water." These words, although so simple, under such circumstances are not devoid of grandeur, and show an unalterable peace of mind. We cannot imagine that the Roman-catholics would have desired to poison Luther, especially under the roof of the Archbishop of Treves. This repast neither estranged nor approximated the two parties. Neither the favour nor the hatred of men had any influence over the reformer's resolution: it proceeded from a higher source.

On the morning of Thursday, the 25th of April, the Chancellor Wehe, and Doctor Peutinger of Augsburg, the emperor's councillor, who had shown great affection for Luther at the period of his interview with De Vio, repaired to the hotel of the Knights of Rhodes. The Elector of Saxony sent Frederick of Thun and another of his councillors to be present at the conference. "Place yourself in our hands," said with emotion both Wehe and Peutinger, who would willingly have made every sacrifice to prevent the division that was about to rend the Church. "We pledge you our word, that this affair shall be concluded in a christian-like manner."—"Here is my answer in two words," replied Luther. "I consent to renounce my safe-conduct.¹ I place my person and my life in the emperor's hands, but the Word of God.....never!" Frederick of Thun rose in emotion, and said to the envoys: "Is not this enough? Is not the sacrifice large enough?" And after declaring he would not hear a single word more, he left the room. Upon this, Wehe and Peutinger, hoping to succeed more easily with the doctor, came and sat down by his side. "Place yourself in the hands of the diet," said they. "No," replied he, "for *curved be the man that trusteth in man!*" (Jeremiah xvii. 5.) Wehe and Peutinger became more earnest in their exhortations and attacks; they urged the reformer more pressing. Luther, wearied out, rose and dismissed them, saying: "I will never permit any man to set himself above the Word of God."²—"Reflect upon our proposal," said they, as they withdrew; "we will return in the evening."

They came; but feeling convinced that Luther would not give way, they brought a new proposition. Luther had refused to acknowledge, first the pope, then the emperor, and lastly the diet; there still re-

mained one judge whom he himself had once demanded: a general council. Doubtless such a proposal would have offended Rome: but it was their last hope of safety. The delegates offered a council to Luther. The latter might have accepted it without specifying anything. Years would have passed away before the difficulties could have been set aside which the convocation of a council would have met with on the part of the pope. To gain time was for the reformer and the Reformation to gain every thing. God and the lapse of years would have brought about great changes. But Luther set plain dealing above all things; he would not save himself at the expense of truth, even were silence alone necessary to dissemble it.—"I consent," replied he, "but" (and to make such a request was to refuse a council) "on condition that the council shall decide only according to Scripture."³

Peutinger and Wehe, not imagining that a council could decide otherwise, ran quite overjoyed to the archbishop: "Doctor Martin," said they, "submits his books to a council." The archbishop was on the point of carrying these glad tidings to the emperor, when he felt some doubt, and ordered Luther to be brought to him.

Richard of Greiffenklau was alone when the doctor arrived. "Dear doctor," said the archbishop, with great kindness and feeling, "my doctors inform me that you consent to submit, unreservedly, your cause to a council."—"My lord," replied Luther, "I can endure every thing, but I cannot abandon the Holy Scriptures." The bishop perceived that Wehe and Peutinger had stated the matter incorrectly. Rome could never consent to a council that decided only according to Scripture. "It was like telling a shortsighted man," says Pallavicini, "to read very small print, and at the same time refusing him a pair of spectacles."⁴ The worthy archbishop sighed: "It was a fortunate thing that I sent for you," said he. "What would have become of me, if I had immediately carried this news to the emperor?"

Luther's immovable firmness and inflexibility are doubtless surprising; but they will be understood and respected by all those who know the law of God. Seldom has a nobler homage been paid to the unchangeable Word from heaven; and that, too, at the peril of the liberty and life of the man who bore this testimony.

"Well, then," said the venerable prelate to Luther, "point out a remedy yourself."

LUTHER, *after a moment's silence*.—"My lord, I know no better than this of Gamaliel: *If this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest*

¹ *Ich wollte das Geleit aufgeben....* L. Opp. (L.) xvii.

² *Ich wollte hartem Menschen über Gottes Wort nicht stehen.* L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 282.

³ *Das darüber aus der heiligen Schrift gesprochen.* L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 284.

⁴ *Ganz gut und mehr denn gnädig.* L. Opp. l. 284.

⁵ *Simulacrum conspectuorum omnium usum negare.* *Ibid.*

haply ye be found even to fight against God. Let the emperor, the electors, the princes, and states of the empire, write this answer to the pope."

THE ARCHBISHOP.—"Retract at least some articles."

LUTHER.—"Provided they are none of those which the Council of Constance has already condemned."

THE ARCHBISHOP.—"I am afraid it is precisely those that you would be called upon to retract."

LUTHER.—"In that case I would rather lose my life,—rather have my arms and legs cut off, than forsake the clear and true Word of God."¹

The archbishop understood Luther at last. "You may retire," said he, still with the same kind manner. "My lord," resumed Luther, "may I beg you to have the goodness to see that his majesty provides me with the safe-conduct necessary for my return."—"I will see to it," replied the good archbishop, and so they parted.

Thus ended these negotiations. The whole empire had turned towards this man² with the most ardent prayers and with the most terrible threats, and he had not faltered. His refusal to bend beneath the iron yoke of the pope emancipated the Church and began the new times. The interposition of Providence was manifest. This is one of those grand scenes in history over which hovers and rises the majestic presence of the Divinity. Luther withdrew in company with Spalatin, who had arrived at the Archbishop's during the interview. John Minkwitz, councillor to the Elector of Saxony, had fallen ill at Worms. The two friends went to visit him. Luther gave the sick man the most affectionate consolations. "Farewell!" said he, as he retired, "to-morrow I shall leave Worms."

Luther was not deceived. Hardly had he returned three hours to the hotel of the Knights of Rhodes, when the Chancellor ab Eck, accompanied by the imperial chancellor and a notary, appeared before him.

The chancellor said to him: "Martin Luther, his imperial majesty, the electors, princes, and states of the empire, having at sundry times and in various forms exhorted you to submission, but always in vain, the emperor, in his capacity of advocate and defender of the Catholic faith, finds himself compelled to resort to other measures. He therefore commands you to return home in the space of twenty-one days, and forbids you to disturb the public peace on your road, either by preaching or by writing."

Luther felt clearly that this message was the beginning of his condemnation: "As the Lord pleases," answered he meekly, "blessed

be the name of the Lord!" He then added: "Before all things, humbly and from the bottom of my heart do I thank his majesty, the electors, princes, and other states of the empire, for having listened to me so kindly. I desire, and have ever desired, but one thing—a reformation of the Church according to Holy Scripture. I am ready to do and to suffer everything in humble obedience to the emperor's will. Life or death, evil or good report—it is all the same to me, with one reservation—the preaching of the Gospel for, says St. Paul, the Word of God must not be bound." The deputies retired.

On the morning of Friday the 26th of April, the friends of the reformer with several lords met at Luther's hotel.³ They were delighted at seeing the christian firmness with which he had opposed Charles and the empire; and recognised in him the features of that celebrated portrait of antiquity:

*Justum ac tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatuor solida....*⁴

They desired once more, perhaps for the last time, to say farewell to this intrepid monk. Luther partook of a humble repast. But now he had to take leave of his friends, and fly far from them, beneath a sky lowering with tempests. This solemn moment he desired to pass in the presence of God. He lifted up his soul in prayer, blessing those who stood around him.⁵ As it struck ten, Luther issued from the hotel with the friends who had accompanied him to Worms. Twenty gentlemen on horseback surrounded his car. A great crowd of people accompanied him beyond the walls of the city. Some time after he was overtaken by Sturm, the imperial herald, at Oppenheim, and on the next day they arrived at Frankfurt.

CHAPTER XI.

The Conflict at Worms—Luther's Letter to Cranach—Luther's Letter to Charles V.—Luther with the Abbot of Hirschfeldt—The Parish Priest of Eisenach—Several Princes leave the Diet—Charles signs Luther's Condemnation—The Edict of Worms—Luther with his Parents—Luther attacked and carried away—The Ways of God—The Wartburg—Luther a Prisoner.

Thus had Luther escaped from these walls of Worms, that seemed destined to be his sepulchre. With all his heart he gave God the glory. "The devil himself," said he, "guarded the pope's citadel; but Christ has

¹ *Salutatis patronis et amicis qui cum frequentissimi con-
venerunt.* L. Opp. Lat. II. 60.

² The man that's resolute and just,
Firm to his principles and trust,

Nor hopes nor fears can bind,
Nor parties, for revenge engaged,

Nor threatenings of a court engaged,
Can shake his steady mind.—Hume, *Ed. M. &*

³ Seine Freunde gesegnet. *Mathesius*, p. 27.

⁴ *Wie Stumpf und Stiel fahren lassen....* L. Opp. (L.) xvii.

⁵ *Totum imperium ad se convocatum spectabat.* Fallav. *A. 1521*

made a wide breach in it, and Satan was constrained to confess that the Lord is mightier than he."¹

"The day of the Diet of Worms," says the pious Matthesius, Luther's disciple and friend, "is one of the greatest and most glorious days given to the earth before the end of the world."² The battle that had been fought at Worms resounded far and wide, and at its noise which spread through all Christendom, from the regions of the North to the mountains of Switzerland, and the towns of England, France, and Italy, many eagerly grasped the powerful weapons of the Word of God.

Luther, who reached Frankfort 'on the evening of Saturday the 27th of April, took advantage the next day of a leisure moment, the first that he had enjoyed for a long time, to write a familiar and expressive note to his friend at Wittenberg, the celebrated painter Lucas Cranach. "Your servant, dear gossip Lucas," said he. "I thought his majesty would have assembled some fifty doctors at Worms to convict the monk outright. But not at all.—Are these your books?—Yes!—Will you retract them?—No!—Well, then, be gone!—There's the whole history. O blind Germans!.....how childishly we act, to allow ourselves to be the dupes and sport of Rome!.....The Jews must sing their Yo! Yo! Yo! But a day of redemption is coming for us also, and then will we sing hallelujah!".....For a season we must suffer in silence. *A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again a little while, and ye shall see me,* said Jesus Christ (John xvi. 16). I hope that it will be the same with me. Farewell. I commend you all to the Lord. May he preserve in Christ your understanding and your faith against the attacks of the wolves and the dragons of Rome. Amen!"

After having written this somewhat enigmatical letter, Luther, as the time pressed, immediately set out for Friedberg, which is six leagues distant from Frankfort. On the next day Luther again collected his thoughts. He desired to write once more to Charles, as he had no wish to be confounded with guilty rebels. In his letter to the emperor he set forth clearly what is the obedience due to kings, and that which is due to God, and what is the limit at which the former should cease and give place to the latter. As we read this epistle, we are involuntarily reminded of the words of the greatest autocrat of modern times: "My dominion ends where that of conscience begins."⁴

"God, who is the searcher of hearts, is my witness," says Luther, "that I am ready most earnestly to obey your majesty, in honour or in dishonour, in life or in death, and with no exception save the Word of God, by which man lives. In all the affairs of this present life, my fidelity shall be unshaken, for here to lose or to gain is of no consequence to salvation. But when eternal interests are concerned, God wills not that man should submit unto man. For such submission in spiritual matters is a real worship, and ought to be rendered solely to the Creator."¹

Luther wrote also, but in German, a letter addressed to the states of the empire. Its contents were nearly similar to that which he had just written to the emperor. In it he related all that had passed at Worms. This letter was copied several times and circulated throughout Germany; "every where," says Cochleus, "it excited the indignation of the people against the emperor and the superior clergy."²

Early the next day Luther wrote a note to Spalatin, enclosing the two letters he had written the evening before; he sent back to Worms the herald Sturm, won over to the cause of the Gospel; and after embracing him, departed hastily for Grunberg.

On Tuesday, at about two leagues from Hirschfeldt, he met the chancellor of the prince-abbot of that town, who came to welcome him. Soon after there appeared a troop of horsemen with the abbot at their head. The latter dismounted, and Luther got out of his waggon. The prince and the reformer embraced, and afterwards entered Hirschfeldt together. The senate received them at the gates of the city.³ The princes of the Church came out to meet a monk anathematized by the pope, and the chief men of the people bent their heads before a man under the ban of the emperor.

"At five in the morning we shall be at church," said the prince at night as he rose from the table to which he had invited the reformer. The abbot insisted on his sleeping in his own bed. The next day Luther preached, and this dignitary of the church, with all his train, escorted him on his way.

In the evening Luther reached Eisenach, the scene of his childhood. All his friends in this city surrounded him, entreating him to preach, and the next day accompanied him to the church. Upon this the priest of the parish appeared, attended by a notary and witnesses; he came forward trembling, divided between the fear of losing his place, and of opposing the powerful man that stood before him. "I protest against the liberty that you are taking," said the priest at last,

¹ Aber Christus macht ein Loch darin. L. Opp. (L.) xvi. 528.

² Dies ist der herrlichen grossen Tag einer vorm Ende der Welt. Matthes. p. 22.

³ Es schienen die Juden einmal singen: Io, Io, Io!...L. Opp. i. 227. The shouts of joy uttered by the Jews at the time of the crucifixion replaced the triumphal songs of the papal partisans at the catastrophe that awaited Luther; but the reformer heard in the distance the hallelujahs of deliverance.

⁴ Recedens to the Protestant deputation after his accession to the empire.

¹ Nam ex fides et submissio proprie est vera illa laetitia et adoratio Dei....L. Opp. i. 527.

² Per chalcographos multiplicata et in populos dispersa est ea epistola....Umsari autem et clericali odium populare, &c. Cochleus, p. 22.

³ Senatus intra portas nos excepit. L. Opp. ii. 2.

in an embarrassed tone. Luther went up into the pulpit, and that voice which, twenty-three years before, had sung in the streets of this town to procure a morsel of bread, sounded beneath the arched roof of the ancient church those notes that were beginning to agitate the world. After the sermon, the priest with confusion went up to Luther. The notary had drawn up the protest, the witnesses had signed it, all was properly arranged to secure the incumbent's place. "Pardon me," said he to the doctor humbly; "I am acting thus to protect me from the resentment of the tyrants who oppress the Church."¹

And there were in truth strong grounds for apprehension. The aspect of affairs at Worms was changed: Aleander alone seemed to rule there. "Banishment is Luther's only prospect," wrote Frederick to his brother, Duke John; "nothing can save him. If God permits me to return to you, I shall have matters to relate that are almost beyond belief. It is not only Annas and Caiaphas, but Pilate and Herod also, that have combined against him." Frederick had little desire to remain longer at Worms; he departed, and the elector-palatine did the same. The elector-archbishop of Cologne also quitted the diet. Their example was followed by many princes of inferior rank. As they deemed it impossible to avert the blow, they preferred (and in this perhaps they were wrong) abandoning the place. The Spaniards, the Italians, and the most *ultra-montane* German princes alone remained.

The field was now free—Aleander triumphed. He laid before Charles the outline of an edict intended by him as a model of that which the diet ought to issue against the monk. The nuncio's project pleased the exasperated emperor. He assembled the remaining members of the diet in his chamber, and there had Aleander's edict read over to them; it was accepted (Pallavicini informs us) by all who were present.

The next day, which was a great festival, the emperor went to the cathedral, attended by all the lords of his court. When the religious ceremonies were over, and a crowd of people still thronged the sanctuary, Aleander, robed in all the insignia of his dignity, approached Charles V.² He held in his hand two copies of the edict against Luther, one in Latin, the other in German, and kneeling before his imperial majesty, entreated him to affix to them his signature and the seal of the empire. It was at the moment when the sacrifice had been offered, when the incense still filled the temple, while the sacred chants were still re-echoing through its long-drawn aisles, and as it were in the presence of the Deity, that the destruction of the

enemy of Rome was to be sealed by the emperor, assuming a very gracious pen and wrote his name. He withdrew in triumph, immediately gave decrees to the printers, and forwarded every part of Christendom.³ The act of the toils of Rome had cost no little trouble. Pallavicini informs us, that this edict, although bearing date 8th of May, was not signed till 17th, and was antedated to make it appear that the signature was affixed at a period when the members of the diet were assembled.

"We, CHARLES THE FIFTH," said the emperor (and then came his titles: emperor, princes, prelates, and so on) it may concern.

"The Almighty having conferred upon me for the defence of the holy faith, and for the maintenance of the dominions and greater authority than has been given to any of our predecessors, employing every means in our power to extend our holy empire from being any heresy.

"The Augustine monk, Martin Luther, notwithstanding our exhortation, like a madman on our holy Church, attempted to destroy it by books full of blasphemy. He has shaken the indestructible law of God; he has endeavoured to lead the laity to dye their hands in the blood of the clergy;⁴ and, setting at naught the authority, has incessantly urged the revolt, schism, war, murder, robbery, and to the utter ruin of the faith. In a word, not to mention other evil practices, this man, Luther, truth not a man, but Satan himself in the form of a man and dressed in a frock,⁵ has collected into one stir all the vilest heresies of past times, and added to them new ones of his own.

"We have therefore dismissed him from our presence this Luther, whom all sensible men deem a madman, possessed by the devil; and we enjoin the expiration of his safe-conduct, and recourse be had to effectual measures to suppress his furious rage.

"For this reason, under pain of the penalties due to the crime of treason, we forbid you to harbour him, either after the appointed term shall have expired, to conceal him, to give him food, to furnish him, by word or by deed, or secretly, with any kind of succour. We enjoin you, moreover, to cause him to be seized, where he may be found, to bring him before us without any delay, or to keep him in a

¹ Humiliter tamen excusante....ob metum tyrannorum suorum. L. Epp. II. 4.
² In templo Caesaris adesse....processit illi obviam Aleander. Pallav. I. 122.

³ Festivissimo vultu. Pallav. I. 122.

⁴ Et undique pervulgata. Ibid.

⁵ Ihre Hände in der Priester Blut zu tauchen. (L.) xvii. 688.

⁶ Nicht ein Mensch, sondern als der böse Geist eines Menschen mit angenommener Gestalt. Ibid.

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you have learned from us in what manner are to act towards him, and have the reward due to your labours in your work.

For his adherents, you will apprehend and confine them, and confiscate their pro-

cess for his writings, if the best nutriment is the detestation of all men as soon as a drop of poison is mingled with it, how much more ought such books, which contain only poison for the soul, be not only read, but destroyed! You will therefore burn them, or utterly destroy them in any manner.

As for the authors, poets, printers, painters or sellers of placards, papers, or books, against the pope or the Church, you will seize them, body and goods, and will deal with them according to your good pleasure. And if any person, whatever be his dignity, should dare act in contradiction to the decree of our imperial majesty, we will have him to be placed under the ban of the empire.

Let every man behave according to this decree.

It was the edict signed in the cathedral of Worms. It was more than a bull which, although published in Italy, was not to be executed in Germany. The pope or himself had spoken, and the diet had given his decree. All the partisans of the emperor burst into a shout of triumph. "It is the end of the tragedy!" exclaimed they.—"In my opinion," said Alphonso Valdez, a friend at Charles's court, "it is not the end, but only the beginning."¹ Valdez perceived that the movement was in the Church, and in the people, and in the age, and that, even if Luther perish, his cause would not die with him. But no one was blind to the imminent and inevitable danger in which the reformer himself was placed; the great majority of superstitious people were filled with horror at the thought of the incarnate devil, covered with a monk's habit, whom the emperor pointed out to the

people as a man against whom the mighty ones of earth were thus forging their thunderbolts. He had quitted the church of Eisenach, and was preparing to bid farewell to some of his dearest friends. He did not take the road to Gotha and Erfurt, but proceeded to the village of Mora, his father's native place, more to see his aged grandmother, who four months after, and to visit his uncle, John Luther, and some other relations. His wife, Jonas, and Suaven set out for Wittenberg; Luther got into the waggon with Amsdorff, who still remained with him, and rode the forests of Thuringia.² The same evening he arrived at the village of Waltershausen. The poor old peasant clasped

in her arms that grandson who had withstood Charles the emperor and Leo the pope. Luther spent the next day with his relations; happy, after the tumult at Worms, in this sweet tranquillity. On the next morning he resumed his journey, accompanied by Amsdorff and his brother James. In this lonely spot the reformer's fate was to be decided. They skirted the woods of Thuringia, following the road to Waltershausen. As the waggon was moving through a hollow way, near the deserted church of Glisbach, at a short distance from the castle of Altenstein, a sudden noise was heard, and immediately five horsemen, masked and armed from head to foot, sprung upon the travellers. His brother James, as soon as he caught sight of the assailants, leaped from the waggon and ran away as fast as his legs would carry him, without uttering a single word. The driver would have resisted. "Stop!" cried one of the strangers with a terrible voice, falling upon him and throwing him to the ground.³ A second mask laid hold of Amsdorff and kept him at a distance. Meanwhile the three remaining horsemen seized upon Luther, maintaining a profound silence. They pulled him violently from the waggon, threw a military cloak over his shoulders, and placed him on a led horse. The two other masks now quitted Amsdorff and the waggoner; all five leaped to their saddles—one dropped his hat, but they did not even stop to pick it up—and in the twinkling of an eye vanished with their prisoner into the gloomy forest. At first they took the road to Broderode, but soon retraced their steps by another path; and without quitting the wood, made so many windings in every direction as utterly to baffle any attempt to track them. Luther, little accustomed to be on horseback, was soon overcome with fatigue.⁴ They permitted him to alight for a few minutes: he lay down near a beech-tree, where he drank some water from a spring which is still called after his name. His brother James, continuing his flight, arrived at Waltershausen in the evening. The affrighted waggoner jumped into the car, which Amsdorff had again mounted, and whipping his horses, drove rapidly away from the spot, and conducted Luther's friend to Wittenberg. At Waltershausen, at Wittenberg, in the country, villages, and towns along their road, they spread the news of the violent abduction of the doctor. This intelligence, which delighted some, struck the greater number with astonishment and indignation. A cry of grief soon resounded through all Germany: "Luther has fallen into the hands of his enemies!"

After the violent combat that Luther had just sustained, God had been pleased to conduct him to a place of repose and peace. After having exhibited him on the brilliant

¹ In German, and Italian. P. Martyr Ep. p. 412.

² German means transylvan protection. L. Ep. p. 7.

³ Delectoque in solium auriga et verberato. Pallav. l. viii.

⁴ Longo itinere, novus equus, fessus. L. Ep. p. 7.

theatre of Worms, where all the powers of the reformer's soul had been strung to so high a pitch, He gave him the secluded and humiliating retreat of a prison. God draws from the deepest seclusion the weak instruments by which He purposes to accomplish great things; and then, when He has permitted them to glitter for a season with dazzling brilliancy on an illustrious stage, He dismisses them again to the deepest obscurity. The Reformation was to be accomplished by other means than violent struggles or pompous appearances before diets. It is not thus that the heaven penetrates the mass of the people: the Spirit of God seeks more tranquil paths. The man, whom the Roman champions were persecuting without mercy, was to disappear for a time from the world. It was requisite that this great individuality should fade away, in order that the revolution then accomplishing might not bear the stamp of an individual. It was necessary for the man to retire, that God might remain alone to move by His Spirit upon the deep waters in which the darkness of the Middle Ages was already engulfed, and to say: *Let there be light*, so that there might be light.

As soon as it grew dark, and no one could track their footsteps, Luther's guards took a new road. About one hour before midnight they reached the foot of a mountain.¹ The horses ascended slowly. On the summit was an old castle, surrounded on all sides, save that by which it was approached, by the black forests that cover the mountains of Thuringia.

It was to this lofty and isolated fortress, named the Wartburg, where in former times the ancient landgraves had sheltered themselves, that Luther was conducted. The bolts were drawn back, the iron bars fell, the gates opened; the reformer crossed the threshold; the doors were closed behind him. He dismounted in the court. One of the horsemen, Burkhardt of Hund, lord of Altenstein, withdrew; another, John of Berlepsch, provost of the Wartburg, led the doctor into the chamber that was to be his prison, and where he found a knight's uniform and a sword. The three other cavaliers, the pro-

vost's attendants, took away his robes, and dressed him in the garments that had been prepared for joining him to let his beard and in order that no one in the castle cover who he was. The people of Wartburg were to know the prisoner's name of Knight George. Luther recognised himself in his new last he was left alone, and his misadventures by turns on the astonishing had just taken place at Worms, certain future that awaited him, new and strange residence. From narrow loopholes of his turret, his over the gloomy, solitary, and forests that surrounded him. "It says Mathesius, his friend and "that the doctor abode, like St. prison at Rome."

Frederick of Thun, Philip of Hesse, and Spalatin, in a private conversation had with Luther at Worms by the orders, had not concealed from him that liberty must be sacrificed to Charles and of the pope.³ And deduction had been so mysteriously that even Frederick was for an ignorant of the place where Luther up. The grief of the friends of the nation was prolonged. The spring away; summer, autumn, and winter succeeded; the sun had accomplished its course, and still the walls of the enclosed their prisoner. Truth had been forbidden by the diet; its defence within the ramparts of a castle, appeared from the stage of the world; one knew what had become of his order triumphed; the reformation lost.....But God reigns, and the seemed as if it would destroy the Gospel, did but contribute to a courageous minister, and to extend of faith to distant countries.

Let us quit Luther, a captive in on the rocky heights of the Wartburg, what God was doing in other Christendom.

¹ *Hora ferme undecima ad mansionem noctis pervent in tenebris.* L. Epp. II. 3.

² *Erutus vestibus meis et equestribus indutus barbam nutritus.* L. Epp. II. 7.

³ *Cum ipse me iamdudum non noverim.* L. Epp. II. 3.

BOOK VIII.

THE SWISS. 1484—1522.

CHAPTER I.

Movement in Switzerland—Source of the Reformation—Its democratic Character—Foreign Service—Morality—The Teuchobergs—A Chalet on the Alps—A Family of Shepherds—Young Ulrich.

At the moment when the decree of the Diet of Worms appeared, a continually increasing movement began to disturb the quiet valleys of Switzerland. The voices that resounded over the plains of Upper and Lower Saxony were re-echoed from the bosom of the Helvetic mountains by the energetic voices of its priests, of its shepherds, and of the inhabitants of its warlike cities. The partisans of Rome were filled with apprehension, and exclaimed that a wide and terrible conspiracy was forming every where in the Church against the Church. The exulting friends of the Gospel said that, as in spring the breath of life is felt from the shores of the sea to the mountain top, so the Spirit of God was now melting throughout Christendom the ices of a lengthened winter, and covering it with fresh flowers and verdure, from its lowest plains to its most barren and its steepest rocks.

It was not Germany that communicated the light of truth to Switzerland, Switzerland to France, and France to England: all these countries received it from God; just as one part of the world does not communicate the light of day to the other, but the same brilliant orb imparts it direct to all the earth. Infinitely exalted above men, Christ, *the day-spring from on high*, was at the epoch of the Reformation, as he had been at the establishment of Christianity, the Divine fire whence emanated the life of the world. One and the same doctrine was suddenly established, in the sixteenth century, at the hearths and altars of the most distant and dissimilar nations; it was every where the same spirit, every where producing the same fruit.

The Reformation of Germany and that of Switzerland demonstrate this truth. Zwingle had no communication with Luther. There was no doubt a connecting link between these two men; but we must not look for it upon earth: it was above. He who from heaven gave the truth to Luther, gave it to Zwingle also. Their bond of union was God. "I began to preach the Gospel," says Zwingle, "in the year of grace 1516, that is to say, at a time when Luther's name had never been heard in this country. It is not

from Luther that I learnt the doctrine of Christ, but from the Word of God. If Luther preaches Christ, he does what I am doing; and that is all."¹

But if the different reformations derived a striking unity from the same Spirit whence they all proceeded, they also received certain particular marks from the different nations among whom they were effected.

We have already given an outline of the condition of Switzerland at the epoch of the Reformation.² We shall add but little to what has been already said. In Germany the monarchical principle predominated, in Switzerland the democratic. In Germany the Reformation had to struggle with the will of princes; in Switzerland, against the wishes of the people. An assembly of men, more easily carried away than a single individual, is also more rapid in its decisions. The victory over the papacy, which cost years of struggle beyond the Rhine, required on this side but a few months, and sometimes only a few days.

In Germany, the person of Luther towers imposingly above the Saxon people; he seems to be alone in his attacks upon the Roman colossus; and wherever the conflict is raging, we discern from afar his lofty stature rising high above the battle. Luther is the monarch, so to speak, of the revolution that is accomplishing. In Switzerland, the struggle begins in different cantons at the same time; there is a confederation of reformers; their number surprises us; doubtless one head overtops the others, but no one commands; it is a republican senate, in which all appear with their original features and distinct influences. They were a host: Wittenbach, Zwingle, Capito, Haller, Ecolumpadius, Oswald Myconius, Leo Juda, Farel, Calvin; their stage was Glaris, Basle, Zurich, Berne, Neuchâtel, Geneva, Lucerne, Schaffhausen, Appenzel, Saint Gall, and the Grisons. In the German reformation there is but one stage, flat and uniform as the country itself; in Switzerland, the Reformation is divided, like the region itself, by its thousand mountains. Each valley, so to speak, has its own awakening, and each peak of the Alps, its own light from heaven.

A lamentable epoch for the Swiss had begun after their exploits against the dukes of

¹ 1516 eo scilicet tempore, quum Lutheri nomen in nostra regionibus inauditum adhuc erat... doctrinam Christi non a Luthero, sed ex verbo Dei didici. Zwingli Opera cur. Schulero et Schultheisso, Zurich, 1829, vol. I. p. 274.

² Vol. I. p. 26.

Burgundy. Europe, which had discovered the strength of their arms, had enticed them from their mountains, and had robbed them of their independence, by rendering them the arbitrators of the fate of nations on the battle-field. The hand of a Swiss pointed the sword at the breast of his fellow-countryman on the plains of Italy and of France, and the intrigues of foreigners had filled with jealousy and dissension those lofty valleys of the Alps so long the abode of simplicity and peace. Attracted by the charms of gold, sons, labourers, and serving-men, stealthily quitted their Alpine pastures for the banks of the Rhone or the Po. Helvetic unity was broken under the slow steps of mules laden with gold. The Reformation (for in Switzerland also it had its political bearings), proposed to restore the unity and the ancient virtues of the cantons. Its first cry was for the Swiss to rend the perfidious toils of the stranger, and to embrace one another in close union at the foot of the cross. But its generous accents were unheeded. Rome, accustomed to purchase in these valleys the blood she shed to increase her power, rose up in anger. She excited Swiss against Swiss; and passions hitherto unknown sprang up and rent the body of the nation.

Switzerland needed a reform. There was, it is true, among the Helvetians, a simplicity and good nature that seemed ridiculous to the refined Italians; but at the same time they had the reputation of being the people that most habitually transgressed the laws of chastity. This astrologers attributed to the constellations;¹ philosophers, to the strength of temperament among those indomitable people; moralists, to the Swiss principles, which looked upon deceit, dishonesty, and calumny, as sins of a much deeper dye than impurity.² Marriage was forbidden the priests; but it would have been difficult to find one who lived in a state of real celibacy. They were required to behave, not chastely, but prudently. This was one of the earliest disorders against which the Reformation was directed.

It is now time to trace the dawns of the new day in these valleys of the Alps.

About the middle of the eleventh century two hermits made their way from Saint Gall towards the mountains that lie to the south of this ancient monastery, and arrived at a desert valley about ten leagues long.³ On the north, the lofty mountains of the Sentis, Sommerigkopf, and the Old Man, separate this valley from the canton of Appenzel; on the south, the Kuhfirsten with its seven peaks rises between it and the Wallensee, Sargans, and the Grisons; on the east, the sunny slopes away to the rays of the rising sun, and displays the magnificent prospect of

the Tyrolean Alps. These two having reached the springs of the Thur, erected their two cells. The valley was peopled; on its portion, 2010 feet above the level of Zurich, there arose around a church named *Wilthaus*, or the *Wild*, which now depend two hamlets, or Elizabeth's house, and Sch. The fruits of the earth grow not heights. A green turf of alpine covers the whole valley, ascending sides of the mountains, above vast masses of rock rise in savagery to the skies.

About a quarter of a league church, near Lisighaus, by the side that leads to the pasture-grounds of the river, may still be seen a peasant Tradition narrates that the wood for its construction was felled close spot.⁴ Everything seems to indicate it was built in the most remote of the walls are thin; the windows are of small round panes of glass; formed of shingles, loaded with stones to prevent their being carried away by the wind. Before the house gushes forth a stream.

About the end of the fifteenth century this house was inhabited by a reformed Zwingli, amman or bailiff of the district. The family of the Zwingles or Zwingli, and in great esteem among the inhabitants of these mountains.⁵ Basil, the bailiff's brother, at first incumbent of the parish, and from the year 1488, when he was appointed to the office of amman at Wesen, enjoyed a certain celebrity in the country.⁶ The wife of the amman, Margaret Meili (whose brother was somewhat later abbot of the Fischingen in Thurgovia), had already him two sons, Henry and Klaus. On New Year's day 1484, seven weeks before the birth of Luther, a third son, who was named Ulrich, was born in this lonely house. Five other sons, John, Wolfgang, James, Andrew, and an only daughter, Anna, increased the number of the family. No one in the whole district more respected than the amman.⁷ His character, his office, and his numerous children, made him the centre of the mountains. He was a saintly man, and his sons. No sooner had they been clothed the mountains with

¹ Schuler's Zwingli's Bildungs-Gesch., p. 29.

² Das Geschicht der Zwingli'schen, was in diesen Landen, als ein gut alt ehrlich Geschicht, lingen's Hist. Beschreibung der Eidg. Gesch. indebted to the kindness of Mr J. G. Hess for the communication of this valuable work, which in 1837 was published in manuscript. It has since been published by the University of Zurich. In my quotations I have followed the orthography of the original.

³ Ein verrumber Mann. Ibid.

⁴ Quadragesimum octavum agimus (I am eight years), wrote Zwingli to Vadianus, September 1511.

⁵ Clarus fuit pater ob spectatam vitam Oswald Myconius, Vita Zwinglii.

¹ Wirt, Helvetische Kirchen-Geschichte, II. 361.

² Societas melior est in die iudicii, quam verum vel bonum absteribus. Hieronymus, de anno jubileo.

³ The Teufenburg.

than the father and his children would set off for the pasture-grounds with their flocks, rising gradually from station to station, and reaching in this way, by the end of July, the highest summits of the Alps. They then began to return gradually towards the valleys, and in autumn the whole population of the Wildhaus re-entered their humble cottages. Sometimes, during the summer, the young people who should have stayed at home, longing to enjoy the fresh breezes of the mountains, set out in companies for the chalets, accompanying their voices with the melodious notes of their rustic instruments; for all were musicians. When they reached the Alps, the shepherds welcomed them from afar with their horns and songs, and spread before them a repast of milk; and then the joyous troop, after many devious windings, returned to their valleys to the sound of the bagpipe. In his early youth, Ulrich doubtless sometimes shared in these amusements. He grew up at the foot of these rocks that seemed everlasting, and whose summits pointed to the skies. "I have often thought," said one of his friends, "that being brought near to heaven on these sublime heights, he there contracted something heavenly and divine."¹

Long were the winter evenings in the cottages of the Wildhaus. At such a season the youthful Ulrich listened, at the paternal hearth, to the conversations between the bailiff and the elders of the parish. He heard them relate how the inhabitants of the valley had in former times groaned beneath a heavy yoke. He thrilled with joy at the thought of the independence the Tockenburgh had won for itself, and which its alliance with the Swiss had secured. The love of country kindled in his heart; Switzerland became dear to him; and if any one chanced to drop a word unfavourable to the confederates, the child would immediately rise up and warmly defend their cause.² Often, too, might he be seen, during these long evenings, quietly seated at the feet of his pious grandmother, listening, with his eyes fixed on her, to her scripture stories and her pious legends, and eagerly receiving them into his heart.

¹ *Dringtalle nonnulli oculis propterea contraxisse. Oswald Myconius, Vita Zw.*
² *Schuler's Zw. Bildung, p. 201.*

CHAPTER II.

Ulrich at Wesen and Basle—Ulrich at Berne—The Dominican Convent—Jester—The Apparitions—Faction of the Lay-brother—Imposture—Discovery and Punishment—Swingie at Vienna and Basle—Music at Basle—Wittenbach proclaims the Gospel—Leo Juda—The Priest of Glaris.

THE good amman was charmed at the promising disposition of his son. He perceived that Ulrich might one day do something better than tend herds on Mount Sentia, to the sound of the shepherd's song (*rans des vaches*). One day he took him by the hand and led him to Wesen. He crossed the grassy flanks of the Ammon, and descended the bold and savage rocks that border the Lake of Wallenstadt; on reaching the town, he entered the house of his brother the dean, and intrusted the young mountaineer to his care, that he might examine his capacity.¹ Ulrich was particularly distinguished by a natural horror of falsehood, and a great love for truth. He tells us himself, that one day, when he began to reflect, the thought occurred to him that "lying ought to be punished more severely than theft;" for, adds he, "truth is the mother of all virtues." The dean soon loved his nephew like a son; and, charmed with his vivacity, he confided his education to a schoolmaster, who in a short time taught him all he knew himself. At ten years of age, the marks of a superior mind were already noticed in the young Ulrich.² His father and his uncle resolved to send him to Basle.

When the child of the Tockenburgh arrived in this celebrated city, with that single-mindedness and simplicity of heart which he seems to have inhaled with the pure air of his native mountains, but which really came from a higher source, a new world opened before him. The celebrity of the famous Council of Basle, the university which Pius II. had founded in this city in 1460, the printing-presses which then resuscitated the masterpieces of antiquity, and circulated through the world the first fruits of the revival of letters; the distinguished men who resided in it, Wessel, Wittembach, and especially of that prince of scholars, that sun of the schools, Erasmus, all rendered Basle, at the epoch of the Reformation, one of the great centres of light in the West.

Ulrich was placed at St. Theodore's school. Gregory Binzli was then at its head,—a man of feeling heart, and gentleness rarely found at that period among teachers. Young Zwingle made rapid progress. The learned disputations, then in fashion among the doctors, had descended even to the children in the schools. Ulrich took part in them; he

¹ *Tenerimum adhuc ad fratrem sacristam adduxit, ut inagratum eius periculum faceret. Melch. Adam Vita Zw. p. 24.*
² *Und in ihm erschienen merkwürdige Zeichen eines edlen Gemüths. Bullinger Chronik.*

disciplined his growing powers against the pupils of other establishments, and was always conqueror in these struggles, which were a prelude to those by which he was to overthrow the papacy in Switzerland.¹ This success filled his elder rivals with jealousy. He soon outgrew the school of Basle, as he had that of Wesen.

Lupulus, a distinguished scholar, had just opened at Berne the first learned institution in Switzerland. The bailiff of Wildhaus and the priest of Wesen resolved to send the boy to it; Zwingle, in 1497, left the smiling plains of Basle, and again approached those Upper Alps where his infancy had been spent, and whose snowy tops, gilded by the sun, might be seen from Berne. Lupulus, himself a distinguished poet, introduced his pupil into the sanctuary of classic learning,—a treasure then unknown, and whose threshold had been passed only by a few.² The young neophyte ardently inhaled these perfumes of antiquity. His mind expanded, his style was formed, he became a poet.

Among the convents of Berne, that of the Dominicans was the most celebrated. These monks were engaged in a serious quarrel with the Franciscans. The latter maintained the immaculate conception of the Virgin, which the former denied. Wherever they went, before the dazzling altars that adorned their church, and between the twelve columns that supported its fretted roof, the Dominicans had but one thought—how they might humble their rivals. They had remarked Zwingle's beautiful voice; they had heard of his precocious understanding, and thinking that he might give lustre to their order, endeavoured to attract him among them,³ and invited him to remain in their convent until he was old enough to pass his noviciate. All Zwingle's future career was at stake. The amman of Wildhaus being informed of the lures to which the Dominicans had resorted, trembled for the inexperience of his son, and ordered him to quit Berne immediately. Zwingle thus escaped from these monastic walls within which Luther had entered of his own free-will. What transpired somewhat later may serve to show the imminent danger Zwingle then incurred.

In 1507, a great agitation reigned in the city of Berne. A young man of Zurzach, named John Jetzer, having one day presented himself at this same Dominican convent, had been repulsed. The poor dejected youth made another attempt, and said, holding out fifty-three florins and some pieces of silk, "It is all I possess; take it, and receive me into your order." He was admitted on the

6th of January among the lay b
But on the first night, a strange noi
cell filled him with terror. He de
convent of the Carthusians, whence
sent back to the Dominicans.

On the following night, the ev
festival of Saint Matthias, he was a
deep groans; he opened his eyes, a
tall white spectral form standing be
bed. "I am," said a sepulchral v
soul escaped from the fires of pur
The lay brother tremblingly replied
help thee! I can do nothing." The
then advanced towards the poor bro
seizing him by the throat, indigna
proached him for his refusal. Jetze
alarm, exclaimed: "What can I do
thee?" "Scourge thyself eight day
cession until the blood comes, and
trate on the earth in the Chapel
John." The spectre answered th
vanished. The lay brother confide
ticulars of this apparition to his c
the convent-preacher, and, by his
submitted to the discipline required.
soon reported through the whole cit
soul had applied to the Dominicans
to be delivered from purgatory. T
ciscans were deserted, and the peopl
crowds to the church, where the b
was to be seen prostrate on the p
The soul from purgatory had announc
appearance in eight days. On the a
night, it came again, attended by tw
that tormented it, extorting from it
frightful groans. "Scotus," said
turbed spirit, "Scotus, the invento
Franciscan doctrine of the immacul
ception of the Virgin, is among th
suffer like horrible torments with n
this news, which soon spread throug
the partisans of the Franciscans w
more dismayed. But the soul, at the
of disappearing, had announced a vi
the Virgin herself. In effect, on
fixed, the astonished brother saw l
pear in his cell. He could not bel
eyes. She approached him kindly, g
three of our Saviour's tears, and s
drops of his blood, with a crucifi:
letter addressed to Pope Julius II.,
said she, "is the man selected by
abolish the festival of His pretende
culate conception." And then, draw
nearer the bed on which the brother
informed him in a solemn voice that
about to experience a signal favour
the same time pierced his hand wit
The brother uttered a horrible shri
Mary wrapt his hand in a cloth that
(as she said) had worn at the tim
flight into Egypt. This one wound
enough; in order that the glory of
minicans might at least equal tha
Franciscans, Jetzer must have
wounds of Christ and of St. Franci:
hands, his feet, and his side. 7

¹ In disputationibus, quæ pro more tum erant inter pue-
ros institutæ, victoriam semper reportavit. Oew. Mrc. Vita
p. 17.

² Ab eo in adyta classicorum scripturæ introductus.
Ibid.

³ Unde alius ex vulgari heretici, locutionem illam die prediger
monachum in dasse Kloster. Bullinger Chronik.

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

were inflicted, and then, after giving me drink, he was placed in a hall with pictures representing our Lord's; here he spent many long days with-
1, and his imagination soon became excited. The monks from time to time opened the doors of this chamber to the who came in crowds to contemplate with astonishment the brother with wounds, stretching out his arms, his head, and imitating by his posed movements the crucifixion of our Lord. At times, he was quite out of his head, he foamed at the mouth, and appeared ready to give up the ghost. "He is going the cross of Christ," murmured the monks. The multitude, eager in pursuit of the brother, thronged the convent incessantly, to deserve our highest esteem, even himself, Zwingle's teacher, were with fear; and the Dominicans, at pulpits, boasted of the glory God conferred upon their order.

Many years this order had felt the need of humbling the Franciscans and of being agitated by means of miracles the respectability of the people. The theatre of these operations was Berne, "a rude, and ignorant city," as it had styled by the sub-prior of Berne in a held at Wimpfen on the Neckar. To the sub-prior, chaplain, and purveyor of the convent were assigned the principal part; they were not able to play them a new apparition of Mary having appeared, Jetzer fancied he recognised his father's voice; and on saying so aloud, he disappeared. She came again to the incredulous brother. "This time it is I," exclaimed Jetzer, rushing on with a knife in his hand. The saint's jeweller platter at the head of the poor man vanished.

At the discovery Jetzer had the Dominicans endeavoured to get him by poison. He detected their plot, and having escaped from the concealed their imposture. They put a stop to the matter, and sent deputies to the pope empowered his legate to Switzerland, and the bishops of Lausanne to inquire into the affair. The Dominicans were convicted and condemned to be burnt alive, and on the 1st of 1529, they perished at the stake in the presence of more than thirty thousand spectators. The rumour of this imposture circulated through Europe, and by laying bare the greatest sores of the Church, prepared the way for the Reformation.¹ It were the men from whose hands the brother Ulrich Zwingle escaped. He had polite letters at Berne; he had now

to study philosophy, and for this purpose went to Vienna in Austria. The companions of Ulrich's studies and amusements in the capital of Austria were a young man of Saint Gall, Joachim Vadian, whose genius promised to adorn Switzerland with a learned scholar and a distinguished statesman; Henry Loreti, of the canton of Glaris, better known as Glarean, and who appeared destined to shine as a poet; and a young Swabian, John Heigerlin, the son of a blacksmith, and hence called Faber, a man of pliant character, proud of honours and renown, and who gave promise of all the qualities requisite to form a courtier.

Zwingle returned to Wildhaus in 1502; but on revisiting his native mountains, he felt that he had quaffed of the cup of learning, and that he could not live amidst the songs of his brothers and the lowing of their herds. Being now eighteen years of age, he again repaired to Basle² to continue his literary pursuits; and there, at once master and scholar, he taught in Saint Martin's school, and studied at the university; from that time he was able to do without the assistance of his parents. Not long after he took the degree of Master of Arts. An Alsatian, Capito by name, who was his senior by nine years, was one of his greatest friends.

Zwingle now applied to the study of scholastic divinity; for as he would one day be called to expose its sophistry, it was necessary that he should first explore its gloomy labyrinths. But the joyous student of the Sentis mountains might be seen suddenly shaking off the dust of the schools, and changing his philosophic toils for innocent amusements; he would take up one of his numerous musical instruments (the lute, harp, violin, flute, dulcimer, or hunting horn), draw from them some cheerful air, as in the pasture-grounds of Lisighans; make his own chamber or that of his friends re-echo with the tunes of his native place, and accompany them with his songs. In his love for music he was a real child of the Tockenbourg,—a master among many.³ He played on other instruments besides those we have already named. Enthusiastic in the art, he spread a taste for it through the university; not that he was fond of dissipation, but because he liked by this means to relax his mind, fatigued by serious study, and to put himself in a condition to return with greater zeal to such arduous pursuits.⁴ None possessed a livelier disposition, or more amiable character, or more attractive conversational powers.⁵ He was like a vigorous Alpine trep, expanding in all its strength and beauty, and which,

¹ Ne diutius ab exercitio litterarum cessaret. *Osw. Myn. Vita Zw.*

² Ich habe auch nie von Keinem gehört, der in der Kunst Musica . . . so erfahren gewesen. *E. Weyss, Festschrift Beiträge zur Ref. Gesch.* iv. 35.

³ Ut ingenium seris defatigatum recrearetur et patiens ad solita studia rediretur. . . . *Melch. Adami Vita Zw.*

⁴ Ingenio ameno, et ore iocundo, supra quam dici possit, erat. *Osw. Myn. Vita Zw.*

Swissische Kirchen, Gesch. iii. 307; Ansbach's *B. and IV.* No transaction of that day ever gave many publications. See Haller's *Biblioth. der sch. B.*

as yet unpruned, throws out its healthy branches in every direction. The time will come for these branches to shoot with fresh vigour towards heaven.

After having plunged into the scholastic divinity, he quitted its barren wastes with weariness and disgust, having found therein nothing but a medley of confused ideas, empty babbling, vain-glory, and barbarism, without one atom of sound doctrine. "It is a mere loss of time," said he; and he waited his hour.

In November 1505, Thomas Wittembach, son of a burgomaster of Bienne, arrived at Basle. Hitherto he had been teaching at Tübingen, at the side of Reuchlin. He was in the flower of life, sincere, pious, skilled in the liberal arts, the mathematics, and in the knowledge of Scripture. Zwingle and all the youths of the academy immediately flocked around him. An energy till then unknown animated his lectures, and prophetic words fell from his lips. "The hour is not far distant," said he, "in which the scholastic theology will be set aside, and the old doctrines of the Church revived."¹—"Christ's death," added he, "is the only ransom for our souls."² Zwingle's heart eagerly received these seeds of life.³ This was at the period when classical studies were beginning every where to supersede the scholasticism of the Middle Ages. Zwingle, like his master and his friends, rushed into this new path.

Among the students who were most attentive to the lessons of the new doctor, was a young man twenty-three years old, of small stature, of weak and sickly frame, but whose looks announced both gentleness and intrepidity. This was Leo Juda, the son of an Alsatian parish-priest, and whose uncle had died at Rhodes fighting under the banners of the Teutonic knights in the defence of Christendom. Leo and Ulrich became intimate friends. Leo played on the dulcimer, and had a very fine voice. Often did his chamber re-echo with the cheerful songs of these young friends of the arts. Leo Juda afterwards became Zwingle's colleague, and even death could not destroy so holy a friendship.

The office of pastor of Glaris became vacant at this time. One of the pope's youthful courtiers, Henri Goldli, his Holiness's equerry, and who was already the possessor of several benefices, hastened to Glaris with the pontiff's letter of nomination. But the shepherds of Glaris, proud of the antiquity of their race and of their struggles in the cause of liberty, did not feel inclined to bend their heads before a slip of parchment from Rome. Wildhaus is not far from Glaris, and Wesen,

of which Zwingle's uncle was the incumbent, is the place where these people h market. The reputation of the youth of arts of Basle had extended even mountains, and him the people of (sired to have for their priest. The him in 1506. Zwingle was ordaine stance by the bishop, preached his mon at Rapperswyl, read his first Wildhaus on St. Michael's day, in sence of all his relations and the his family, and about the end of arrived at Glaris.

CHAPTER III.

Fondness for War—Schinner—Pension from the Labyrinth—Zwingle in Italy—Principle of Belgie and Luther—Zwingle and Erasmus—Zwingle and the Ancients—Paris and Glaris.

ZWINGLE immediately applied himself to the duties of his large pari he was but twenty-two years old, permitted himself to be led away by tion, and by the relaxed ideas of As a Romish priest, he did not differ the surrounding clergy. But even time, when the evangelical doctrine changed his heart, he was never those scandals which often affli Church,¹ and always felt the nec subjecting his passions to the holy of the Gospel.

A fondness for war at that time the tranquil valleys of Glaris. The the families of heroes—the Tcht Walas, the Cebis, whose blood ha on the field of battle. The aged would relate to the youths, delighte recitals, their exploits in the war gundy and Swabia, and the comba Jacques and of Ragaz. But, alas! longer against the enemies of their dence that these warlike shepherds arms. They might be seen, at the the king of France, of the empero duke of Milan, or even of the ho himself, descending like an avalan the Alps, and dashing with a noise der against the troops drawn up in tl

As a poor boy named Matthew t who attended the school of Sion, in t (about the middle of the second ha fifteenth century), was singing on the streets, as the young Martin L a little later, he heard his name call old man. The latter struck by the with which the child answered his q said to him with that prophetic tone man is thought sometimes to posse

¹ Et doctrinam Ecclesie veterum.... Instaurari oportet. *Emilem, Misc. Tig. III. 102.*

² Der Tod Christi sey die einzige Bezahlung für unsere Sünde.... *Pöseln, Beyer, II. 200.*

³ Quam a tanto viro summa quidam.... Zwingiano potiori iniecta essent. Leo Juda, in *Prod. ad. Ann. Zw. in N. 2.*

¹ Sic reverentia pudoris, imprimis autem officii petuo cavet. *Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.*

berink of the grave: "Thou shalt be a bishop and a prince."¹ These words made a deep impression on the youthful mendicant, and from that moment a boundless ambition took possession of his soul. At Zurich and at Como he made such progress as to surprise his masters. He became priest of a small parish in the Valais, rose rapidly, and being sent to Rome somewhat later to demand of the pope the confirmation of a bishop of Sion, who had just been elected, he obtained this bishopric for himself, and encircled his brows with the episcopal mitre. This ambitious and crafty though often noble-minded and generous man, never considered any dignity but as a step to mount still higher. Having offered his services to Louis XII., and at the same time naming his price: "It is too much for one man," said the king. "I will show him," replied the exasperated Bishop of Sion, "that I, alone, am worth many men." In effect, he turned towards Pope Julius II., who gladly welcomed him; and, in 1510, Schinner succeeded in attaching the whole Swiss confederation to the policy of this warlike pontiff. The bishop was rewarded with a cardinal's hat, and he smiled as he now saw but one step between him and the papal throne.

Schinner's eyes wandered continually over the cantons of Switzerland, and as soon as he discovered an influential man in any place, he hastened to attach him to himself. The pastor of Glaris fixed his attention, and Zwingle learnt ere long that the pope had granted him a yearly pension of fifty florins, to encourage him in his literary pursuits. His poverty did not permit him to buy books; this money, during the short time Ulrich received it, was entirely devoted to the purchase of classical or theological works, which he procured from Basle.² Zwingle from that time attached himself to the cardinal, and thus entered the Roman party. Schinner and Julius II. at last betrayed the object of their intrigues; eight thousand Swiss, whom the eloquence of the cardinal-bishop had enlisted, crossed the Alps; but want of provisions, with the arms and money of the French, made them return ingloriously to their mountains. They carried back with them the usual concomitants of these foreign wars—distrust, licentiousness, party-spirit, violence, and disorders of every kind. Citizens refused to obey their magistrates; children their parents; agriculture and the cares of their flocks and herds were neglected; luxury and beggary increased side by side; the holiest ties were broken, and the Confederation seemed on the brink of dissolution.

Then were the eyes of the young priest of Glaris opened, and his indignation burst forth. His powerful voice was raised to warn

the people of the gulf into which they were about to fall. It was in the year 1510 that he published his poem entitled *The Labyrinth*. Within the mazes of this mysterious garden, Minos has concealed the Minotaur, that monster, half-man, half-bull, whom he feeds with the bodies of the young Athenians. "This Minotaur," says Zwingle, "represents the sins, the vices, the irreligion, the foreign service of the Swiss, which devour the sons of the nation."

A bold man, Theseus, determines to rescue his country; but numerous obstacles arrest him:—first, a one-eyed lion; this is Spain and Aragon:—then a crowned eagle, whose beak opens to swallow him up; this is the Empire:—then a cock, raising its crest, and seeming to challenge to the fight; this is France. The hero surmounts all these obstacles, reaches the monster, slays him, and saves his country.

"In like manner," exclaims the poet, "are men now wandering in a labyrinth, but, as they have no clue, they cannot regain the light. Nowhere do we find an imitation of Jesus Christ. A little glory leads us to risk our lives, torment our neighbour, and rush into disputes, war, and battle..... One might imagine that the furies had broken loose from the abyss of hell."³

A Theseus, a reformer was needed; this Zwingle perceived clearly, and henceforth he felt a presentiment of his mission. Shortly after, he composed an allegory, the meaning of which was less enigmatical.⁴

In April 1512, the confederates again arose at the voice of the cardinal for the defence of the Church. Glaris was in the foremost rank. The whole parish took the field under their banner, with the landamman and their pastor. Zwingle was compelled to march with them. The army passed the Alps, and the cardinal appeared in the midst of the confederates decorated with the pontiff's presents:—a ducal cap ornamented with pearls and gold, and surmounted by the Holy Ghost represented under the form of a dove. The Swiss scaled the ramparts of fortresses and the walls of cities; and in the presence of their enemies swam naked across rivers, halberd in hand. The French were defeated at every point; bells and trumpets pealed their notes of triumph; the people crowded around them from all quarters; the nobles furnished the army with wine and fruits in abundance; monks and priests mounted the pulpits, and proclaimed that the confederates were the people of God, who avenged the Bride of the Lord on her enemies; and the pope a prophet like Caiaphas of old, conferred on them the title of "Defenders of the Liberty of the Church."⁵

¹ Das wir die heilsichen wärlertinn's

Mengend denken abbrochen syn

Zw. Opp. (Edit. Schüler et Schulthess), II. second part, 200.

² Fabelgedicht vom Oehsen und etlichen Thieren, los

loeffender dinge begriffenlich. 151d. 207.

³ De Gentis inter Gallos et Helveticos, relatio H. Swinglii.

⁴ Helv. Kirch. Gesch. von Witz, III. 314.

⁵ Zwingle or an die Bächer verändert. Bollinger

This sojourn in Italy was not without its influence on Zwingli as regards his call to the Reformation. On his return from this campaign, he began to study Greek, "in order (as he said) to be able to draw from the fountain-head of truth the doctrines of Jesus Christ.¹ I am determined to apply myself to Greek," wrote he to Vadian on the 23d of February 1513, "that no one shall be able to turn me aside from it, except God: I do it, not for glory, but for the love of sacred learning." Somewhat later, a worthy priest, who had been his schoolfellow, coming to see him: "Master Ulrich," said he, "I am informed that you are falling into this new error; that you are a Lutheran."—"I am not a Lutheran," said Zwingli, "for I learned Greek before I had ever heard the name of Luther."² To know Greek, to study the Gospel in the original language, was, in Zwingli's opinion, the basis of the Reformation.

Zwingli went farther than merely acknowledging at this early period the grand principle of evangelical Christianity,—the infallible authority of Holy Scripture. He perceived, moreover, how we should determine the sense of the Divine Word: "They have a very mean idea of the Gospel," said he, "who consider as frivolous, vain, and unjust, all that they imagine does not accord with their own reason."³ Men are not permitted to wrest the Gospel at pleasure that it may square with their own sentiments and interpretation."⁴ "Zwingli turned his eyes to heaven," says his best friend, "for he would have no other interpreter than the Holy Ghost himself."⁵

Such, at the commencement of his career, was the man whom certain persons have not hesitated to represent as having desired to subject the Bible to human reason. "Philosophy and divinity," said he, "were always raising objections. At last I said to myself: I must neglect all these matters, and look for God's will in his Word alone. I began (continues he) earnestly to entreat the Lord to grant me his light, and although I read the Scriptures only, they became clearer to me than if I had read all the commentators." He compared Scripture with itself, explaining obscure passages by those that are clear.⁶ He soon knew the Bible thoroughly, and particularly the New Testament.⁷ When Zwingli thus turned towards Holy Scripture, Switzerland took its first step towards the

Reformation. Accordingly, when plained the Scriptures, every one of his teaching came from God, and a man.¹ "All-divine work!" exclaimed Myconius; "it is thus we reach the knowledge of the truth from heaven."

Zwingli did not, however, content explanations of the most celebrated in after-years he studied Origen, A Jerome, Augustine, and Chrysostom not as authorities. "I study the c said he, "with the same end as v ask a friend: How do you understand passage?" Holy Scripture, in his was the touchstone by which to test the best doctors themselves.²

Zwingli's course was slow, but progress. He did not arrive at the truth, like by those storms which impel the soul hastily to its harbour of refuge; he it by the peaceful influence of Scripture whose power expands gradually in time. Luther attained the wished-for shore the storms of the wide ocean; Zwingli gliding softly down the stream. The two principal ways by which mighty leads men. Zwingli was not converted to God and to his Gospel in earlier years of his residence at Zurich the moment when in 1514 or 1515, this man bent the knee before God, in for the understanding of his Word, in which appeared the first glimmer of the bright day that afterwards upon him.

About this period one of Erasmus's in which Jesus Christ is introduced: ing mankind perishing through the fault, made a deep impression on Zwingli. Alone in his closet, he repeated to himself the passage in which Jesus complains that do not seek every grace from him, a he is the source of all that is good. said Zwingli, "ALL." And this was ever present to his mind. "Are there any creatures, any saints of whom we beg assistance? No: Christ is our treasure."³

Zwingli did not restrict himself study of christian letters. One of the characteristic features of the reformers sixteenth century is their profound knowledge of the Greek and Roman writers. The of Hesiod, Homer, and Pindar, the great charms for Zwingli, and he some commentaries or characteristics two last poets. It seemed to him that spoke of the gods in so sublime a strain he must have felt a presentiment of God. He studied Demosthenes and thoroughly, and in their writings lessons of oratory and the duties of a citizen.

¹ Ante decem annos, operam dedi gratia literis, ut ex fontibus doctrinam Christi haurire possem. Zw. Opp. I. 274, in his Epistol. Artic. which bears the date of 1513.

² Ich hab griechen lernet, ehe ich ni mit von Luther gehet hab. Basal. Chronik. 1513.

³ Nihil subtilibus de evangelio sentiens, quam quod, quidquid eorum rationi non est consentaneum, hoc iniquum, vanum et frivolum existimant. Zw. Opp. I. 284.

⁴ Nec posse evangelium ad sensum et interpretationem hominum redigi. Ibid. 313.

⁵ In oculum suspexit, doctorem quærens Spiritum. Osw. Myc. Vita Zw.

⁶ Scriptura consultis et obscura clavis succurrit. Ibid.

⁷ In summa, er manet fm. die H. Schrift, besonders das N. T. ganzes gesehen. Bullinger's 1524.

¹ Ut nemo non videret Spiritum doctorem, non Osw. Myc. Vita Zw.

² Scriptura canonica, seu Lydio lapide probant

³ Dass Christus unser armen seelen ein elend sey. Zw. Opp. I. 286. Zwingli said in 1513 that he this poem of Erasmus's some eight or nine years

is a holy man. The child of the tains delighted also to investigate is of nature in the works of Pliny, , Sallust, Livy, Cæsar, Suetonius, id Tacitus, taught him the know-kind. He has been reproached thusiasm for the great men of and it is true that some of his on this subject admit of no jus-

But if he honoured them so is because he fancied he discerned t mere human virtues, but the the Holy Ghost. In his opinion, nce, far from being limited in is by the boundaries of Palestine, er the whole world.¹ "Plato," as also drunk at this heavenly d if the two Catos, Scipio, and id not been truly religious, could en so high-minded?"²

communicated a taste for letters l him. Many intelligent young ducated at his school. "You me not only books, but yourself Valentine Tschudi, son of one of t the Burgundian wars; and this , who had already studied at Basle, under the most celebrated d: "I have found no one who t the classic authors with such id profundity as yourself."³ it to Paris, and thus was able t spirit that prevailed in this ith that which he had found in illey of the Alps, above which

gigantic summits and eternal Dodi, the Glarnisch, the Viggis rberg. "In what frivolities do t the French youth!" said he. n equal the sophistical art that ght. It dulls the senses, woa-gment, and brutalizes the man, comes, as it were, a mere echo, ound. Ten women could not gainst one of these rhetoricians.⁴ ir prayers, I am certain they sophisms before God, and by isms presume to constrain the to answer them." Such were at uris, the intellectual metropolis om, and Glaris, a village of herd-the Alps. One ray of light from enlightens more than all the an.

mentis non solum Palestinam vel creave-
sed mundum universum. Ocul. and Ev.

, nunquam fuissent magnanimi. Ibid.
serioris in exodandis auctoribus judet, viat
Epo. p. 12.
on multitudine....uni sophiste adequat
..ca.

CHAPTER IV.

Zwingle to Erasmus—Oswald Myconius—The Mothers—
Opolampeditus—Zwingle at Marignan—Zwingle and Italy
—Zwingle's Method—Commencement of the Reform—Dis-
covery—Passage from one World to the other.

A GREAT man of that age, Erasmus, exercised much influence over Zwingle. No sooner did one of his writings appear than Zwingle hastened to purchase it. In 1514, Erasmus arrived in Basle, where the bishop received him with every mark of esteem. All the friends of learning immediately assembled around him. But the prince of the schools had easily discovered him who was to be the glory of Switzerland. "I congratulate the Helvetians," wrote he to Zwingle, "that you are labouring to polish and civilize them by your studies and your morals, which are alike of the highest order."¹ Zwingle earnestly longed to see him. "Spaniards and Gauls went to Rome to see Livy," said he, and set out. On arriving at Basle, he found there a man about forty years of age, of small stature, weak frame, and delicate appearance, but exceedingly amiable and polite.² It was Erasmus. His agreeable manners soon banished Zwingle's timidity; the power of his genius subdued him. "Poor as Æschines," said he, "when each of Socrates' disciples offered their master a present, I give you what Æschines gave.....I give you myself!"

Among the men of learning who then formed the court of Erasmus,—such as Amerbach, Rhenanus, Frobenius, Nesenius, and Glarean,—Zwingle noticed one Oswald Geisslissler, a young man of Lucerne, twenty-seven years old. Erasmus hellenized his name, and called him Myconius. We shall generally speak of him by his baptismal appellation, to distinguish the friend of Zwingle from Frederick Myconius, the disciple of Luther. Oswald, after studying at Rothwyl with a youth of his own age, named Berthold Haller, and next at Berne and at Basle, had become rector of Saint Theodore's school, and afterwards of St. Peter's in the latter city. The humble schoolmaster, though possessed of a scanty income, had married a young woman whose simplicity and purity of mind won all hearts. We have already seen that this was a time of trouble in Switzerland, in which foreign wars gave rise to violent disorders, and the soldiers, returning to their country, brought back with them their campaigning habits of licentiousness and brutality. One dark and cloudy day in winter, some of these ruffians attacked Oswald's quiet dwelling in his absence. They knocked at the door, threw stones, and called for his modest wife in the most indecent

¹ Tu, talique simulæ optatis etiam stultis ac meritis et
expletis et nobilitatis. Ev. Ego. p. 12.

² Et corpusculo hoc tuo minuto, vixum multum innotu-
it, urbanissime gentilem videri videtur. Ibid.

language; at last they dashed in the windows, and entering the schoolroom, broke every thing they could find, and then retired. Oswald returned shortly after. His son, little Felix, ran to meet him with loud cries, and his wife, unable to speak, made signs of the utmost horror. He perceived what had happened to him. At the same moment, a noise was heard in the street. Unable to control his feelings, the schoolmaster seized a weapon, and pursued the rioters to the cemetery. They took refuge within it, prepared to defend themselves: three of their number fell upon Myconius, and wounded him; and while his wound was dressing, those wretches again broke into his house with furious cries. Oswald says no more.¹ Such were the scenes that took place in the cities of Switzerland at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and before the Reformation had softened and disciplined the manners.

The integrity of Oswald Myconius, and his thirst for knowledge and virtue, brought him into contact with Zwingli. The rector of the school of Basle recognised the superiority of the priest of Glaris. In his humility he shrunk from the praises lavished on him both by Zwingli and Erasmus. The latter would often say: "I look upon you schoolmasters as the peers of kings." But the modest Myconius was of a different opinion. "I do but crawl upon the earth; from my childhood, there has been something humble and mean about me."²

A preacher who had arrived in Basle at nearly the same time as Zwingli, was then attracting general attention. Of a mild and peaceful disposition, he loved a tranquil life; slow and circumspect in action, his chief delight was to labour in his study and to promote concord among all Christians.³ His name was John Hausechein, in Greek Œcolampadius, or "the light of the house;" he was born in Franconia, of rich parents, a year before Zwingli. His pious mother desired to consecrate to learning and to God the only child that Providence had left her. His father at first destined him to business, and then to jurisprudence. But after Œcolampadius had returned from Bologna, where he had been studying the law, the Lord, who was pleased to make him a light in the Church,⁴ called him to the study of theology. He was preaching in his native town, when Capito, who had known him at Heidelberg, got him appointed preacher at Basle. He there proclaimed Christ with an eloquence which filled his hearers with admiration.⁵ Erasmus admitted him into his intimacy.

Œcolampadius was charmed with he passed in the society of this great man. "There is but one thing," said he of learning to him, "that we show in Holy Scripture, and that is Jesus Christ." He gave the youthful preacher a memorial of his friendship, the contents of the Gospel of St. John. Œcolampadius would often kiss this pledge of so affection, and kept it suspended to fix, "in order," said he, "that I may remember Erasmus in my prayers."

Zwingli returned to his native land, his heart and mind full of all he had heard at Basle. "I should like to sleep," wrote he to Erasmus about his return, "if I had not held so dear conversation with you. There is not a prouder of than of having seen Zwingli; he had received a new impetus, and often exercise a great influence on the career of a Christian. Zwingli—Valentine, Jost, with Louis [Egidius Tschudi; his friends—theman Œbli, the priest Binzli of Wädolun Brunner, and the celebrated Gilarean, were delighted to see him in knowledge and in wisdom. He respected him as a courageous and faithful pastor, as a zealous minister of the Lord. Nothing was done in the land without his being first consulted. The people hoped that the ancient Switzerland would be one day ruled by him."⁶

Francis I. having ascended the throne and desiring to avenge in Italy the death of the French name, the pope in 1515, Ulrich again visited France, endeavouring to gain over the French. Thus, in 1515, Ulrich again visited Italy in the midst of the phalanx of countrymen. But the dissensions and intrigues of the French sowed in the French army wrung his heart. Of he be seen in the midst of the campaigning with energy, and at the same time with great wisdom, an audience a head to foot, and ready for the fight. On the 8th of September, five days before the battle of Marignan, he preached in Monza, where the Swiss soldiers remained faithful to their colours. "If we had then, and followed Zwingli's advice," said Steiner of Zug, "what evils would try have been spared!" But all shut against the voice of concord, and submission. The impetuous of Cardinal Schinner electrified the masses, and impelled them to rush to the fatal field of Marignan, the flower of the Helvetic youth perished.

¹ *Erasmus Lami Struttis, cum annot. Myconii.*
² *Quidem humi repere didici hactenus, et est natura modesto quid humile vel a conabulis in me. Osw. Myc. Vita Zw.*

³ *Ingenio miti et tranquillo, pacis et concordie studiosissimus. Melch. Ad. Vit. Œcol. p. 58.*

⁴ *Florentis et vocante Deo, qui eo in domo sua pro lampade usurus erat. Ibid. 61.*

⁵ *Oratorum vero spiritualium et eruditum admiratione Christum predicavit. Ibid.*

⁶ *Nihil in sacris literis præter Christum Erasmus. Rpp. p. 400.*

⁷ *Justitiam avitam per hunc olim restituit Myc. Vita Zw.*

⁸ *In dem Hoerlager hat er Flursig gepredigt. Oberr.*

who had been unable to prevent masters, threw himself, in the cause of into the midst of danger. His hand the sword.¹ A melancholy error! ster of Christ, he forgot more than at he should fight only with the of the Spirit, and he was destined filled, in his own person, this prof our Lord: *They that take the sword, ish with the sword.*

gle and the Swiss had been unable to me. The ambassador of Venice was in the pontifical city to hear of the t Marignan. Quite elated, he re- arly in the morning to the Vatican. e left his chamber half dressed to an audience. When Leo X. heard s, he did not conceal his terror. In nent of alarm he saw only Francis ad no hope but in him: "My lord dor," said he tremblingly to Zorsi, st throw ourselves into the arms of ; and cry for mercy!"² Luther and , in their dangers, knew another arm, ked another mercy.

second visit to Italy was not unpro- o Zwingle. He remarked the diffe- tween the Ambrosian ritual in use at d that of Rome. He collected and d with each other the most ancient f the mass. Thus a spirit of inquiry eloped in him, even amid the tumult . At the same time the sight of the of his fatherland, led beyond the l delivered up to slaughter like their led him with indignation. It was a saying, that "the flesh of the con- ; was cheaper than that of their The faithlessness and ambition of ,³ the avarice and ignorance of the licentiousness and dissipation of ks, the pride and luxury of the pre- e corruption and venality that in- e Swiss on every side—all these evils themselves upon his attention, and m feel more keenly than ever the y of a reform in the Church.

this time Zwingle preached the Word ore clearly. He explained the por- the Gospels and Epistles selected for ic services, always comparing scrip- h scripture.⁴ He spoke with anima- with power,⁵ and pursued with his the same course that God had adopted n. He did not, like Luther, expose s of the Church; but in proportion as y of the Bible discovered to him any lesson, he communicated it to his

flock. He endeavoured to instil the truth into their hearts, and then relied on it for the result that it was destined to produce.¹ "If the people understand what is true," thought he, "they will soon discern what is false." This maxim is good in the commencement of a reformation; but there comes a time when error should be boldly pointed out. This Zwingle knew full well. "The spring is the season for sowing," said he; and it was then seed-time with him.

Zwingle has indicated this period (1516) as the beginning of the Swiss Reformation. In effect, if four years before he had bent his head over the book of God, he now raised it, and turned towards his people to impart to them the light that he had found therein. This is a new and important epoch in the history of the development of the religious revolution in these countries; but it has been erroneously concluded from these dates that Zwingle's reform preceded that of Luther. Perhaps Zwingle preached the Gospel a year previous to the publication of Luther's theses, but Luther himself preached four years before those celebrated propositions.² If Lu- ther and Zwingle had strictly confined themselves to preaching, the Reformation would not so rapidly have spread through the Church. Luther and Zwingle were neither the first monk nor the first priest that had taught a purer doctrine than the schoolmen. But Luther was the first to uplift publicly and with indomitable courage the standard of truth against the dominion of error; to direct general attention to the fundamental doctrine of the Gospel,—salvation through grace; to lead his generation into that new way of knowledge, faith, and life, from which a new world has issued; in a word, to begin a salutary and real revolution. The great struggle, of which the theses of 1517 were the signal, really gave birth to the Reforma- tion, and imparted to it both a soul and a body. Luther was the first reformer.

A spirit of inquiry was beginning to breathe on the mountains of Switzerland. One day the priest of Glaris, chancing to be in the delightful country of Mollis, at the house of Adam the priest of the place, together with Bunzli, priest of Wesen, and Varachon, priest of Kerensen, these friends discovered an old liturgy, in which they read these words: "After the child is baptized, let him partake of the sacrament of the Eucharist and likewise of the cup."³—"So then," said Zwingle, "the sacrament was at that time given in our churches under both kinds." This liturgy, which was about two hundred years old, was a great discovery for those Alpine priests.

The defeat at Marignan produced its natu- ral results in the cantons. The victorious

Schachten sich redlich und dapper gestellt mit Worten und Thaten. Bullinger Chron.

a orator, viderem? quel fars il re Christianissimo mo in le so man dimandando misericordia. Zorsi MS.

Itaq parador (Leo X.) prometa asa ma non Relatione MS. di Gradenigo, venuto orator di

animum commentis, sed sola scripturarum bibli- latione. Sw. Opp. I. 273.

to auch mit predigen, dorrinen er heftig was. MS.

¹ Volebat veritatem cognitam in cordibus auditorum, agere suum officium. Osw. Mye. VII. Sw.

² Vol. I. 72. Sw.

³ Debet Eucharistia sacramentum, similiter possum esse

guinis. Sw. Opp. I. 264.

Francis I. was prodigal of gold and flatteries to win over the confederates, and the emperor conjured them by their honour, by the tears of widows and orphans, and by the blood of their brethren, not to sell themselves to their murderers. The French party had the upperhand in Glaris, and from that time this residence became burdensome to Ulrich.

Had Zwingle remained at Glaris, he might possibly have been a mere man of the age. Party intrigue, political prejudices, the empire, France, and the Duke of Milan, might have almost absorbed his life. God never leaves in the midst of the tumult of the world those whom He is training for his people. He leads them aside; He places them in some solitude, where they find themselves face to face with God and themselves, and whence they derive inexhaustible instruction. The Son of God himself, a type in this respect of the course He pursues with his servants, passed forty days in the wilderness. It was now time to withdraw Zwingle from this political movement which, by constant repetition in his soul, would have quenched the Spirit of God. The hour had come to prepare him for another stage than that on which courtiers, cabinets, and factions contended, and where he would have uselessly wasted a strength worthy of a higher occupation. His fellow-countrymen had need of something better. It was necessary that a new life should now descend from heaven, and that the instrument of its transmission should unlearn the things of earth, to learn those of heaven. These two spheres are entirely distinct: a wide gulf separates the two worlds; and before passing wholly from one to the other, Zwingle was to sojourn for a time on a neutral territory,—an intermediate and preparatory state, there to be taught of God. God at this time removed him from among the factions of Glaris, and conducted him, for his noviciate, to the solitude of a hermitage. He confined within the narrow walls of an abbey this generous seed of the Reformation, which, transplanted to a better soil, was soon to cover the mountains with its shadow.

CHAPTER V.

Our Lady of Einsiedlen—Zwingle's Call—The Abbot—Gerold'sk—A learned Society—The Bible copied—Zwingle and Separation—First Opposition to Error—Sensation—Zwingle and the League—The Honour of Rome—The Bishop of Constance—Barnon and the indulgences—Stapfer—Zwingle's Charity—His Friends.

ABOUT the middle of the ninth century, a German monk, Meinrad of Hohenzellorn, had passed between the lakes of Zurich and Wallenstadt, and halted on a little hill in front of an amphitheatre of pines, where he

built a cell. Ruffians imbrued the in the blood of the saint. The poll long remained deserted. About the tenth century, a convent and church of the Virgin were built sacred spot. About midnight on the day of consecration, the Bishop stance and his priests were at prayer church: a heavenly strain, proceeded invisible beings, suddenly resounded the chapel. They listened prostrated with admiration. On the morrow bishop was about to consecrate the voice repeated thrice: "Stop! at himself has consecrated it!"¹ Christ (it was said) had blessed it du night: the strains they had heard of the angels, apostles, and saints; Virgin standing above the altar as the brightness of lightning. A bull VIII. had forbidden the faithful to doubt the truth of this legend. From that time a crowd of pilgrims had annually our Lady of the Hermits for the feast "the Consecration of the Angels." and Ephesus in ancient times, and in more recent days, have alone enjoyed renown of Einsiedlen. It was in this ordinary place that, in 1516, Ulrich was invited to be priest and preacher.

Zwingle did not hesitate. "It is ambition nor covetousness," said he takes me there, but the intrigues French."² Reasons of a higher kind mined him. On the one hand, having solitude, more tranquillity, and a lessive parish, he would be able to devote time to study and meditation; on the other, this resort of pilgrims offered him means of spreading a knowledge of Christ into the most distant countries.

The friends of evangelical preachers Glaris loudly expressed their grief. more distressing can happen to Glaris Peter Tschudi, one of the most distinguished citizens of the canton, "than to be of so great a man?"⁴ His parish seeing that he was inflexible, resolved to leave him the title of pastor of Glaris portion of the stipend, and the power of turning whenever he chose.⁵

Conrad of Rechberg, a gentleman descended from an ancient family, serious, intrepid, and sometimes, perhaps, rough, was one of the most celebrated men of the country to which Zwingle was going. In one of his farms (the Nid) had established a stud where he bred of horses that became famous.

¹ *Cessa, cessa, frater, divinitus capella condit* *Harim. Annal. Einsidl.* p. 51.

² *Locum mutarimus non cupiditate aut cupiditatis, verum Gallorum technis.* *Sw. Epp.* p. 1.

³ *Christum et veritatem ejus in regiones et motas divulgari tam felici oportunitate.* *Opus Sw.*

⁴ *Quid enim Glarone nostris tristius accideret, tanto videlicet privari viro.* *Sw. Epp.* p. 14.

⁵ For two years after this Zwingle still signed, *Pastor Glaronæ, Minister Krenzi.* *Ibid.* p. 30.

he abbot of Our Lady of the Herberg held in equal detestation ions of Rome and theological dis- One day when, during a visita- order, some observations were n: "I am master here, and not he, somewhat rudely; "go your : another time, as Leo Juda was some intricate question at table lministrator of the convent, the ot exclaimed: "Leave off your I cry with David: *Have mercy God, according to thy loving kind- ter not into judgment with thy scri- re to know nothing more.*"

ager of the monastery was Baron Geroldsek; a man of mild cha- re piety, and great love for let- avourite plan was to assemble in a body of learned men; and with e had invited Zwingle. Eager for and reading, he begged his new liect him. "Study the Holy replied Zwingle, "and that you understand them, read Saint Je- ver (added he) a time will come on, with God's help) when Chris- of set great store either by Saint any other doctor, but solely by f God."¹ Geroldsek's conduct ion of his progress in faith. He be nuns in a convent depending n to read the Bible in the vulgar nd some years later Geroldsek ived at Zurich beside Zwingle, ith him on the field of Cappel. harm erelong tenderly attached not only Geroldsek, but also aplain, the worthy Exclin, Lucas, inmates of the abbey. These on, far removed from the tumult sed to unite in reading the Scrip- thers of the Church, the master- itiquity, and the writings of the learning. This interesting circle ceased by friends from distant ong others, Capito one day ar- nsidlen. The two old friends of d over the convent together, and ut its wild environs, absorbed tion, examining the Scriptures, to learn God's will. There was on which they were agreed, and "The pope of Rome must fall!" at this time a bolder man than he rds.

lm retreat Zwingle enjoyed rest, ks, and friends, and grew in ng and in faith. It was then that he commenced a work that useful to him. As in ancient lings of Israel transcribed God's eir own hands, so Zwingle with

his copied out the Epistles of St. Paul. At that time there existed none but voluminous editions of the New Testament, and Zwingle wished to be able to carry it with him always.¹ He learned these Epistles by heart, and somewhat later the other books of the New Testament and part of the Old. His soul thus grew daily more attached to the supreme authority of the Word of God. He was not content simply to acknowledge this authority; he resolved sincerely to subject his life to it. He entered gradually into a more christian path. The purpose for which he had been brought into this desert was accomplishing. Doubtless, it was not until his residence at Zurich that the power of a christian life penetrated all his being; but already at Einsidlen he had made evident progress in sanctification. At Glaris, he had been seen to take part in worldly amusements; at Einsidlen, he sought more and more after a life pure from every stain and from all worldliness; he began to have a better understanding of the great spiritual interests of the people, and learned by degrees what God designed to teach him.

Providence, in bringing him to Einsidlen, had also other aims. He was to have a nearer view of the superstitions and abuses which had invaded the Church. The image of the Virgin, carefully preserved in the monastery, had, it was said, the power of working miracles. Over the gate of the abbey might be read this presumptuous inscription: "Here a plenary remission of sins may be obtained." A crowd of pilgrims flocked to Einsidlen from every part of Christendom to merit this grace by their pilgrimage at the festival of the Virgin. The church, the abbey, and all the valley, were filled with her devout worshippers. But it was particularly at the great feast of "the Consecration of the Angels" that the crowd thronged the hermitage. Many thousand individuals of both sexes climbed in long files the slopes of the mountain leading to the oratory, singing hymns or counting their beads. These devout pilgrims crowded eagerly into the church, imagining themselves nearer to God there than elsewhere.

Zwingle's residence at Einsidlen, as regards a knowledge of the abuses of the papacy, produced an analogous effect to that resulting from Luther's visit to Rome. In this monastery he completed his education as a reformer. God alone is the source of salvation, and He is every where: this was what he learned at Einsidlen, and these two truths became the fundamental articles of Zwingle's theology. The seriousness he had acquired in his soul soon manifested itself in his actions. Struck by the knowledge of so many evils, he resolved to oppose them boldly. He did not hesitate between his conscience and his interests: he stood forth with courage,

sch. III. 263; Zwinglis Bildung v. Schöler, p. 101, 26.
Brevi. Ite sic Juvania, ut neque Hieronymus
d'elia Scriptura divina apud Christianos in
Sw. Opp. I. 272.

¹ This manuscript is still extant in the public library of Zurich.

and his energetic eloquence uncompromisingly attacked the superstitions of the crowd that surrounded him. "Do not imagine," said he from the pulpit, "that God is in this temple more than in any other part of creation. Whatever be the country in which you dwell, God is around you, and hears you, as well as at Our Lady's of Einsidlen. Can unprofitable works, long pilgrimages, offerings, images, the invocation of the Virgin, or of the saints, secure for you the grace of God?.....What avails the multitude of words with which we embody our prayers? What efficacy has a glossy cowl, a smooth-shorn head, a long and flowing robe, or gold-embroidered slippers!.....God looks at the heart, and our hearts are far from Him!"¹

But Zwingle desired to do more than merely inveigh against superstition; he wished to satisfy the ardent yearnings for reconciliation with God, experienced by many pilgrims who flocked to the chapel of Our Lady of Einsidlen. "Christ," exclaimed he, like John the Baptist in this new desert of the mountains of Judea, "Christ, who was once offered upon the cross, is the sacrifice (*host*) and victim, that makes satisfaction for the sins of believers to all eternity."² Thus Zwingle advanced. On the day when such bold language was first heard in the most venerated sanctuary of Switzerland, the standard uplifted against Rome began to rise more distinctly above its mountains, and there was, so to speak, an earthquake of reformation that shook her very foundations.

In effect, universal astonishment filled the crowd as they listened to the words of the eloquent priest. Some withdrew in horror; others hesitated between the faith of their sires and this doctrine which was to ensure peace; many went to Jesus who was preached to them as meek and gentle, and carried back the tapers they had brought to present to the Virgin. A crowd of pilgrims returned to their homes, every where announcing what they had heard at Einsidlen: "Christ alone saves, and he saves EVERY WHERE." Often did whole bands, amazed at these reports, turn back without completing their pilgrimage. Mary's worshippers diminished in number daily. It was their offerings that made up in great measure the stipends of Zwingle and Geroldsek. But this bold witness to the truth felt happy in impoverishing himself, if he could spiritually enrich souls.

Among Zwingle's numerous hearers at the feast of Whitsuntide in 1518, was Gaspard Hedio, doctor of divinity at Basle, a learned man, of mild character and active charity. Zwingle was preaching on the narrative of the paralytic (Luke v.), in which occurs this declaration of our Lord: *The Son of Man*

hath power upon earth to forgive sins well adapted to strike the crowd as in the temple of the Virgin. The pi sermon stirred, charmed, and inspired congregation, and particularly the B tor.¹ For a long while after, Hedio customed to speak of it with ad "How beautiful is this discourse," "how profound, solemn, copious, ting, and evangelical! how it remir the *visus* (the force) of the ancitors!"² From this moment Hedio and loved Zwingle.³ He would ha to have spoken with him, to have un himself to him; he wandered ro abbey, yet dared not advance, bei back (he says) by superstitious timi remounted his horse, and retired often turning his head towards the enclosed so great a treasure, and away in his heart the keenest regre

Thus preached Zwingle; certain less force, but with more modera not less success than Luther: he pre nothing; he shocked men's minds than the Saxon reformer: he expect thing from the power of truth. He with the same discretion in his in with the heads of the Church. I showing himself immediately as the sary, like Luther, he long remain friend. The latter humoured him ingly, not only on account of his and talents (Luther had the same the respect of the Bishops of M Brandenburg), but especially becau attachment to the political party of and the influence such a man as Zw sessed in a republican state.

Several cantons, indeed, disgus the papal service, were on the breaking with it. But the legates themselves they would retain many ing Zwingle, as they had alread Erasmus, by pensions and honou legates Ennius and Pucci paid visits to Einsidlen, whence, consi vicinity to the democratic canto negotiations with these states we: But Zwingle, far from sacrifici to the demands and offers of Ron opportunity escape of defending th The famous Schinner, whose dio then in a disturbed state, spent s at Einsidlen. "The pope dom," sai one day, "reposes on a bad fo apply yourselves to the work; errors and abuses, or else you wil whole edifice fall with a tremendou

¹ *Vertis oblonga et plicis plana, multi auro ornati....Cor vere interius precant a Deo est.* Zw. Opp. I. 226.

² *Christus qui sese semel in cruce obtulit, hostia est et victima satisfactions in eternum, pro peccatis omnium fidelium.* Ibid. 226.

¹ *Is sermo ita me inflammavit Zw. Opp. I. 226.*

² *Kierans ille, doctus, gravis, copiosus, penes galles.... Ibid. p. 22.*

³ *Ut inciperem Zwingium arctissime comperere et admirari.* Ibid.

⁴ *Sicque aboquivi, non sine molestia, quas mihi pepererant.* Ibid. p. 22.

⁵ *Dass das ganz Papstum einen schlechten Zw. Opp. II. part. I. p. 7.*

⁶ *Oder aber sy werdind mit grosser unruhe sel.* Ibid.

ke with the same freedom to Cardin. Four times he returned to the "With God's aid," said he, "I will to preach the Gospel, and this will make Rome totter." He gained to the prelate what ought to n order to save the Church. Pucci everything, but did nothing. declared that he would resign the nsion. The legate entreated him ; and Zwingle, who had no intent- at time of setting himself in open against the head of the Church, l to receive it for three years longer. not imagine," added he "that for money I retract a single syllable of u."¹ Pucci in alarm procured for ner the nomination of acolyte to the his was a step to further honours. ned at frightening Luther by her a, and at gaining Zwingle by her a. Against the one she hurled munciations; to the other she old and splendours. These were rent ways of attaining the same of silencing the bold tongues that the pope's despite, proclaim the God in Germany and in Switzer- he latter was the more skilful po- it neither was successful. The ted souls of the preachers of the e equally beyond the reach of ven- : of favour.

r Swiss prelate, Hugo of Landen- hop of Constance, about this time opes in Zwingle's breast. He or- neral visitation of the churches. denberg, a man of no decision of , permitted himself to be guided at by Faber his vicar, and at another us woman whose influence he could e off. Sometimes he appeared to he Gospel, and yet he looked upon as a disturber of the people who to preach it boldly. He was one of n, too common in the Church, who, they prefer truth to error, show ard to error than to truth, and often urning against those by whose sides ld have fought. Zwingle applied but in vain. He was destined to ; same experiment as Luther, and wledge that it was useless to invoke tances of the heads of the Church, the only way of reviving Chris- as to act as a faithful teacher of the God. The opportunity soon came. the heights of Saint Gothard, over vated roads that have been cut with e toil through the steep rocks that Switzerland from Italy, journeyed a us monk, in the month of August 'merging from an Italian convent, he bearer of the papal indulgences : had been empowered to sell to the

good Christians of the Helvetic Confedera- tion. The brilliant successes gained under the two preceding popes had conferred honour on this scandalous traffic. Accompanied by men appointed to puff off the wares he had for sale, he crossed these snows and icy glaciers as old as the world. This greedy train, whose appearance was wretched enough, and not unlike a band of adventurers in search of plunder, advanced silently to the noise of the impetuous torrents that form the Rhine, the Rhone, the Ticino, and other rivers, meditating the spoliation of the simple inhabitants of Switzerland. Samson, for such was the Franciscan's name, and his troop, arrived first in Uri, and there opened their trade. They had soon finished with these poor mountaineers, and then passed on to Schwytz. Zwingle resided in this canton— and here the combat was to take place between the two servants of two very different masters. "I can pardon all sins," said the Italian monk, the Tetzeli of Switzerland, addressing the inhabitants of the capital. "Heaven and hell are subject to my power; and I sell the merits of Christ to any who will purchase them by buying an indulgence for ready money."

Zwingle's zeal took fire as he heard of these discourses. He preached with energy, saying; "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, has said, *Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* Is it not then, most presumptuous folly and senseless temerity to declare, on the contrary, 'Buy letters of indulgence! hasten to Rome! give to the monks! sacrifice to the priests! and if thou doest these things, I absolve thee from thy sins?'¹ Jesus Christ is the only oblation; the only sacrifice; the only way!"²

Throughout Schwytz, Samson ere long was called a cheat and seducer. He took the road to Zug, and for a time the two champions did not meet.

Scarcely had Samson left Schwytz, when Stapfer, a citizen of this canton, a man of distinguished character, and afterwards secretary of state, was suddenly reduced with his family to great distress. "Alas!" said he, addressing Zwingle in his anguish, "I know not how to satisfy my hunger, and that of my poor children."³ Zwingle could give when Rome could take, and he was as ready to practise good works, as he was to combat those who taught that salvation was to be gained by them. Every day he carried Stapfer abundant supplies.⁴ "It is God," said he, desirous of taking no praise to himself, "it is God who begets charity in the faithful, and gives at once the thought, the resolve, and the work itself. Whatever good

¹ Romam curre: redime literas indulgentiarum! de tantumdem monachis! offer sacerdotibus, &c. Zw. Opp. i. 222.
² Christus una est oblatio, unum sacrificium, una via. Ibid. 201.

³ Ut meum, meorumque liberorum inedia corporali subveniret. Zw. Opp. p. 224.
⁴ Largas mihi quotidie suppetias tulisti. Ibid.

operari me vel verbum de veritate diminutionis gratis. Zw. Opp. i. 265.

work the just man doeth, it is God who doeth it by his own power.¹ Stappfer remained attached to Zwingle all his life, and when four years later he had become secretary of state at Schwytz, and felt impelled by more elevated desires, he turned towards Zwingle, saying with nobleness and candour: "Since it was you who provided for my temporal wants, how much more may I now expect from you the food that shall satisfy my soul!"

Zwingle's friends increased in number. It was not only at Glaris, Basle, and Schwytz that souls were found in harmony with his: in Uri, there was Schmidt, the secretary of state; at Zug, Colin, Müller, and Werner Steiner, an old fellow-soldier at Marignan; at Lucerne, Xyloctect and Kilchmeyer; at Bienne, Wittembach; and many others in other places besides. But the priest of Einsidlen had no friend more devoted than Oswald Myconius. Oswald had quitted Basle in 1516, to superintend the cathedral school at Zurich. At that time this city possessed neither learned men nor learned schools. Oswald laboured, in conjunction with several other well-disposed men, among whom was Utinger, the pope's notary, to rescue the Zurich people from their ignorance, and to initiate them in the literature of the ancients. At the same time he upheld the immutable truth of the Holy Scriptures, and declared that if the pope and the emperor commanded any thing in opposition to the Gospel, man is bound to obey God alone, who is above the emperor and the pope.

CHAPTER VI.

The Canons' College—Election to the Cathedral—Fable—Accusations—Zwingle's Confession—Development of God's Purposes—Farewell to Einsidlen—Arrival at Zurich—Zwingle's bold Declaration—First Sermons—Their Effect—Opposition—Zwingle's Character—Taste for Music—Arrangement of the Day—The Book-hawker.

SEVEN centuries before, Charlemagne had attached a college of canons to the cathedral of Zurich, the school belonging to which was under the direction of Myconius. These canons having declined from their primitive institution, and desiring to enjoy their benefices in the sweets of an indolent life, used to elect a priest to whom they confided the preaching and the cure of souls. This post became vacant shortly after the arrival of Myconius, who immediately thought of his friend. What a gain it would be to Zurich! Zwingle's exterior was in his favour. He was a handsome man,² of graceful manners,

and pleasing conversation; he had become celebrated for his eloquence, celled throughout the Confederation splendour of his genius. Myconius him to Felix Frey, the provost of ter, who was prepossessed by talents and appearance;³ to Uting man, highly respected, and to Hoffmann, a person of upright and racter, who, from having long against the foreign service, was well disposed in Ulrich's favour. Zurichers had, on different occasions Zwingle at Einsidlen, and had re of admiration. The election of for the cathedral soon put everyb rich in motion. The different par to bestir themselves. Many lab and night to procure the election quent preacher of Our Lady of the Myconius informed his friend of "Wednesday next, I shall go ar Zurich," replied Zwingle, "and th talk this matter over." He can ingly. While paying a visit to canons, the latter said, "Can you and preach the Word of God amon "I can," replied he, "but I will unless I am called." He then r his abbey.

This visit spread alarm in the c enemies. They pressed several become candidates for the vacan Swabian, Lawrence Fable, even a probationary sermon, and a report lated that he had been elected. "true, then," said Zwingle, on bein of this, "that no man is a prophet country, since a Swabian is pre Swiss. I know what the applau people is worth."⁴ Immediat Zwingle received a letter from Schinner's secretary, informing hi election had not yet taken place false intelligence that had reache piqued the chaplain of Einsidlen. that a man so unworthy as thi pired to the station, he became eager for it himself, and wrote Myconius. Oswald replied on the day: "Fable will always rema our gentlemen have learnt that father of six boys, and already hol not how many livings."⁵

Zwingle's enemies, however, d sider themselves beaten. All agr tolling to the clouds the extent of f ments;⁶ but some said, "He is music!" Others, "He loves con

¹ Und als Imme seine Gestalt und geschäfel, gab er im syn allm. Bullinger Ohro
² Qui dies et noctes laborarent at vir ille
Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.

³ Scio vulgi acclamaciones et illud blandur
Zw. Epp. p. 83.

⁴ Fabula manebit fabula; quem domini n
sex pueris esse patrem....ibid.

⁵ Nominem tamen, qui tuam doctrinam i
erat....ibid.

¹ Caritas ingenerat Deum, consilium, propositum et opus. Quidquid boni prestat iustus, hoc Deus sua virtute prestat. Zw. Opp. I. 82.

² Dan Zwingle vom lyb ein hübscher man was. Bullinger Chron.

pleasure!" And others again, "He was once too intimate with persons of light conduct!" One man even accused him of seduction. Zwingli was not blameless, and although less erring than the ecclesiastics of his day, he had more than once, in the first years of his ministry, allowed himself to be led astray by the passions of youth. We cannot easily form an idea of the influence upon the soul of the corrupt atmosphere in which it lives. There existed in the papacy, and among the priests, disorders that were established, allowed, and authorized, as conformable to the laws of nature. A saying of Aneas Sylvius, afterwards pope under the title of Pius II., gives some notion of the degraded state of public manners at this epoch.¹ Disorder had come to be the generally admitted order of things.

Oswald exerted incredible activity in his friend's behalf; he employed all his powers to justify him, and luckily succeeded.² He visited the Burgomaster Roust, Hoffman, Frey, and Uttinger; he lauded the probity, decorum, and purity of Zwingli's conduct, and confirmed the Zurichers in the favourable impression they entertained towards the priests of Einsidlen. Little credit was paid to the stories of his adversaries. The most influential men said that Zwingli would be preacher at Zurich. The canons said the same, but in an under-tone. "Hope on," wrote Oswald with a rising heart; "hope on, for I hope." He nevertheless informed him of the accusations of his enemies. Although Zwingli had not yet become altogether a new man, he was one of those whose conscience is awakened, who may fall into sin, but never without a struggle and without remorse. Often had he resolved to lead a holy life, alone among his kind, in the midst of the world. But when he found himself accused, he would not boast of being without sin. "Having no one to walk with me in the resolutions I had formed," wrote he to the canon Uttinger, "many even of those about me being offended at them, alas! I fell, and like the dog of which St. Peter speaks (2 Pet. ii. 22), I turned again to my vomit." The Lord knows with what shame and anguish I have dragged these faults from the bottom of my heart, and laid them before that great Being to whom, however, I confess my wretchedness far more willingly than to man.³ But if Zwingli acknowledged himself a sinner, he vindicated himself from the odious accusations that had been made against him. He declared that he had always banished far from him the thought of

adultery or of seducing the innocent,⁴—grievous excesses which were then too common. "I call to witness," says he, "all those with whom I have ever lived."⁵

The election took place on the 11th of December. Zwingli was appointed by a majority of seventeen votes out of twenty-four. It was time that the Reformation began in Switzerland. The chosen instrument that Providence had been preparing for three years in the hermitage of Einsidlen was ready; the hour was come for him to be stationed elsewhere. God, who had chosen the new university of Wittemberg, situated in the heart of Germany, under the protection of one of the wisest of princes, *there* to call Luther, selected in Helvetia the city of Zurich, regarded as the head of the confederation, *there* to station Zwingli. In that place he would be in communication not only with one of the most intelligent and simple-hearted, the strongest and the most energetic people in Switzerland, but still more with all the cantons that collected around this ancient and powerful state. The hand that had led a young herdsman from the Sentsis to the school of Wesen, was now setting him, mighty in word and in deed, in the face of all, that he might regenerate his nation. Zurich was about to become the centre of light to the whole of Switzerland.

It was a day of mingled joy and sorrow at Einsidlen, when its inmates were informed of Zwingli's nomination. The society which had been formed there was about to be broken up by the removal of its most valuable member; and who could say that superstition might not again prevail in this ancient resort of pilgrims?..... The state-council of Schwytz transmitted to Ulrich the expression of their sentiments, styling him "reverend, most learned, very gracious lord and good friend."⁶—"Give us at least a successor worthy of yourself," said the heart-broken Geroldsek to Zwingli.—"I have a little *lion* for you," replied he, "one who is simple-minded and prudent, and deep in the mysteries of Scripture."—"I will have him," said the administrator. It was Leo Juda, that mild and intrepid man, with whom Zwingli had been so intimate at Basle. Leo accepted this invitation which brought him nearer his dear Ulrich. The latter embraced his friends, quitted the solitude of Einsidlen, and arrived at that delightful spot where rises the cheerful and animated city of Zurich, with its amphitheatre of hills, covered with vineyards, or adorned with pastures and orchards, and crowned with forests, above which appear the highest summits of the Alps.

Zurich, the centre of the political interests of Switzerland, and in which were often collected the most influential men in the nation,

¹ *Non enim qui viginti annorum excessit, nec virginem videtur.* Zw. Epp. p. 57.

² *Propter hoc pro virgine, imo et reposit.* Ibid. p. 54.

³ *Quippe nonnullum habens comitem hujus instituti, senatibus, vero non paucos, heu! cecidi et factus sum canis ad vomitum.* Ibid. p. 55.

⁴ *Idem, cum verocandis (Deus novit) magna hæc ex peccatis speciebus deprecari, apud eum scilicet, cum quo etiam deum prius quam cum ullo sermo mortalium confiteri solet.* Ibid.

⁵ *Pa ratio nobis perpetuo fuit, nec alienum thorum consendere, nec virginem violare.* Zw. Epp. p. 55.

⁶ *Testes invoco cunctos, quibuscum vixi.* Ibid.

⁷ *R-verencie, perdoctie, admodum gratiosæ domine ac bone amice.* Ibid. p. 60.

was the spot best adapted for acting upon Helvetia, and scattering the seeds of truth through all the cantons. Accordingly, the friends of learning and of the Bible joyfully hailed Zwingle's nomination. At Paris, in particular, the Swiss students, who were very numerous, thrilled with joy at this intelligence.¹ But if at Zurich a great victory lay before Zwingle, he had also to expect a hard struggle. Glarean wrote to him from Paris: "I foresee that your learning will excite great hatred;² but be of good cheer, and like Hercules you will subdue the monsters."

On the 27th of December 1518, Zwingle arrived at Zurich, and alighted at the hotel of Einsiedlen. He received a hearty and an honourable welcome.³ The canons immediately assembled, and invited him to take his place among them. Felix Frey presided; the canons, friends or enemies to Zwingle, sat indiscriminately around their provost. Unusual excitement prevailed in the assembly; for every one felt, unconsciously perhaps, how serious was the beginning of this ministry. As they feared the innovating spirit of the young priest, it was agreed to explain to him the most important duties of his charge. "You will make every exertion," they said to him gravely, "to collect the revenues of the chapter, without overlooking the least. You will exhort the faithful, both from the pulpit and in the confessional, to pay all tithes and dues, and to show by their offerings their affection to the Church. You will be diligent in increasing the income arising from the sick, from masses, and in general from every ecclesiastical ordinance." The chapter added: "As for the administration of the sacraments, the preaching and the care of the flock, these are also the duties of the chaplain. But for these you may employ a substitute, and particularly in preaching. You should administer the sacraments to none but persons of note, and only when called upon; you are forbidden to do so without distinction of persons."⁴

What a regulation for Zwingle! money! money, nothing but money!.....Did Christ establish his ministry for this? Prudence, however, moderated his zeal; he knew that he could not at once deposit the seed in the earth, behold the tree grow up, and gather its fruits. Without any remark on the duties imposed upon him, Zwingle, after humbly expressing his gratitude for their flattering selection, announced what he intended doing. "The life of Christ," said he, "has been too long hidden from the people. I shall preach upon the whole of the Gospel of St. Matthew, chapter after chapter, according

to the inspiration of the Holy Gh human commentaries, drawing the fountains of Scripture,¹ a depths, comparing one passage and seeking for understanding and earnest prayer.² It is to (to the praise of his only Son, to vation of souls, and to their ex the true faith, that I shall co ministry."³ Language so no deep impression on the chapter. tified their joy; but the major sorrow.⁴ "This way of preachi novation," exclaimed they; "one will lead to another, and when stop?" The canon Hoffman, thought it his duty to prevent choly consequences of an electio he himself had been so earnest. planation of Scripture," said h more injurious than useful to th "It is not a new manner," repli "it is the old custom. Call to n milies of Chrysostom on St. Mat Augustine on St. John. Besi speak with moderation, and give just cause to complain of it."

Thus did Zwingle abandon th use of the fragments of the G since the time of Charlemagne: l the Holy Scriptures to their an he bound the Reformation fro commencement of his ministry t tive times of Christianity, and la tion by which future ages migh Word of God. But we may go l firm and independent position l as regards the Gospel, announ work; the figure of the reform bold outline before the eyes of and the reform advanced.

Hoffman, having failed in t addressed a written request to praying him to forbid Zwingle t faith of the people. The provos new preacher before him, and s very affectionately. But no hu could close Zwingle's lips. On t cember, he wrote to the couni resigning entirely the cure they t for him up to this time: he was all and for the work that God was p him in this city.

On Saturday, the 1st day of th and it was also his thirty-fift/ Zwingle went into the cathedral great crowd, eager to see this cele and to hear this new Gospel, w general topic of conversation, c temple. "It is to Christ," sai

¹ Absque humanis commentationibus, ex Scripture sacre. Zw. Opp. I. 373.

² Sed mente Spiritus, quam diligenti Scriptione, precibusque ex corde fualis, se nactur Vita Zw.

³ Alles Gott und seinen einigen Sohn zu und zu rechten Heil der Seelen, zur Uebersichten Glauben. Bull. M8.

⁴ Quibus auditis, moror simul et letitia.

¹ Omnes adeo quotquot ex Helvetiis adsunt juvenes fremere et gaudere. Zw. Opp. p. 63.

² Quotcumque invidem tibi interitus eruditio tus confabit. Ibid. p. 64.

³ Do er chrlich und wol empfangen ward. Bullinger Oberrath.

⁴ Schuler's Zwingle's Bildung. p. 227.

"that I desire to lead you ; to Christ, the true source of salvation. His Divine Word is the only food that I wish to set before your hearts and souls." He then gave out that on the following day, the first Sunday in the year, he would begin to explain the Gospel according to St. Matthew. The next morning, the preacher and a still more numerous congregation were at their posts. Zwingle opened the Gospel—so long a sealed book—and read the first page. Discoursing on the history of the patriarchs and prophets (1st chapter of St. Matthew), he explained it in such a manner that his wondering and enraptured hearers exclaimed: "We never heard the like of this before!"¹

He continued thus to explain St. Matthew according to the Greek text. He showed how all the Bible found at once its explanation and its application in the very nature of man. Setting forth the highest truths of the Gospel in simple language, his preaching reached all classes, the wise and learned, as well as the ignorant and foolish.² He extolled the infinite mercies of God the Father, and conjured all his hearers to place their sole trust in Jesus Christ, as their only Saviour.³ At the same time, he called them most earnestly to repentance; he forcibly attacked the prevailing errors among his people; and inveighed courageously against luxury, intemperance, costly garments, the oppression of the poor, idleness, foreign service, and pensions from the princes. "In the pulpit," said one of his contemporaries, "he spared no one, neither pope, emperor, kings, dukes, princes, lords, nor even the confederates themselves. All his strength and all the delight of his heart was in God; and accordingly he exhorted all the city of Zurich to trust solely in Him."⁴ "Never had they heard a man speak with such authority," said Oswald Myconius, who followed his friend's labours with great joy and hope.

It was impossible that the Gospel could be preached in Zurich to no purpose. An ever increasing multitude of all classes, and particularly of the lower orders, flocked to hear him.⁵ Many Zurichers had ceased to frequent the public worship. "I derive no instruction from the sermons of these priests," said Füsslin, the poet, historian, and councillor of state; "they do not preach the things belonging to salvation, because they understand them not. I can see in these men nothing but avarice and licentiousness." Henry Rünschlin, treasurer of state, a constant reader of scripture, thought the same:

"The priests," said he, "met in thousands at the Council of Constance.....to burn the best of them all." These distinguished men, attracted by curiosity, came to hear Zwingle's first sermon. On their features might be read the emotion with which they listened to the preacher. "Glory be to God!" said they, as they retired; "this man is a preacher of the truth. He will be our Moses to lead us forth from this Egyptian darkness."⁶ From this moment they became the intimate friends of the reformer. "Ye mighty ones of the world," said Füsslin, "cease to prescribe the doctrine of Christ! When Christ, the Son of God, had been put to death, fishermen rose up to fill his place. And now, if you destroy the preachers of the truth, you will see glaziers, millers, potters, founders, shoemakers, and tailors, teaching in their stead."⁷

For a time there was but one cry of admiration in Zurich; but as soon as the first moments of enthusiasm were passed, the adversaries resumed their courage. Many well-meaning men, alarmed by the fear of a reformation, gradually became estranged from Zwingle. The violence of the monks, suppressed for a while, burst forth again, and the college of the canons resounded with complaints. Zwingle was immovable. His friends, as they contemplated his courage, imagined they saw a man of the apostolic age reappearing before them.⁸ Among his enemies, some laughed and joked, others gave utterance to violent threats; but he endured all with christian patience.⁹ "If we desire to gain over the wicked to Jesus Christ," he was accustomed to say, "we must shut our eyes against many things."¹⁰ An admirable saying, which should not be lost!

His character and his deportment towards all men contributed, as much as his discourses, to win their hearts. He was at once a true Christian and a true republican. The equality of mankind was not with him a mere conventional term; it was written in his heart, and shown by his life. He had neither that pharasaical pride nor that monastic coarseness which offends equally the simple and the wise of this world; they felt attracted towards him, and were at ease in his society. Bold and energetic in the pulpit, he was affable to all whom he met in the streets or public places; he was often seen in the halls where the companies and trades used to meet, explaining to the citizens the chief features of the christian doctrine, or conversing familiarly with them. He ad-

¹ *Denke ich wie jederman redt, nie gehört worden war.* (Zwingle's contemporary), Füsslin *Berträge*, iv. 36.

² *Non ita simplices aequaliter cum prudentissimis et acutissimis quibusque, proficiebant.* *Osw. Myc. Vita Zw.*

³ *In welchem er Gott den Vater preiset und alle Menschen allein uff Jesus Christum, als den einzigen Heiland verkündigen lehrte.* Bullinger *Chron.*

⁴ *All sein Trost stünd allein mit fröhlichem Gemüth zu Gott.*....*B. Weiss, Füsslin Bertr.* iv. 26.

⁵ *Do ward bald ein gross Geläuff von allerley menschen, besonders von dem gemeinen Mann.*....Bullinger *Chron.*

⁶ *Und unser Moses seyn der uns aus Egypten führt.* Bullinger *Chron.*

⁷ *Werden die Glaser, Müller, Hafner, Oessler, Schuhmacher und Schneider lehren.* Müller's *Beig.* iii. 183.

⁸ *Nobis apostolici illius seculi virum representas.* *Zw. Epp.* p. 74.

⁹ *Obgannunt quidem, rident, minantur, petulant inessant....at tu vere, christiana patientia, suffers omnia.* *Ibid.* May 7, 1519.

¹⁰ *Convidendum ad multa et, qui vult malos Christo laudare.*....*Ibid.*

dressed peasants and patricians with the same cordiality. "He invited the country-people to dine with him," said one of his most violent enemies, "walked with them, talked to them of God, put the devil in their hearts, and his books into their pockets. He succeeded so well that the notables of Zurich used to visit the peasants, drink with them, show them about the city, and pay them every mark of attention."¹

He continued to cultivate music "with moderation," says Bullinger; nevertheless the opponents of the Gospel took advantage of this, and called him "the evangelical lute-player and fifer."² Faber having one day censured him for this taste, he replied with noble frankness: "My dear Faber you do not know what music is. True, I have learnt to play on the lute, the violin, and other instruments, and they serve me to quiet little children;³ but you are too holy for music!.....Do you not know that David was a skilful player on the harp, and how by this means he drove the evil spirit out of Saul?.....Ah! if you did but know the sounds of the heavenly lyre, the wicked spirit of ambition and love of riches which possesses you would soon depart from you likewise." Perhaps this may have been a weakness in Zwingle; still it was with a spirit of cheerfulness and evangelical liberty that he cultivated this art, which religion has always associated with her sublimest devotion. He set to music some of his christian poems, and was not ashamed from time to time to amuse the little ones of his flock with his lute. He conducted himself in the same kindly manner towards the poor. "He would eat and drink with all who invited him," says one of his contemporaries; "he despised no one; he was compassionate to the poor, always steadfast and cheerful in good and evil fortune. No misfortune alarmed him; his conversation was at all times full of consolation, and his heart firm."⁴ Thus Zwingle's popularity was ever on the increase; sitting by times at the tables of the poor and at the banquets of the rich, as his Master had done in former days, and every where doing the work to which God had called him.

He was indefatigable in study. From day-break until ten o'clock he used to read, write, and translate; at that time Hebrew was the special object of his studies. After dinner he listened to those who had any news to give him or who required his advice; he then would walk out with some of his friends and visit his flock. At two o'clock he resumed his studies. He took a short walk after supper, and then wrote his letters,

which often occupied him till he always worked standing, and never himself to be disturbed except in an important cause.¹

But the exertions of more were required. A man named on him one day with the workman reformer. Rhenanus, a residing at Basle, and indefatigably Luther's writings in Switzerland sent him to Zwingle. Rhenanus perceived that the hawking of powerful means of spreading cal doctrines. Lucian had almost the whole of Switzerland nearly everybody. "As Rhenanus to Zwingle, "whet possesses sufficient prudence to let him carry from city to city to town, from village to villa from house to house, among the works of Luther, and especial tion of the Lord's prayer with laity.² The more they are known purchasers they will find. I take care not to let him have books; for if he has only Luther sell them so much the faster means a ray of light penetrable dwelling of many a Swiss fi was however one book that Zwingle have caused to be distributed Luther's—the Gospel of Jesus

CHAPTER VII.

The Indulgences—Samson at Berne and at of Bremgarten—Young Henry Bullinger—Dean—Zwingle's Internal Struggles—Zwingle's Indulgences—Samson is sent back.

An opportunity of displaying zeal in a new vocation presented Samson, the famous indulgence was slowly approaching Zwingle's wretched trafficker had left arrived at Zug on the 20th 1518, and had remained there. An immense crowd had gathered. The poorest were the most eager prevented the rich from getting in. This did not suit the monk's accordingly one of his attendants cry out to the populace: "Good crowd so much! make way! I have money! We will afterwards to satisfy those who have none." Samson and his band proceeded from Lucerne to Unterwalden:

¹ Dans der Rath gemeldete Bauern besucht....Salat's Chronik, p. 146.

² Der Leutheenschlager und evangelischer Pfarrer. Bullinger's Chron.

³ Das kommt mir ja wol die Kind zu geschweigen. Ibid.

⁴ Was allwegen trostlichen Gemüths und tapferer Red. v. Weiss, Saml. Bayr. iv. 24.

¹ Certas studii vindicant horas, quas nisi seria coactus. Ouw. Mjc. Vita Zw.

² Oppidatim, municipatim, vicatim, I per Helvetios circumferat. Zw. Ep. 81.

after crossing fertile mountains and rich valleys, skirting the everlasting snows of the Oberland, and displaying their Romish merchandise in these most beautiful portions of Switzerland, they arrived in the neighbourhood of Berne. The monk was at first forbidden to enter the city; but eventually, by means of certain friends he had there, he succeeded in gaining admission, and set up his stall in St. Vincent's Church. Here he began to bawl out more lustily than before: "Here," said he to the rich, "are indulgences on parchment for a crown."—"There," said he to the poor, "are absolutions on common paper for two batz!"¹ One day a celebrated knight, Jacques de Stein, appeared before him, prancing on a dapple-gray horse,² which the monk admired very much. "Give me," said the knight, "an indulgence for myself, for my troop, five hundred strong, for all my vassals at Belp, and for all my ancestors, and you shall have my dapple-gray charger in exchange." This was asking a high price for a horse; but as it pleased the Franciscan, they soon came to terms; the charger was led to the monk's stable, and all those souls were declared for ever exempt from hell. Another day, a citizen purchased of him for thirteen florins an indulgence empowering his confessor to absolve him, among other matters, from every kind of perjury.³ So much respect was felt for Samson, that the councillor De May, an aged and enlightened man, who had spoken irreverently of him, was compelled to beg pardon of the haughty monk on his knees.

On the last day of his stay the noisy sound of bells proclaimed the departure of the monk from Berne. Samson was in the church, standing on the steps of the high altar. The canon Henry Lupulus, formerly Zwingle's teacher, was his interpreter. "When the wolf and the fox prowled about together," said the canon. Anselm, turning to the schultheiss Do Watteville, "your wisest plan, my gracious lord, is to shut up your sheep and your geese." But the monk cared little for such remarks, which, moreover, did not reach his ears: "Kneel down," said he to the superstitious crowd, "recite three *Paters*, three *Aves*, and your souls will immediately be as pure as at the moment of your baptism." Upon this all the people fell on their knees. Samson, desirous of surpassing himself, exclaimed: "I deliver from the torments of purgatory and of hell all the souls of the Bernese who are dead, whatever may have been the manner and the place of their death!" These mountebanks, like their brothers of the fair, kept their best trick till the last.

Samson, laden with money, proceeded through Argovia and Baden towards Zurich.

At every step, this monk, whose appearance had been so wretched when first he crossed the Alps, displayed greater haughtiness and splendour. The Bishop of Constance, who was irritated because Samson would not have his bulls legalized by him, had forbidden all the priests of his diocese to open their churches to him. At Baden, however, the priest of the parish dared not make any strenuous opposition to his traffic. The effrontery of the monk was redoubled. Heading a procession round the cemetery, he seemed to fix his eyes upon some object in the air, while his acolytes were chanting the hymn for the dead; and pretending to see the souls escaping from the cemetery to heaven, he exclaimed: "*Ecce volant! See how they fly!*" One day a man went into the belfry and ascended to the top; ere long a cloud of white feathers, floating in the air, covered the astonished procession: "*See how they fly!*" exclaimed this wag, shaking a cushion on the summit of the tower. Many persons burst out laughing.¹ Samson flew into a passion, and was not to be appeased until he was told that the man's wits were sometimes disordered. He left Baden quite abashed.

He continued his journey, and about the end of February 1519, arrived at Bremgarten, which the schultheiss and junior priest of the town, who had seen him at Baden, had invited him to visit. In all that district no one enjoyed a better reputation than Dean Bullinger. This man, although ill informed in the Word of God and in the errors of the Church, was frank, zealous, eloquent, charitable to the poor, ever ready to do a kindness to the little ones of his flock, and was generally beloved. In his youth he had formed a conscientious union with the daughter of a councillor in the town. This was a practice not unusual among priests who were unwilling to lead a scandalous life. Anna had borne him five sons, and this numerous family had by no means diminished the respect felt towards him. In all Switzerland there was not a more hospitable house than his. He was fond of hunting, and might often be seen with a pack of ten or twelve hounds, and accompanied by the lords of Hallwyl, the abbot of Mury, and the patricians of Zurich, scouring the neighbouring fields and forests. His table was free to all comers, and none of his guests was gayer than himself. When the deputies to the diet were going to Baden by way of Bremgarten, they were always entertained by the dean. "Bullinger," said they, "holds a court like the most powerful lord."

Strangers had remarked in this house a child with intelligent features. Henry, one of the dean's sons, had incurred many dangers from his earliest infancy. At one time he was attacked by the plague, and he was about to be buried, when some feeble signs

¹ A batz is worth about three-halfpence.

² On dean Kuttigowen Hengst. Anshelm, v. 336; J. J. Heide, *Hist. K. Gesch.* iii. 29.

³ A cow's perjury. Muller's *Relig.* iv. 408.

¹ Deacon viol Leth gang lochten; Bullinger Church.

of life restored joy to his parents' hearts. On another occasion, a vagabond, having attracted him by his caresses, was carrying him away, when some passers-by recognised and rescued him. At three years old, he knew the Lord's prayer and the Apostles' creed; and creeping into the church, he would go into his father's pulpit, gravely take his station, and repeat at the full strength of his voice: "I believe in God the Father," &c. At twelve years of age his parents sent him to the grammar school of Emmeric; their hearts were filled with apprehension, for the times were dangerous for an inexperienced boy. When the regulations of a university appeared to them too severe, the students might often be seen quitting the school in troops, taking little children with them, and encamping in the woods, whence they would send the youngest of their number to beg bread, or else, with arms in their hands, would fall upon travellers, whom they robbed, and then consumed the fruits of their plunder in debauchery. Fortunately Henry was preserved from evil in this distant place. Like Luther, he gained his bread by singing from door to door, for his father wished him to learn to live on his own resources. He was sixteen years old when he opened a New Testament. "I there found," said he, "all that is necessary for man's salvation, and from that time I adhered to this principle, that we must follow the sacred Scriptures alone, and reject all human additions. I believe neither the Fathers nor myself, but explain scripture by scripture, without adding or taking away anything."¹ Thus did God prepare this young man, who was one day to be Zwingle's successor. He is the author of the chronicle so often quoted by us.

About this time Samson arrived at Bremgarten with all his train. The bold dean, whom this little Italian army did not dismay, forbade the monk to sell his merchandise in his deanery. The schultheiss, the town-council, and the junior pastor,—all friends to Samson,—were met together in a chamber of the inn where the latter had alighted, and, greatly disconcerted, had gathered round the impatient monk when the dean arrived. "Here are the papal bulls," said the monk; "open your church!"

THE DEAN.—"I will not permit the purses of my parishioners to be drained by unauthenticated letters; for the bishop has not legalized them."

THE MONK, *solemnly*.—"The pope is above the bishop. I forbid you to deprive your flock of so signal a favour."

THE DEAN.—"Should it cost me my life, I will not open my church."

THE MONK, *indignantly*.—"Rebellious priest! in the name of our most holy lord the pope, I pronounce against you the greater

excommunication, and will not let you until you have redeemed such ocedented rashness by paying three hundred ducats!".....

THE DEAN, *turning his back and quitting the room*.—"I shall know how to reply lawful judges: as for you and your unication, I care not for either."

THE MONK, *in a passion*.—"In brute! I am going to Zurich, and I will lay my complaint before the deputies confederation."²

THE DEAN.—"I can appear there as you, and will go thither immediately."

While these events were taking place at Bremgarten, Zwingle, who saw the gradually approaching, preached especially against the indulgences.³ The Faber of Constance, encouraged him in giving him the bishop's support.⁴ "I am aware," said Samson, as he was moving towards Zurich, "that Zwingle will against me, but I will stop his mouth effect, Zwingle felt too deeply all the ness of Christ's forgiveness, not to attempt indulgences of these foolish men. Luther, he often trembled because of fulness, but he found in the Lord a refuge from every fear. This modest but man increased in the knowledge. "When Satan frightens me," said he, crying out: 'You have not done that, which God commands!' forthwith gentle voice of the Gospel consoles: saying: 'What thou canst not do (as I can), thou canst do nothing,' Christ done and perfected.' Yes (continuing evangelist), when my heart is troubled because of my helplessness and the weakness of my flesh, my spirit is revived at the thought of these glad tidings: Christ is the saviour! Christ is thy righteousness! is thy salvation! Thou art nothing; thou canst do nothing! Christ is the Alpha and Omega; Christ is the First and the Last; Christ is all things; he can do all things. All created things will forsake and follow thee; but Christ, the innocent and righteous one, will receive and justify thee.... it is he," exclaimed Zwingle, "who righteousness, and the righteousness of those who shall ever appear justified the throne of God!".....

In the presence of such truths, the gences fell of themselves: Zwingle cordingly feared not to attack them. "man," said he, "can remit sins; Christ is very God and very man, alone he can give power."⁵ Go! buy indulgences.....but

¹ Du freche Bestie....&c. Bull. Chronik.

² Ich predigte streng wider des Pabste Ablass....

H. part. i. p. 7.

³ Und hat mich darin gestärkt; er wolle mir trösten byston. Ibid.

⁴ Christus est innocentia tua; Christus est justitia tua; Christus est salus tua; tu nihil es, tu nihil es, tu nihil es; Christus est A et Omega; Christus est prorsus et pupillus (and the dove); Christus est omnia....Ibid. l. 207.

⁵ Vnde Christus Jesus, verus Deus et verus homo Opp. l. 412.

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at you are not absolved. Those remission of sins for money, are the sins of Simon the magician, the false Balaam, and the ambassadors of

tallinger, still heated by his conversion the monk, arrived at Zurich. He came to lay his complaints to diet against this shameless merchant his traffic. He found some envoys bishop who were there with the same and made common cause with them. He was to support him. The spirit of hatred pervaded the city. The council of state resolved to oppose the entry into Zurich.

He had reached the suburbs and at an inn. He was preparing to dismount on horse to make his solemn entry, already one foot in the stirrup, when from the council appeared before him the honorary cup of wine from the pope, and informing him might dispense with entering Zurich. "Something to communicate to the name of his holiness," replied the pope, "this was a mere trick. It was however, to receive him; but as he was nothing but a papal bull, he was deterred being compelled to withdraw communication pronounced against the Brengarton. He quitted the hall with anger, and soon after the pope set out for Italy. A waggon, drawn by oxen, and laden with the money that the pope had wrung from the poor, pressed on those steep paths of the St. Gotthard that he had crossed eight months without money or parade, and burthened only a few papers.¹

The strict diet showed more resolution than the German. It was because neither the pope nor cardinals had a seat in it. And the pope, deprived of these supporters, was mildly towards Switzerland than towards Germany. But the affair of the interdict, which played so important a part in the German, was merely an episode in the Swiss Reformation.

He was ordered to repair to the baths of Pfeffers. "Oh! had I a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths, and a voice of iron, as Virgil says; or rather had I the eloquence of Cicero, how could I express all that I owe to you, and the pain this separation causes me?"² Such were the parting words of Hierus, one of the pupils resident in his house, and who thus gave utterance to the feelings of all who knew Zwingle. He departed, and reached Pfeffers through the frightful gorge formed by the impetuous torrent of the Jamina. He descended into that infernal gulf, as Daniel the hermit terms it, and arrived at those baths, perpetually shaken by the fall of the torrent, and moistened by the spray of its broken waters. Torches were required to be burned at noonday in the house where Zwingle lodged. It was even asserted by the inhabitants, that frightful spectres appeared sometimes amid the gloom.

And yet even here he found an opportunity of serving his Master. His affability won the hearts of many of the invalids. Among their number was the celebrated poet Philip Ingentinus, professor at Friburg, in Brigau,³ who from that time became a zealous supporter of the Reformation.

God was watching over his work, and designed to accelerate it. Strong in frame, in character, and in talents, Zwingle, whose defect consisted in this strength, was destined to see it prostrated, that he might become such an instrument as God loves. He needed the baptism of adversity and infirmity, of weakness and pain. Luther had received it in that hour of anguish when his cell and the long galleries of the convent at Erfurth re-echoed with his piercing cries. Zwingle was appointed to receive it by being brought into contact with sickness and death. There is a moment in the history of the heroes of this world, of such as Charles XII. or Napoleon, which decides their career and their renown; it is that in which their strength is suddenly revealed to them. An analogous moment exists in the life of God's heroes, but it is in a contrary direction; it is that in which they first recognise their helplessness and nothingness; from that hour they receive the strength of God from on high. A work like that of which Zwingle was to be the instrument is never accomplished by the natural strength of man; it would wither immediately, like a tree transplanted in all its maturity and vigour. A plant must be feeble or it will not take root, and a grain must die in the earth before it can become fruitful. God conducted Zwingle, and with him the work that depended on him, to the gates of the sepulchre. It is from among the dry bones, the darkness, and the

CHAPTER VIII.

His and Fatigue—The Baths of Pfeffers—The "God"—The Great Death—Zwingle attacked by his Adversaries—His Friends—Convalescence—Joy—Effects of the Pestilence—Myconius—Oswald encourages Zwingle—Zwingle at the invitation of Mentz—Hedio at Basle—The Swiss—Preparations for the Struggle.

did not spare himself. Such great and varied toil called for relaxation, and

er mit ihm ein theuerpender Schatz an Geld, in Lachen abgethan hat. Bullinger Chronik.

¹ Etiam si mihi sint lingue centum, sint oraque centum, ferrea vox, ut Virgilius ait, aut potius Ciceroniana eloquentia. Zw. Epp. p. 55.

² Illic tum comitatem tuam e sinu uberrime profectus non in iocunde sum exortus. Ibid. p. 115.

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dust of death, that God is pleased to select the instruments by means of which he designs to scatter over the earth his light, regeneration, and life.

Zwingle was hidden among those colossal rocks that encircle the furious torrent of the Jamina, when he was suddenly informed that the plague, or the *great death*,¹ as it was called, had broken out at Zurich. It appeared in all its terror in the month of August, on St. Lawrence's day, and lasted till Candlemas, sweeping off two thousand five hundred inhabitants. The young men who resided in Zwingle's house had quitted it immediately, in accordance with the directions he had left behind him. His house was deserted; but it was his time to return to it. He hastily quitted Pfeffers, and reappeared in the midst of his flock, which the malady had decimated; his younger brother Andrew, who had waited for him, he immediately sent back to Wildhaus, and from that hour devoted himself entirely to the victims of this frightful scourge. Every day he proclaimed Christ and his consolations to the sick.² His friends, delighted to see him unharmed amid so many deadly arrows,³ experienced, however, a secret alarm. "Do your duty," said a letter from Basle, written by Conrad Brunner, who himself died of the plague a few months afterwards, "but at the same time remember to take care of your own life." This caution came too late; Zwingle was attacked by the plague. The great preacher of Switzerland lay stretched on a bed from which he seemed likely never to rise. His thoughts were turned inwards; his eyes were directed to heaven. He knew that God had given him a sure inheritance, and venting the feelings of his heart in a hymn, overflowing with unction and simplicity, of which, though we cannot transfer the antique and natural language, we will endeavour at least to exhibit its rhythm and *literal* meaning,—he exclaimed:—

Lo! at the door
I hear death's knock!⁴
Shield me, O Lord,
My strength and rock.

The hand once nailed
Upon the tree,
Jesus, uplift—
And shelter me.

Willest thou, then,
Death conquer me?⁵
In my noonday?....
So let it be!

¹ Der grosse Tod. Bullinger Chronik.
² Ut in majore periculo sis, quod in die te novo exponas, dum invisit aegrotos. Bullinger Chronik, p. 57. Chateaubriand had forgotten this and a thousand similar facts, when he wrote that "the protestant pastor abandons the necessaries on the bed of death, and never risks his life in the midst of the pestilence." Essai sur la littérature Anglaise.

³ Periculum gaudeo, te inter tot jaculis telorum versantem, illarum hastenarum evadisse. Ibid.

⁴ Ich mein der Tod,
Sag an der Thür, &c. Zw. Opp. II. part II. 270.
In rendering this and the other specimens of poetry contained in this history, the translator has aimed solely at giving a *faithful* transcript of the original.

⁵ Willst du dann gleich
Tod hegen mich
In mitt der Tagen min
So soll's willig sin. Ibid.

Oh! may I die,
Since I am thine;
Thy home is made
For faith like mine.

Meantime his disease increased; his despairing friends beheld the hope of Switzerland and of the about to fall a prey to the tomb, and his strength forsook him. He was dismayed, but he still found sufficient to turn towards God and

My pains increase:
Lord, stand thou near.
Body and soul
Dissolve with fear.

Now death is near,
My tongue is dumb;
Fight for me, Lord,
Thine hour is come!

See Satan's net
Is o'er me cast—
I feel his hand....
Must I be lost?

His shafts, his voice
Alarm no more,
For here I lie
Thy cross before.

Canon Hoffman sincerely attached, could not bear the idea of seeing die in the errors which he had. He called on the provost of the city said to him: "Think of the danger his soul is exposed. Has he not as innovators and fantastical all who have taught these three hundred and eighty years past and more—Hales, Bonaventure, Albertus Magnus, Aquinas, and all the canonists not he maintain that their doctrinal visions, which they dreamt in within the walls of their cloisters, it would have been better for Zurich had Zwingle ruined our vine and our harvest for many years! No death's door.....I entreat you, poor soul!" It would appear that the provost, who was more enlightened than the canon, did not think it necessary Zwingle to Bonaventure and Albertus. He was left in peace."

The city was filled with distressed lievers cried to God night and day Him to restore their faithful past alarm had spread from Zurich to towns of the Tockenburgh. The had made its appearance even on village. Seven or eight persons had Zwingle's brother Nicholas.³ No received from the reformer. "wrote young Andrew Zwingle, state you are, my dear brother. and all our brothers salute thee."

1 Nun let es um
Min Zung ist stumm.

Darum ist Zyt
Das du mich stirbt. Ibid. 271

² Alle Glaubwürdigen Gott treuwillig an
getroffenen Hirten wieder ufrichte. Bullinger
³ Nicolao vero germano nostro etiam obi
attamen non in verbis suis. Zw. Opp. p. 68.

er that Zwingle's parents were dead, there being no mention of them here. The news of Zwingle's malady, and even report of his death, were circulated in Switzerland and Germany. "Alas!" cried Hedio in tears, "the preserver of our country, the trumpet of the Gospel, the zealous herald of truth, is cut down in the flower and spring-tide of his life!"¹ When news of Zwingle's decease reached Basle, the whole city resounded with lamentations mourning.²

At the spark of life that still remained it to burn more brightly. Although his life was weak, his soul felt the unalterable conviction that God had called him to see the candle of His Word on the empty stick of the Church. The plague had taken its victim, and Zwingle exclaims emotion:—

My God, my Sire,
Heal'd by thy hand,
Upon the earth
Once more I stand.
From guilt and sin
May I be free!
My mouth shall sing
Alone of thee!
The uncertain hour
For me will come...
O'erwhelm'd perchance
With deeper gloom.³
It matters not!
With joy I'll bear
My yoke, until
I reach heaven's sphere.⁴

At the beginning of November, as soon as he could hold a pen, Zwingle wrote to his friends. This gave unutterable joy to his friends, particularly to his young brother Oswald, who himself died of the plague in the following year, and at whose death Ulrich and groaned (as he himself observes) more than woman's sorrow.⁵ At Basle, Hans Brunner, Zwingle's friend, and Hans Amerbach, the celebrated printer, both of whom, had died after three days' illness, were believed in that city that Zwingle had fallen. The university felt the same dejection. "Whom the gods love hang," said they.⁶ But who can do their delight when Collins, a student of Lucerne, and after him a merchant from

Zurich, brought intelligence that Zwingle had escaped from the jaws of death!¹ The vicar of the Bishop of Constance, John Faber, that old friend of Zwingle's, who was subsequently his most violent antagonist, wrote to him: "Oh! my beloved Ulrich, what joy I feel at learning that you have been saved from the grasp of cruel death! When you are in danger, the christian commonwealth is threatened. The Lord has pleased to urge you by these trials to seek more earnestly for eternal life."

This was indeed the aim of the trials by which God had proved Zwingle, and this end was obtained, but in a different manner from that imagined by Faber. This pestilence of 1519, which committed such frightful ravages in the north of Switzerland, was in the hands of God a powerful means for the conversion of many souls.² But on no one did it exercise so powerful an influence as on Zwingle. The Gospel, which had hitherto been too much regarded by him as a mere doctrine, now became a great reality. He arose from the darkness of the sepulchre with a new heart. His zeal became more active; his life more holy; his preaching more free, more christian, and more powerful. This was the epoch of Zwingle's complete emancipation; henceforward he consecrated himself entirely to God. But the Reformation of Switzerland received a new life at the same time as the reformer. The scourge of God, the great death, as it swept over these mountains and descended into its valleys, gave a holier character to the movement that was there taking place. The Reformation, as well as Zwingle, was baptized in the waters of affliction and of grace, and came forth purer and more vigorous. It was a memorable day in the counsels of God for the regeneration of this people.

Zwingle derived fresh strength, of which he stood so much in need, from communion with his friends. To Myconius especially he was united by the strongest affection. They walked in reliance on each other, like Luther and Melancthon. Oswald was happy at Zurich. True, his position there was embarrassed, but tempered by the virtues of his modest wife. It was of her that Glarcon said: "If I could meet with a young woman like her, I should prefer her to a king's daughter." Yet a faithful monitor often broke in upon the sweet affection of Zwingle and Myconius. It was the canon Xyloctect inviting Oswald to return to Lucerne, his native place. "Zurich is not your country," said he, "it is Lucerne! You tell me that the Zurichers are your friends; I do not deny it. But do you know what will be the end of it? Serve your country. This I would advise and entreat you, and, if I may, I

¹ *calm non delect, publicam patrie salutem, tubam
et magnanimum veritatis buccinatorum languere,
ms. Zw. Epp. p. 30.*

² *quantum luctus, satis Ewingium concessisse, im-
a hie rumor suo vehementi impetu divulgavit. Ibid.*

³ *in words were strikingly fulfilled, twelve years later,
loud-stained field of Cappel.*

⁴ *So will I do.*

*Den Trutz und Foch
In dieser Welt
Tragen frolich
Um widergeit.*

⁵ *with these three fragments of poetry bear date "at
ending, the middle, and the end of his malady," and
the sentiments Zwingle really felt at these three
it is most probable that they were not put into the
which they have come down to us until after his
See Hallinger Chronik.*

⁶ *certis tunc horis, incredibilibs quidam natus letitias
sensum subit. Zw. Epp. p. 30.*

⁷ *nam et luctum pluviamque femineum. Ibid. p. 106.*

⁸ *et tunc pueri, maritus et uxor. Ibid.*

¹ *E diris te mortis fanelbus feliciter ereptum negotior
quidam Tigurinus... Zw. Epp. p. 31.*

² *Als die Pestilenz in Jahre 1519, in dieser Gegend gra-
sirt, viele neigten sich zu einem bessern Leben. George
Vögelin, Ref. Hist. Fribourg. iv. 176.*

would command you!"¹ Xyloctect, joining actions with words, procured his nomination as head-master of the collegiate school at Lucerne. Oswald hesitated no longer; he saw the finger of God in this appointment, and however great the sacrifice, he resolved to make it. Who could tell that he might not be an instrument in the hand of the Lord to introduce the doctrine of peace into the warlike city of Lucerne? But what a sad farewell was that of Zwingle and Myconius! They parted in tears. "Your departure," wrote Ulrich to his friend shortly after, "has inflicted a blow on the cause I am defending, like that suffered by an army in battle-array when one of its wings is destroyed."² Alas! now I feel all the value of my Myconius, and how often, without my knowing it, he has upheld the cause of Christ."

Zwingle felt the loss of his friend the more deeply, as the plague had left him in a state of extreme weakness. "It has enfeebled my memory," wrote he on the 30th of November 1519, "and depressed my spirits." He was hardly convalescent before he resumed all his duties. "But," said he, "when I am preaching, I often lose the thread of my discourse. All my limbs are oppressed with languor, and I am almost like a corpse." Besides this, Zwingle's opposition to indulgences had aroused the hostility of their partisans. Oswald encouraged his friend by the letters he wrote from Lucerne. Was not the Lord, at this very moment, giving a pledge of his support by the protection He afforded in Saxony to the powerful champion who had gained such signal victories over Rome?..... "What is your opinion," said Myconius to Zwingle, "of Luther's cause? As for me, I have no fear either for the Gospel or for him. If God does not protect His truth, who shall protect it? All that I ask of the Lord is, that He will not withdraw his hand from those who hold nothing dearer than his Gospel. Continue as you have begun, and an abundant reward shall be conferred upon you in heaven!"

The arrival of an old friend consoled Zwingle for the departure of Myconius. Bunzli, who had been Ulrich's instructor at Basle, and who had succeeded the Dean of Wesen, the reformer's uncle, visited Zurich in the first week of the year 1520, and Zwingle and he formed a project of going to Basle to see their common friends.³ Zwingle's sojourn in that city was not fruitless. "Oh! my dear Zwingle," wrote John Glother not long after, "never can I forget you. I am bound to you by that kindness with which, during your stay in Basle, you came to see me,—me, a poor schoolmaster, an obscure man, without learning, merit, and of low

estate! You have won my affection that gracefulness of manner, that sensible suavity with which you speak. Nay, even the stones, if I speak.⁴ But Zwingle's old friends still more by his visit. Capito, many others, were electrified by his language; and the former, comme Basle, a work similar to that which was carrying on in Zurich, began the Gospel according to St. Matthee an ever-increasing auditory. The of Christ penetrated and warmed the people received it gladly, with acclamations the revival of Christ. This was the dawn of the Reformat accordingly a conspiracy of priests at was soon formed against Capito. In this period that Albert, the youthful archbishop of Mentz, desirous of so great a scholar to his person, invited him to his court.⁵ Capito, seeing that were opposed to him, accepted tation. The people were excited; indignation was roused against the and a violent commotion broke out city.⁶ Hedio was thought of as his sor; but some objected to his y others said, "He is Capito's disciple truth stings," said Hedio; "it is ne wound tender ears by preaching it matters not! Nothing shall make n from the straight road." The mon bled their efforts: "Do not believ exclaimed they from the pulpit, "you that the sum of christian d found in the Gospel and in St. Paul has been more serviceable to Ch than St. Paul himself. All the things that have been ever said o were stolen from Scotus. All t hunters after glory have been able merely to add a few Greek or Hebr to obscure the whole matter."⁶

The disturbance increased, and cause to fear that, after Capito's the opposition would become s powerful. "I shall be almost alone," Hedio;—"I, a weak and wretched struggle unaided with these pestil sters."⁷ In these circumstances to God for succour, and wrote to "Animate my courage by frequer Learning and Christianity are now the hammer and the anvil. Luthe been condemned by the univeraite

¹ *Morum tuorum elegantia, suavitasque incommensurabili devotio, etiam lapides, ut sic dixerim, p. 133.*

² *Renaissant Christianismo mirum quam fa p. 130.*

³ *Cardinalis illic invitavit amplissimis et ibid.*

⁴ *Tumultus exortitur et maxima indignatio p. 131. Ibid.*

⁵ *Auriculara teneras mordaci radere vero, not tutum est. Ibid.*

⁶ *Scotum plus profuissae rei Christianae et Pasium . . . quicquid eruditum, furatum ex se*

⁷ *Cum pestilentialissimis monstri. Ibid. p. 13*

¹ *Patriam cole, suadeo et obsecro, et, si hoc possum, jubeo. Xyloctectus Myconio.*

² *Nam res mea, si absente, non sunt minus socias, quam si praesentem in proemio stanti altera alarum abstergatur. Ibid. p. 94.*

³ *Ibid. pp. 104, 111.*

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ologne. If ever the Church was at danger, it is now."¹

At Basle for Mentz on the 28th of . . . was succeeded by Hedio. Not with the public assemblies in the . . . here he continued the explanation . . . Hedio proposed in the month . . . as he writes to Luther) to have . . . etings in his house, for the more . . . omunication of evangelical in- . . . to those who felt its necessity. . . rful means of edification in the . . . of exciting the interest and zeal . . . for Divine things, could not fail, . . . n all times, to arouse opposition . . . dly minded people and domineer- . . ; both which classes, though from . . . motives, are unwilling that God . . . worshipped anywhere except with- . . ndary of certain walls. But Hedio . . vable.

period when he was forming this . . . tion at Basle, there arrived at . . of those characters who, in all . . s, are thrown up, like a foul scum, . . face of society.

ator Grebel, a man highly respect- . . ich, had a son named Conrad, a . . markable talents, a violent enemy . . ce and superstition, which he at- . . h the most cutting satire; he was . . and passionate, caustic and ill- . . his speech; void of natural affec- . . ated, speaking loudly and frequent- . . wn innocence, and seeing nothing . . his neighbours. We mention him . . se he was afterwards destined to . . ancholy part. Just at this time, . . rried one of Conrad's sisters. The . . was studying at Paris, where his . . had rendered him incapable of . . eeling a desire to be present at the . . suddenly (about the middle of . . eared in the midst of his family. . . father received his prodigal son . . d smile; his tender mother, with . . ears. The affection of his parents . . change his unnatural heart. His . . unhappy mother having some time . . been brought to the verge of the . . nrad wrote to his brother-in-law . . "My mother has recovered; she is . . r of the house; she sleeps, rises, . . akfasts, quarrels, dines, disputes, . . is always a trouble to us. She . . it, roasts and bakes, heaps and . . ds and wearies herself to death, . . soon bring on a relapse."² Such . . an who somewhat later presumed . . r over Zwingle, and became noto- . . me of the chiefs of the fanatical . . ts. It may be that Divine Pro- . . lowed such characters to appear at

the epoch of the Reformation, to form a con- . . trast by their very excesses with the wise, . . christian, and regulated spirit of the re- . . formers.

Every thing seemed to indicate that the . . battle between the Gospel and popery was . . about to begin. "Let us stir up the tempo- . . rizers," wrote Hedio to Zwingle; "the truce . . is broken. Let us put on our breastplates; . . for we shall have to fight against the most . . formidable enemies."³ Myconius wrote to . . Ulrich in the same strain; but the latter . . replied to these warlike appeals with admir- . . able mildness: "I would allure these obsti- . . nate men," said he, "by kindness and friend- . . ly proceedings, rather than overthrow them . . by violent controversy."⁴ For if they call our . . doctrine (which is in truth not ours) a devilish . . doctrine, it is all very natural, and by this I . . know that we are really ambassadors from . . God. The devils cannot be silent in Christ's . . presence."

CHAPTER IX.

The Two Reformers—The Fall of Man—Explanation of the . . Man-God—No Merit in Works—Objections refuted—Power . . of Love for Christ—Election—Christ the sole Master— . . Effects of this Preaching—Defection and Courage—First . . Act of the Magistrate—Church and State—Attacks— . . Galster.

ALTHOUGH Zwingle desired to follow a mild . . course, he did not remain inactive. After . . his illness, his preaching had become more . . profound and more vivifying. Upwards of . . two thousand persons in Zurich had received . . the Word of God in their hearts, confessed . . the evangelical doctrine, and were already . . qualified to announce it themselves.⁵

Zwingle held the same faith as Luther, . . but a faith depending on deeper reasoning. . . In Luther it was an impulse; in Zwingle, . . perspicuity of argument prevailed. We find . . in Luther's writings an internal and private . . conviction of the value of the cross of Jesus . . Christ to himself individually; and this con- . . viction, so full of energy and life, animates . . all that he says. The same sentiment, un- . . doubtedly, is found in Zwingle, but in a less . . degree. He was rather attracted by the har- . . mony of the christian doctrine: he admired . . it for its exquisite beauty, for the light it . . sheds upon the soul of man, and for the . . everlasting life it brings into the world. The . . one is moved by the heart, the other by the . . understanding; and this is why those who . . have not felt by their own experience the

¹ *Armatus pectora nostra! pugnandum erit contra te-
terrime hostes.* *Ev. Epp.* p. 161.

² *Benevolentia honestoque obsequio potius alios, quam
animosa oppugnatione trahi.* *Ibid.* p. 162.

³ *Non enim soli sumus: Tiguri plus doctores milites pae-
nitentum est rationalium, qui lac jam spirituale argentes*
..... *Ibid.* 164.

in imminet periculum, jam imminet. *Ev.
7th March 1522.*
⁴ *das Hane, schliffe, steht auf, rankt, dröh-
....* *Samml. Samml.* iv.; *Witz.* i. 74.

faith that animated these two great disciples of the same Lord have fallen into the gross error of representing one as a mystic and the other as a rationalist. Possibly, the one is more pathetic in the exposition of his faith, the other, more philosophical; but both believe in the same truths. It may be true that they do not regard secondary questions in the same light; but that faith which is one,—that faith which renews and justifies its possessor,—that faith which no confession, no articles can express,—exists in both alike. Zwingle's doctrines have been so often misrepresented, that it will not be irrelevant to glance at what he was then preaching to the people who daily thronged the cathedral of Zurich.

In the fall of the first man Zwingle found a key to the history of the human race. "Before the fall," said he one day, "man had been created with a free will, so that, had he been willing, he might have kept the law; his nature was pure; the disease of sin had not yet reached him; his life was in his own hands. But having desired to be as God, he died.....and not he alone, but all his posterity. Since then in Adam all men are dead, no one can recall them to life, until the Spirit, which is God himself, raises them from the dead."¹

The inhabitants of Zurich, who listened eagerly to this powerful orator, were overwhelmed with sorrow as he unfolded before their eyes that state of sin in which mankind are involved; but soon they heard the words of consolation, and the remedy was pointed out to them, which alone can restore man to life. "Christ, very man and very God,"² said the eloquent voice of this son of the Tockenburgh herdsman, "has purchased for us a never ending redemption. For since it was the eternal God who died for us, his passion is therefore an eternal sacrifice, and everlastingly effectual to heal;³ it satisfies the Divine justice for ever in behalf of all those who rely upon it with firm and unshaken faith. Wherever sin is," exclaimed the reformer, "death of necessity follows. Christ was without sin, and guile was not found in his mouth; and yet he died!..... This death he suffered in our stead! He was willing to die that he might restore us to life; and as he had no sins of his own, the all-merciful Father laid ours upon him."⁴..... Seeing that the will of man," said the christian orator again, "had rebelled against the Most High, it was necessary for the re-establishment of eternal order and for the salva-

tion of man, that the human submit in Christ's person to the Di. He would often remark that the death of Jesus Christ had taken half of believers, of the people of

The souls that thirsted after the city of Zurich found repose at of these glad tidings; but there in their minds some long-established which it was necessary to eradicate from the great truth that salvation of God, Zwingle inveighed powerfully the pretended merit of hum "Since eternal salvation," said he solely from the merits and death Christ, it follows that the merit works is mere vanity and folly, impiety and senseless impudence could have been saved by our own would not have been necessary to die. All who have ever come to come to him through the death Christ."⁵

Zwingle foresaw the objection trine would excite among so hearers. They waited on him before him. He replied to their pulpit: "Some people, perhaps than pious, object that this doctrine careless and dissolute. But importance are the fears and objects the daintiness of men may suggest soever believes in Jesus Christ that all that cometh from God is good. If, therefore, the Gospel is good.⁶ And what other power could implant righteousness, trust among men?.....O God, most righteous Father of all men claimed he in a transport of piety what charity Thou hast embraced enemies!⁷.....With what lofty hopes hast thou filled us, who feel nothing but despair! and to hast thou called, in thy Son, our and our nothingness!.....Thou this unspeakable love, to console thee love for love!"

Following out this idea, he showed that love to the Redeemer more powerful than the command "The Christian," said he, "del the law, depends entirely on Jesus Christ is his reason, his counsel eousness, and his whole salvation lives and acts in him."⁸ Chris

¹ Quum ergo omnes homines in Adam mortui sunt.... donec per Spiritum et gratiam Dei ad vitam que Deus est excitentur. Zw. Opp. i. 204. This passage, and others we have quoted, or which we may have occasion to quote, are taken from a work Zwingle published in 1523, and in which he reduced to order the doctrines he had been preaching for several years past,—his recollections ceased (he says) quæ ex verbo Dei predicavi. Ibid. p. 204.

² Christum verum hominem et verum Deum....Ibid. 204.
³ Deus enim æternus, quum ait qui pro nobis moritur, passionem quæ æternam et perpetuam salutarum esse oportet. Ibid.

⁴ Mortuus voluit ut nos vitam restitueret....Ibid. 204.

⁵ Necesse fuit ut voluntas humana in Christum submitteret. Zw. Opp. i. 204.

⁶ Hostia est et victima, satisfaciens in actibus omnium fidelium. Ibid. 233. Expurgata litibus, hoc est, ad salutem populi. Ibid. 264.

⁷ Sequitur meritum nostrorum operum, a vanitate et stultitia, ne dicam impletum temeritatem. Ibid. 230.

⁸ Quotquot ad Deum venerunt unquam Christi ad Deum veniunt. Ibid.

⁹ Certus est quod quicquid ex Deo est, bonum Evangelium ex Deo, bonum est. Ibid. 24.

¹⁰ Quanta caritate nos fures et perducimus. Tum enim totus a Christo pendet. Christo, consilium, iustitia, innocentia et tota in eo vivit, in eo agit. Ibid. 23.

and he needs no other guide." making use of a comparison within of his hearers' intelligence, he f a government forbids its citizen of death to receive any pence from the hands of foreigners, and easy is this law to those who, o their country and their liberty, abstain from so culpable an act, on the contrary, how vexatious it is to those who concern themselves only in their own interest alone! Thus the man lives free and joyful in the righteousness, and the unrighteous murmuring under the heavy burthen that oppresses him!"¹

cathedral of Zurich there were soldiers who felt the truth of these words, not love the most powerful of men.

Are not its commands unfulfilled? Does not He whom we follow in our hearts, and there in that he has ordained? According to Zwingle, growing bolder, proposed to the people of Zurich that the Redeemer was alone capable of a man to perform works acceptable. "Works done out of Jesus are worthless," said the christian oracle every thing is done of him, in him, by him, what can we lay claim to God? Wherever there is faith in Christ is; and wherever God abideth, he exists urging and impelling men to works.² Take care only that Christ and that thou art in Christ, and that then he is at work in thee.

A Christian is one perpetual good which God begins, continues, and com-

affected by the greatness of that d, which is from everlasting, the grace raised his voice in louder invitation to irresolute and timid "Are you afraid," said he, "to approach a tender Father who has elected us? Has he chosen us of his grace? He called us? Why has he drawn us? Is it that we should fear to approach?"

s Zwingle's doctrine : the doctrine himself. " If Luther preaches does what I am doing," said the of Zurich ; " those whom he has Christ are more numerous than m I have led. But this matters I bear no other name than that of one soldier I am, and who alone is

Never has one single word been me to Luther, nor by Luther to

in amore iustitia liber et laetus vivit. Zw.
 Illic cura est et studium, ad opera bona urgens
 ..Ibid. 212.
 p[ro] hominib[us] nihil aliud est, nisi perpetua qua-
 estio bono operatio, quam Deus incipit, ducit,
 ..Ibid. 293.
 o Deus pater nos elegit ex gratia sua, traxit,
 cur ad eum accedere non audeamus? Ibid.

me. And why?.....that it might be shown how much the Spirit of God is in unison with itself, since both of us, without any collusion, teach the doctrine of Christ with such uniformity."¹

Thus did Zwingle preach with courage and enthusiasm.² The vast cathedral could not contain the multitude of his hearers. All praised God for the new life that was beginning to reanimate the lifeless body of the Church. Many of the Swiss from every canton, who came to Zurich either to attend the diet or for other motives, impressed by this new preaching, carried its precious seeds into all the valleys of their native country. A shout of rejoicing rose from every city and mountain. "Switzerland," wrote Nicholas Hageus from Lucerne to Zurich, "Switzerland has hitherto given birth to such as Brutus, Scipio, and Cæsar; but she has hardly produced a man who really knew Jesus Christ, and who nourished our souls, not with vain disputes, but with the Word of God. Now that Divine Providence has given Switzerland a Zwingle for preacher and an Oswald Myconius for teacher, virtue and sacred learning are reviving among us. O fortunate Helvetia! if at last thou wouldst rest from war, and already illustrious by thy arms, become more illustrious still by righteousness and peace!"³—"There was a report," wrote Myconius to Zwingle, "that your voice could not be heard three paces off. But I see now that it was a falsehood, for all Switzerland hears you!"⁴—"Thou hast armed thyself with an intrepid courage," wrote Hedio from Basle; "I will follow thee as far as I am able."⁵—"I have heard thee," wrote Sebastian Hofmeister of Schaffhausen from Constance. "Would to God that Zurich, which is at the head of our happy confederation, were healed of its disease, so that the whole body might be at length restored to health!"⁶

But Zwingle met with adversaries as well as admirers. "Why," said some, "does he busy himself with the affairs of Switzerland?"....."Why," said others, "does he repeat the same things in every sermon?" In the midst of all this opposition, dejection often came over Zwingle's soul. Everything seemed in his eyes falling into confusion, and society to be on the eve of a general convulsion.⁷ He thought it impossible for any new truth to appear, without its antagonistic error springing up immediately.⁸ If any hope arose in his heart, fear grew up by

¹ Quam concors sit spiritus Dei, dum nos tam procul distanti, nihil colludentes, tam concorditer Christi doctrinam

² Quam fortis sis in Christo prædicando. Zw. Epp. p. 100.

⁴ At video mendacium esse, cum audiaris per totam Helvetiam. Ibid. p. 135.

⁶ Ut capite felicitis patriae nostrae a morbo erepto, sanitas tandem in reliqua membra reciperetur. Ibid., p. 147.

² Ut nihil proferre caput queat, cujus non contractum regione emergat. Ibid.

its side. He soon, however, threw off his dejection. "The life of man here below is a continual war," said he; "whoever desires to obtain glory must face the world, and, like David, force this haughty Goliath, so proud of his stature, to bite the dust. The Church," said he, as Luther had done, "was purchased by blood, and by blood must be restored.¹ The more numerous are its impurities, the more men like Hercules must we call up to cleanse these Augean stables.² I am under no apprehensions for Luther," added he, "even should he be struck by the thunderbolts of this (Romish) Jupiter."³

Zwingle had need of repose, and repaired to the waters of Baden. The priest of this town, formerly one of the pope's guards, a man of kindly disposition but of the greatest ignorance, had obtained his benefice by carrying the halberd. Faithful to his military habits, he used to pass the day and part of the night in jovial company, while his curate Stäheli was indefatigable in performing all the duties of his charge.⁴ Zwingle sent for him and said: "I have need of Swiss helpers;" and from that moment Stäheli was his fellow-labourer. Zwingle, Stäheli, and Luti subsequently pastor at Winterthour, lived under the same roof.

Zwingle's devotion was not unrewarded. The Word of Christ, preached with so much energy, was destined to bear fruit. Many magistrates were gained over; they had found in God's Word their consolation and their strength. Afflicted at observing the priests, and above all the monks, uttering shamelessly from the pulpit whatever came into their heads, the council published a decree ordering them to preach nothing in their sermons "that they had not drawn from the sacred fountains of the Old and New Testaments."⁵ It was in 1520 that the civil authority thus interfered for the first time in the work of the Reformation; acting as a christian magistrate (in the opinion of some), since it is the primary duty of the magistrate to defend the Word of God and to protect the dearest interests of the citizens;—depriving the Church of its liberty (in the opinion of others), subjecting it to the secular power, and giving the signal of that long train of evils which the union of Church and State has since engendered. We will not here decide on this great controversy, which in our own days is maintained with so much warmth in many countries. It is sufficient for us to mark its origin at the epoch of the Reformation. But there is still another thing to be pointed out; the act of these magistrates was of itself an effect of the

preaching of the Word of God. Reformation in Switzerland then consisted of simple individualities, and began work. Born in the hearts of the learned men, it extended, it took its station on higher ground waters of the sea, it rose gradually covered a vast expanse.

The monks were confounded; been ordered to preach the Word and most of them had never opposition provokes another. became the signal for the most violent against the Reformation. Plots formed against the priest of Zurich was in danger. One day, as his curates were quietly conversing, some citizens entered his house, "Have you strong bolts to you: on your guard to-night."—"You such alarms as these," adds he, "we were well armed," and a pation in the street to protect us.

In other places recourse was more violent measures. An a Schaffhausen, named Galster, just spirit and a fervour rare at rejoicing in the light he had Gospel, endeavoured to commit his wife and children; in his zeal have been indiscreet, he openly relics, priests, and superstition his canton abounded. He soon object of hatred and terror even family. The old man, anticipating left his house broken-hearted, a neighbouring forests. Here some days sustaining life up could find, when suddenly, on the of the year 1520, torches flashed forest in every direction, and the men and the cry of savage do through its gloomy shades. had ordered a grand chase in discover the wretched man. caught their prey. The unhung was dragged before the magistrimonied to abjure his faith; as steadfast, he was beheaded.⁶

CHAPTER X.

A new Combatant—The Reformer of Bern—The Gospel at Lucerne—Zwingle's Preaching—Henry Bull of Knonau—Rubi at Basle—The Chaplain—War in Italy—Zwingle protests against it.

THE year thus inaugurated by execution had hardly begun, w)

¹ Ecclesiam prout, ut sanguine parva est, ita sanguine instaurari. Zw. Epp. p. 162.

² Po plures armabiles Hercules qui sumus tot haecenas bonum efferant. Ibid. p. 164.

³ Itaque fulmine Jovis totum fulminetur. Ibid.

⁴ Misc. Tig. II. 673-696; Wirz. I. 78, 79.

⁵ Vultu non senatus quicquam predicare quod non ex sacrorum litterarum utriusque Testamenti fontibus haurirent. Zw. Opp. III. 28.

¹ Wir waren aber gut gerüstet. Misc. T.

² E. 23.

³ Wirz. I. 610; Sebast. Wagner, von Kirel

it at Zurich from a young man of eight years of age, of tall whose exterior denoted candour, and diffidence.¹ He introduced Berthold Haller, and on hearing Zwingli embraced the celebrated Berne with that affability which has a charm to his manners. born at Aldingen in Wurtemberg studied first at Rotwyl and next at Pforzheim, where his preceptor, and Melancthon pil. The Bernese had about lived on attracting literary men, which had already become its feats of arms. Rubellus, who was then only twenty-repaired thither. Subsequently named canon, and shortly after the cathedral. The Gospel Zwingli had reached Berne; and, from that hour desired a mighty man whom he already regarded as his father. He went to Zurich, and announced him. Thus Zwingli met. Haller, a disposition, confided to Zwingli and Zwingli, the strong man, with courage. "My soul," said Zwingli one day, "is over-...I cannot support such unjust I am determined to resign my tire to Basle, and there in Witciety, devote myself wholly to ag." "Alas!" replied Zwingli, and discouragement creep over me myself unjustly assailed; but as my conscience by the power of his terrors and promises. He y saying: *Whosoever shall be re before men, of him shall I be re my Father*: and he restores quillity by adding: *Whosoever re before men, him also will I cony Father*. O my dear Berthold, I Our names are written in characters in the annals of the igh.² I am ready to die for h! that your fierce bear-cubs," could hear the doctrine of Jesus would they grow tame.³ But undertake this duty with great est they should turn round and fend you in pieces." Haller's red. "My soul," wrote he to as awakened from its slumber. ch the Gospel. Jesus Christ red to this city, whence He has

been so long exiled."¹ Thus did the flame that glowed so brightly in Zwingli's bosom rekindle that of Berthold, and the timid Haller rushed into the midst of the savage bears, that grinding their teeth (says Zwingli) sought to devour him.

It was in another quarter, however, that the persecution was to break out in Switzerland. The warlike Lucerne stood forward as an adversary armed cap-a-pie and lance in rest. The military spirit prevailed in this canton, the advocate of foreign service; and the leading men of the capital knit their brows whenever they heard one word of peace calculated to restrain their warlike disposition. When Luther's works reached this city, some of the inhabitants began to read them, and were struck with horror. They appeared to have been panned by the hand of a demon; their imagination took fright, their eyes wandered, and they fancied their chambers were filled with devils, surrounding and gazing upon them with a sarcastic leer.².....They hastily closed the volume and flung it aside in terror. Oswald, who had heard of these singular visions, never spoke of Luther, except to his most intimate friends, and was content simply to announce the Gospel of Christ. Yet notwithstanding this moderation, loud cries were heard in the city: "We must burn Luther and the schoolmaster (Myconius)!"³....."I am assailed by my adversary, like a ship in a hurricane at sea," said Oswald to one of his friends.⁴ One day in the beginning of the year 1520, he was suddenly called before the council. "You are enjoined," said they, "never to read Luther's works to your pupils, never to mention him before them, and never even to think of him."⁵ The lords of Lucerne presumed, it will be seen, to extend their jurisdiction very widely. Shortly after this, a preacher declaimed from the pulpit against heresy. All the assembly was moved; every eye was turned on Oswald, for whom could the preacher have had in view but him? Oswald remained quietly in his place, as if the matter did not concern him. But on leaving the church, as he was walking with his friend the Canon Xyloctect, one of the councillors, who had not yet recovered from his agitation, passed near them. "Well! you disciples of Luther," said he angrily, "why do you not defend your master?" They made no reply. "I live," said Myconius, "in the midst of savage wolves; but I have this consolation, that most of them have lost their teeth. They would bite if they could; but as they cannot, they merely howl."

*horum simplicem et simplicitatem candi-
on possilia quidem epistola....* Zw. Epp.

vis MS. J. J. Hott. III. 34.

a habetur in fastis supernorum civium.

scribo non usque adeo detrectem apud me.

revertunt, audita Christi doctrina, manan-

Ibid. The reader will remember that a

a shield of Berna.

¹ Donec Christum, cucullatis nugis longe a nobis exulem
...pro virili restituerim. Zw. Epp. p. 137.

² Dum Lutherum senem legimus, ut potarent stubellam
suam plenam esse demonibus. Ibid. 137.

³ Clamatur hic per totam civitatem: Lutherum combu-

rendum et ludi macistrum. Ibid. 135.

⁴ Non aliter me impellunt quam procellis marinis navem
aliquam. Ibid. 135.

⁵ Imo ne in mentem eum admitterem. Ibid.

The senate was called together, for the tumult among the people kept increasing. "He is a Lutheran!" said one of the councillors. "He is a teacher of novelties!" said another. "He is a seducer of youth," said a third. "Let him appear! let him appear!" cried all. The poor school-master came before them, and heard fresh menaces and prohibitions. His simple spirit was wounded and depressed. His gentle wife could only console him by her tears. "Every one is against me," exclaimed he in his anguish. "Assailed by so many tempests, whither shall I turn, or how shall I escape them?... If Christ were not with me, I should long ago have fallen beneath their blows." "....." "What matters it whether Lucerne will keep you or not?" wrote Dr. Sebastian Hofmeister, in a letter dated from Constance. "The earth is the Lord's. Every country is the home of the brave. Even were we the vilest of men, our cause is just, for we teach the Gospel of Christ."

Whilst the truth thus met with so many obstacles at Lucerne, it was triumphant at Zurich. Zwingle laboured unceasingly. Desirous of meditating on the whole of Scripture in the original languages, he applied himself diligently to the study of Hebrew under the direction of John Boschenstein, Reuchlin's pupil. But his object in studying the Scriptures was to preach them. On Fridays, the peasants who came in crowds, bringing their produce to the market of the city, showed great eagerness for the Word of God. To satisfy their wants, Zwingle had begun, in the month of December 1520, to expound the Psalms every market-day, preparing his sermon by previous meditation on each particular text. The reformers always combined learned pursuits with their practical labours: these labours were their end, their studies were but the means. They were not less zealous in the closet than before the people. The union of learning and love is a characteristic feature of this epoch. With reference to his Sunday preachings, Zwingle, after having expounded the life of our Lord according to St. Matthew, proceeded to show, by explaining the Acts of the Apostles, how the doctrine of Christ had been propagated. He next set forth the rule of a christian life, as inculcated in the Epistles to Timothy; he made use of the Epistle to the Galatians to combat doctrinal errors, and combined with it the two Epistles of Peter, to demonstrate to the contemners of St. Paul how the same spirit animated both these apostles; he concluded with the Epistle to the Hebrews, that he might explain to their fullest extent all the blessings which flow from the gift of Jesus Christ, the great high-priest of the Christian.

But Zwingle did not confine himself to adult men alone; he endeavoured to kindle

in the young also a sacred fire by should be animated. One day 1521, as he was engaged in his 3 ing the Fathers of the Church, the most remarkable passages, at classifying them in a thick volume young man enter whose features interested him.¹ It was Henry, who, having returned from Germany to see him, impatient to teacher of his native land whose already celebrated in Christian handsome youth fixed his eyes on the reformer and his books, as to follow Zwingle's example. He came him with that cordiality every heart. This first visit had influence over the whole life of t after he had returned to his father. Another young man had also g gle's affection; this was Gerold Kuonau. His mother, Anna Kei subsequently occupied an important life of the reformer, had beauty, and was still distinguished virtues. A young man of name John Meyer von Kuonau, who brought up at the court of of Constance, to whom he had conceived an ardent affection but she belonged to a plebeian father Meyer von Kuonau had consent to their union, and dishonour after the marriage. In 1513 left a widow with one son and two and she now lived solely for the the poor orphans. Their grandfather inexorable. One day, however, servant took young Gerold out lively and graceful boy, then years old, and as she stopped at the fish-market, the elder Meyer, to be at the window,² noticed his every movement, and asked to beautiful child, so buoyant with freshness, belonged. "It is I," was the reply. The old man's touched—the ice was melted—was forgotten, and he clasped the wife and the children. Zwingle had become attached as his own child to the young, noble Gerold, who was destined the flower of his age at the reformation his hand upon the sword, and alas! by the dead bodies of his Thinking that Gerold could Zurich sufficient resources for study in 1521 sent him to Basle.

¹ Ich hab by Im ein gross Buch gesehen, wiewol als ich by Ihm was, anno 1521, dorint und *Dogetia Patrum*, dyssig jedes an seine net. Bullinger Chronik.

² Liaget des kindts Grossvater zum fischen das Kind in der Fischer-brunnen (Fisch) und fröhlich sitzen.... Archives des man, quoted in a notice of Anna Reinhardt, by M. Gerold Meier von Kuonau. I am kindness of this friend for the elucidation of passages in the life of Zwingle.

¹ *Christus non esset, jam olim defecissem.* Zw. Epp. p. 62.

Von Knonau did not find He-
s friend, in that city. As Capito
to accompany the Archbishop
coronation of Charles V., he
Medio to supply his place at
le thus successively lost her
preachers; the Church seemed
ut other men appeared. Four
rers crowded the church of Wil-
riest of St. Alban's. He attacked
of the mass, purgatory, and the
saints. But this man, who was
l greedily of public applause, in-
ast error rather than contended
.. On the festival of Corpus
ined the great procession, but
; relics, which it was customary
ugh the streets, there was car-
n a copy of the Holy Scriptures,
ound, and with this inscription
ers: "THE BIBLE; this is the
ll others are but dead men's
rage adorns the servant of God:
esfigures him. The work of au-
to preach the Bible and not to
ous display of it. The enraged
ed Rubli before the council.
mediately filled the square of the
'Protect our preacher," said the
e council. Fifty ladies of dis-
posed in his favour, but Rubli
ed to leave Basle. Somewhat
implicated, like Grebel, in the
he Anabaptists. As the Refor-
mation, it every where rejected
t was mixed up with the good

e, from the lowliest of chapels
n humble voice distinctly pro-
Gospel doctrines. It was that
ful Wolfgang Wissemburger,
uncionellor of state, and chaplain
l. All the inhabitants of Basle,
desires, experienced a deeper af-
meek chaplain than they had for
Rubli himself. Wolfgang began
n German. The monks renewed
rs; but this time they failed,
urger was enabled to continue
e Gospel; "for," says an old
he was a citizen and his father
¹ This first success of the Re-
Basle was an omen of still
the same time, it was of much
o the progress of the work
he confederation. Zurich was
he learned Basle began to be
the sound of the new doctrine.
ons of the new temple were ex-
e Reformation in Switzerland

a Burger war und sein Vater des Rath-
aenck.

was attaining a higher stage of develop-
ment.

Zurich was, however, the centre of the
movement. But in the year 1521, important
political events, that grieved Zwingle's heart,
in some measure diverted men's minds from
the preaching of the Gospel. Leo X., who
had offered his alliance simultaneously to
Charles V. and Francis I., had at length de-
cided for the emperor. The war between
these two rivals was about to burst forth in
Italy. "The pope shall have nothing left
but his ears," said the French general Lau-
rec.¹ This ill-timed jest increased the pon-
tiff's anger. The King of France claimed
the support of the Swiss cantons, which,
with the exception of Zurich, were in alliance
with him: his call was obeyed. The pope
flattered himself with the hope of engaging
Zurich in his cause, and the Cardinal of
Sion, who was always intriguing, in full
confidence in his dexterity and eloquence,
hastened to this city to procure soldiers for
his master. But he met with a resolute
opposition from his old friend Zwingle. The
latter was indignant at the thought of seeing
the Swiss sell their blood to the foreigner;
his imagination already conjured up the sight
of the Zurichers under the standards of the
pope and the emperor crossing their swords
in the plains of Italy with the confederates
assembled under the banner of France; and
at this fratricidal picture his patriotic and
christian soul thrilled with horror. He
thundered from the pulpit: "Will you," ex-
claimed he "tear in pieces and destroy the
confederation?"²..... We hunt down the wolves
that ravage our flocks, but we make no resist-
ance to those who prowl around us to devour
men!.....It is not without reason that the
mantles and the hats they wear are red;
shake these garments, and down will fall du-
cats and crowns; but if you wring them, you
will see them dripping with the blood of your
brothers, your fathers, your sons, and your
dearest friends!"³.....In vain did Zwingle
raise his manly voice. The cardinal with
his red hat succeeded, and two thousand
seven hundred Zurichers departed under the
command of George Berguer. Zwingle's
heart was wrung. His influence was not,
however, lost. For many years after the
banners of Zurich were not unfolded and
carried through the gates of the city in behalf
of foreign princes.

¹ Disse che M. di Lutrech et M. de l'Escu haria ditto che
"voiera che le recchia del papa fusse la major parte retrasse
di la so persona. Gradenigo, the Venetian ambassador at
Rome, M.S. 1523.

² Sagt wie es ein fromme Eidgenossenschaft zertrennen und
umbkriechen würde. Bull. Chronik.

³ Sie tragen billig rote hüt und mäntel, dan schüt man
sie, so fallen Cronen und Duggenen heraus, winde man sie,
so rünt deines Bruders, Vaters, Sohns und guten Freunde
Blut heraus. Ibid.

CHAPTER XI.

Zwingle opposes Human Traditions—Commotion during Lent—Truth triumphs amidst Opposition—The Bishop's Deputies—Accusation before the Clergy and the Council—Appeal to the Great Council—The Conductor and Zwingle—Zwingle's Reply—Decree of the Great Council—Posture of Affairs—Hofman's Attack.

WOUNDED in his feelings as a citizen, Zwingle devoted himself with fresh zeal to the preaching of the Gospel. His sermons increased in energy. "I will never cease labouring to restore the primitive unity of the Church of Christ," said he.¹ He began the year 1522 by showing the difference between the precepts of the Gospel and those of men. When the season of Lent came round, he preached with still greater vigour. After having laid the foundations of the new building, he was desirous of sweeping away the rubbish of the old. "For four years," said he to the crowd assembled in the cathedral, "you have eagerly received the holy doctrine of the Gospel. Glowing with the fire of charity, fed with the sweets of the heavenly manna, it is impossible you can now find any savour in the wretched nutriment of human traditions."² And then attacking the compulsory abstinence from meat at certain seasons, he exclaimed with his artless eloquence: "There are some who maintain that to eat meat is a fault, and even a great sin, although God has never forbidden it, and yet they think it not a crime to sell human flesh to the foreigner, and drag it to slaughter!"³.....At this daring language the partisans of the military capitulations, who were present in the assembly, shuddered with indignation and anger, and vowed never to forget it.

While Zwingle was preaching thus energetically, he still continued to say mass; he observed the established usages of the Church, and even abstained from meat on the appointed days. He was of opinion that the people should be enlightened previously. But there were some turbulent persons who did not act so prudently. Rubli, who had taken refuge at Zurich, permitted himself to be led astray by an extravagant zeal. The former curate of Saint Alban's, a Bernese captain, and Conrad Huber, a member of the great council, were accustomed to meet at the house of the latter to eat meat on Friday and Saturday. On this they greatly prided themselves. The question of fasting engrossed every mind. An inhabitant of Lucerne having come to Zurich, said to one of his friends in this city: "You worthy confederates of Zurich are wrong in eating meat during Lent."—The Zurichers replied: "You gentlemen of Lucerne, however, take the

liberty to eat meat on the prohibitions.—"We have purchased it from the butcher.....If And we, from the butcher.....If affair of money, one is certainly as the other."¹ The council having received a complaint against the transgressor ecclesiastical ordinances, requested the opinion of the parish priest. Zwingle said that the practice of eating meat was not blamable of itself; but people ought to abstain from doing a competent authority should have some decision on the matter. The members of the clergy concurred in the same sentiments.

The enemies of the truth took advantage of this fortunate circumstance. The success was declining; the victory remained with Zwingle, unless they made to strike a vigorous blow. They invited the Bishop of Constance. "Zwingle claimed they," "is the destroyer and keeper of the Lord's fold."²

The ambitious Faber, Zwingle's old enemy, had just returned from Rome full of zeal for the papacy. From the midst of this haughty city were destined to arise the first religious troubles in Switzerland. A decisive struggle between the advocates of truth and the representatives of the papal pontiff was now to take place. It required its chief strength in the attack, and was made upon it. It was under the influence of opposition and persecution that the Reformation acquired the power to eventually overthrow all its enemies. The epoch of its revival, which forms the subject of our history, it was the will to conduct his truth in like manner: these rugged paths. The priests took up, as in the days of the apostles, the new doctrine. Without these, they would probably have remained hidden in a few faithful souls. He was watching the hour to manifest himself. Opposition opened new roads, and launched it on a new career, and eyes of the nation upon it. This was like a gust of wind, scattering to a distance, which would otherwise remained lifeless on the spot where they had fallen. The tree, that was destined to be the people of Switzerland, had been planted in her valleys, but storms necessary to strengthen its roots at its branches. The partisans of the Reformation, seeing the fire already smouldering, rushed forward to extinguish it, only made the conflagration fiercer and more extensive.

In the afternoon of the 7th of April three ecclesiastical deputies from the city of Constance entered Zurich; two

¹ Ego veterem Christi Ecclesiam unitatem instaurare non desinam. Zw. Opp. III. 47.

² Gustum non aliquis humanarum traditionum cibis vobis arduere poterit. Ibid. I. 2.

³ Aber menschentisch verkaufen und so Tod schlucken. Ibid. II. part II. p. 301.

¹ So haben wir's von dem Metzger erkauf Chronik.

² Quis dominici populator esse, non custode Zw. Opp. III. 24.

longer contain their indignation; a murmur was heard in the assembly;¹ again the burgo-master entreated the deputies to remain. Abashed and speechless, they returned to their places, when Zwingle said:—

"The reverend coadjutor speaks of doctrines that are seditious and subversive of the civil laws. Let him learn that Zurich is more tranquil and more obedient to the laws than any other city of the Helvetians,—a circumstance which all good citizens ascribe to the Gospel. Is not Christianity the strongest bulwark of justice among a nation?² What is the result of all ceremonies, but shamefully to disguise the features of Christ and of his disciples?³ Yes!—there is another way, besides these vain observances, to bring the unlearned people to the knowledge of the truth. It is that which Christ and his apostles followed.....the Gospel itself! Let us not fear that the people cannot understand it. He who believes, understands. The people can believe, they can therefore understand. This is a work of the Holy Ghost, and not of mere human reason.⁴ As for that matter, let him who is not satisfied with forty days, fast all the year if he pleases: it is a matter of indifference to me. All that I require is, that no one should be compelled to fast, and that for so trivial an observance the Zurichers should not be accused of withdrawing from the communion of Christians."

"I did not say that," exclaimed the coadjutor.—"No," said his colleague Dr. Brendi, "he did not say so." But all the senate confirmed Zwingle's assertion.

"Excellent citizens," continued the latter, "let not this charge alarm you! The foundation of the Church is that rock, that Christ, who gave Peter his name because he confessed him faithfully. In every nation who ever sincerely believes in the Lord Jesus is saved. It is out of *this* Church that no one can have everlasting life.⁵ To explain the Gospel and to follow it is our whole duty as ministers of Christ. Let those who live upon ceremonies undertake to explain them!" This was probing the wound to the quick.

The coadjutor blushed and remained silent. The council of the Two Hundred then broke up. On the same day they came to the resolution that the pope and the cardinals should be requested to explain the controverted point, and that in the meanwhile the people should abstain from eating meat dur-

ing Lent. This was leaving the *statu quo*, and replying to the bishop to gain time.

This discussion had forwarded the Reformation. The champions and those of the new doctrine had to face, as it were, in the present whole people; and the advantage remained on the side of the pope. The first skirmish in a campaign mixed to be long and severe, and with many vicissitudes of mournin. But the first success at the begin: contest gives courage to the whole intimidates the enemy. The Re had seized upon a ground from whi never to be dislodged. If the coun: themselves still obliged to act wit the people loudly proclaimed the Rome. "Never," said they in the of the moment, "will she be able her scattered and defeated troops."¹ the energy of St. Paul," said they gle, "you have attacked these fals and their Ananias—those whited. The satellites of Antichrist can more than gnash their teeth at you the farthest parts of Germany ca proclaiming him with joy—" the reviving theology."

But at the same time the enemy Gospel were rallying their forces was no time to lose if they desire press it; for it would soon be reach of their blows. Hoffman is the chapter a voluminous accusatic the reformer. "Suppose," he s priest could prove by witnesses wh what disorders had been committed siastics in certain convents, stru verna, he ought to name no on would he have us understand (it is tr scarcely ever heard him myself) tha derives his doctrine from the foun and that others seek it only in kei puddles?² Is it not impossible, co the diversity of men's minds, th preacher should preach alike?"

Zwingle answered this accusatio meeting of the chapter, scattering saries' charges, "as a bull with torres straw in the air."³ The mat had appeared so serious, ended in le of laughter at the canon's expet Zwingle did not stop there; on th April he published a treatise on *the meats*.⁴

¹ *Cæpit murmur audiri civium indignantium.* Zw. Opp. III. 11.

² *Inno Christianismum ad communem justitiam servandam esse potentissimum.* Ibid. 13.

³ *Ceremonias haud quicquam aliud agere, quam et Christo et alijs fidelibus esse oblinere.* Ibid.

⁴ *Quicquid hic agitur divino fit assensu, non humano ratione.* Ibid.

⁵ *Extra illam neminem salvavi.* Ibid. 15.

¹ *Uti vulgo jactatum sit, nunquam ultra cop* Zw. Opp. p. 23.

² *Vale renascentis Theologie decus.* Lett Regius. Ibid. 225.

³ *Die andern aber aus Rinnen und Pfützen sammelt.* Wirz. I. 244.

⁴ *Uti cornu vehemens taurus aristas.* Zw. E.

⁵ *De delectis et libero ciborum usu.* Zw. Opp.

CHAPTER XII.

1 Joy in Germany—Plots against Zwingle—A Mandate—Archteles—The Bishop's Appeal—Injunction against attacking the Monks—Declaration—The Nuns of Ettenbach—Zwingle's reply.

indomitable firmness delighted of truth, and particularly the Christians of Germany, so long in his captivity in the Wartburg, the apostle who had first arisen in the Church. Already many believers, exiled in consequence of the decree which the papacy had from Charles V. at Worms, had found asylum at Zurich. Nessc, the of Frankfurt, whom Luther had his road to Worms, wrote to "Oh! the joy that I feel at hear that authority you proclaim Jesus strengthen by your exhortations on the cruelty of wicked bishops called to flee far from our desolate land."

was not in Germany alone that the were plotting against the friends of the Reformation. Not an hour passed in means of getting rid of Zwingle discussed.¹ One day he received a malicious letter, which he communicated to his two curates. "Snarers you on every side," wrote his secret deadly poison has been prepared away your life.² Never eat food in our own house, and only what has been used by your own cook. The walls contain men who are plotting your ruin. The oracle that has revealed is more worthy of credit than that of a man. I am your friend; you shall be a benefactor."³

Next day after that in which Zwingle had received this mysterious epistle, just as he was entering the Water-church, he stopped him and said: "Leave your house forthwith; a catastrophe is impending. Certain fanatics, who despair of the Reformation checked by words, are arming themselves with poniards. mighty revolutions are taking place, assassins ordinarily spring out of the agitated people. Beware of Zwingle."

The murderers were beholding the execution of their plots, the legitimate organs of the Reformation were again in commotion. The Council of his councillors resolved to renew the intelligence of this reached Zwingle's quarters. The reformer, in full

reliance on the Word of God, said with noble intrepidity: "I fear them.....as a lofty rock fears the roaring waves.....*ὡς ὄρος ὑψὸν ἐν ὄρεσιν*, with the aid of God!" added he.⁴ On the 2d of May, the Bishop of Constance published a mandate, in which, without naming either Zwingle or Zurich, he complained that speculative persons were reviving doctrines already condemned, and that both learned and ignorant were in the habit of discussing in every place the deepest mysteries. John Vanner, preacher of the cathedral at Constance, was the first attacked: "I prefer," said he, "being a Christian with the hatred of many, to abandoning Christ for the friendship of the world."⁵

But it was at Zurich that the rising heresy required to be crushed. Faber and the bishop knew that Zwingle had many enemies among the canons. They resolved to take advantage of this enmity. Towards the end of May a letter from the bishop arrived at Zurich; it was addressed to the provost and chapter. "Sons of the Church," wrote the prelate, "let those perish who will perish! but let no one seduce you from the Church."⁶ At the same time the bishop entreated the canons to prevent those culpable doctrines, which engendered pernicious sects, from being preached or discussed among them, either in private or in public. When this letter was read in the chapter, all eyes were fixed on Zwingle. The latter, understanding the meaning of this look, said to them: "I see that you think this letter refers to me, please to give it me, and, God willing, I will answer it."

Zwingle replied in his *Archteles*, a word which signifies "the beginning and the end;" ".....for," said he, "I hope this first answer will also be the last." In this work he spoke of the bishop in a very respectful manner, and ascribed all the attacks of his enemies to a few intriguing men. "What have I done?" said he; "I have called all men to a knowledge of their own infirmities; I have endeavoured to conduct them to the only true God and to Jesus Christ his Son. To this end, I have not made use of captious arguments, but of plain and sincere language, such as the children of Switzerland can understand." And then, passing from a defensive to an offensive attitude, he added with great beauty: "When Julius Cæsar felt the mortal wound, he folded his garments around him, that he might fall with dignity. The downfall of your ceremonies is at hand! see at least that they fall decently, and that light be every where promptly substituted for darkness."⁷

¹ Quos ita metuo, ut litas altum factum undas minaculum. Zw. Epp. p. 261.

² Male esse Christianum cum multorum invidia, quam relinquare Christum propter mundanorum amicitiam. Ibid. p. 261, dated 22d May.

³ Nemo vos filios ecclesie de ecclesia tollat! Zw. Opp. III. 35.

⁴ In umbrarum locum, lux quam oculis me inducatur. Ibid. 60.

rei ob malorum episcoporum servitiam a nobis prodere velis. Zw. Epp. p. 261.
sterilis hora, in qua non ferunt....consultationem. (Sw. Myc. Vita Zw. p. 199.)
φάρμακον λόγου. Zw. Epp. p. 199.
agnosces me postea. Ibid.

D'AUBIGNE'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

This was the sole result of the bishop's letter to the chapter of Zurich. Since every friendly remonstrance had proved vain, it was necessary to strike a more vigorous blow. Upon this, Faber and Landenberg cast their eyes around them, fixing them at last on the diet, the supreme council of the Helvetic nation.¹ Deputies from the bishop appeared before this body, stating that their master had issued a mandate forbidding the priests in his diocese to make any innovation in matters of doctrine; that his authority had been despised, and that he now invoked the support of the chiefs of the confederation to aid him in reducing the rebels to obedience, and in defending the true and ancient faith.² The enemies of the Reformation had the majority in this first assembly of the nation. Not long before, it had published a decree interdicting all those priests from preaching, whose sermons, in its opinion, were a cause of dissension among the people. This injunction of the diet, which then for the first time interfered with the Reformation, fell to the ground; but now, being resolved to act with severity, this assembly summoned before them Urban Weiss, pastor of Fislispach near Baden, whom the general report accused of preaching the new faith and rejecting the old. Weiss was set at liberty for a season at the intercession of several individuals, and under bail of a hundred florins offered by his parishioners.

But the diet had taken its position: of this we have just been witnesses; every where the monks and priests began to recover their courage. At Zurich they had shown themselves more imperious immediately after the first decree of this assembly. Several members of the council were in the habit of visiting the three convents night and morning, and even of taking their meals there. The monks tampered with these well-meaning guests, and solicited them to procure an injunction from the government in their favour. "If Zwingle will not hold his tongue," said they, "we will bawl louder than he." The diet had sided with the oppressors. The council of Zurich knew not what to do. On the 7th of June they voted an ordinance forbidding any one to preach against the monks; but this decree had scarcely passed "when a sudden noise was heard in the council-chamber," says Bullinger's chronicle, "which made them all look at one another."³ Tranquillity was not restored; the battle that was fought from the pulpit every day grew hotter. The council nominated a deputation before which the pastors of Zurich and the readers and preachers of the convents were summoned to appear in the provost's house; after a lively debate, the burgomaster en-

joined both parties to preach not might endanger the public peace, not comply with this injunction Zwingle; "I am resolved to preach freely and unconditionally, in c with the previous ordinance. I a and pastor of Zurich; to me has sified the cure of souls. It is I taken oath, and not the monks. T to yield, and not I. If they pre will contradict them, even in the their own convents. If I myself te trine contrary to the holy Gospel, sire to be rebuked, not only by the but by any citizen whatsoever;⁴ over to be punished by the council demand permission," said the m preach the doctrines of St. Thom committee of the council determi proper deliberation, "That Thomas Scotus, and the other doctors shou aside, and that nothing should b but the Gospel." Thus did the m bre prevail. But the anger of partisans was augmented. The uns canons could not conceal t They stared insolently at Zwingle chapter, and seemed to be thirsti blood.⁵

These menaces did not check There was still one place in Zur thanks to the Dominicans, the lig yet penetrated: this was the n Cetenbach. Here the daughters o families of Zurich were accustomed the veil. It seemed unjust that women, shut up within the wall convent, should be the only person not hear the Word of God. The Council ordered Zwingle to visit the reformer went into that pulpit hitherto been confined to the D and preached "on the clearness and of the Word of God."⁶ He published this remarkable discou did not fall on barren ground, and further exasperated the monks.

A circumstance now occurred tended this hostility, and communi many other hearts. The Swiss, command of Stein and Winkelreid suffered a bloody defeat at the They had made a desperate charge enemy, but Pescara's artillery and quenets of that Freundenberg who had met at the door of the hall of at Worms, had overthrown both co and standards, while whole com been mown down and suddenly ext Winkelreid and Stein, with meal noble families of Mulinen, Diesb tetten, Tschudi, and Pfyster, had on the field of battle. Schwytz

¹ Nam er ein anderen weg an die Hand, schickte seine Boten, &c. Bullinger Chronik.

² Und dem wahren alten Glauben erhalten. Ibid.

³ Liess die Rathstuben einen grossen Knall. Ibid.

⁴ Sondern von einem jedem Bürger wüssen.

⁵ Scelus in me prociacius torquent, ut cu gaudent. Zw. Op. iii. 22

⁶ De claritate et certitudine verbi Dei. Ibid.

had been decimated. The bloody relief of this frightful combat had returned to Switzerland, carrying mourning in their train. A cry of woe resounded from the Alps to the Jura, and from the Rhone to the Rhine.

But no one felt so keen a pain as Zwingle. He immediately wrote an address to Schwytz dissuading the citizens of this canton from foreign service. "Your ancestors," said he with all the warmth of a patriot's heart, "fought with their enemies in defence of liberty; but they never put Christians to death for mere gain. These foreign wars bring innumerable calamities on our country. The scourge of God chastises our confederate nations, and Helvetic liberty is on the verge of expiring between the interested carcasses and the deadly hatred of foreign princes."¹ Zwingle gave the hand to Nicholas de Flue,² and followed up the exhortations of this man of peace. This address having been presented to the assembly of the people of Schwytz, produced such an effect, that they resolved to abstain provisionally from every foreign alliance for the next twenty-five years. But ere long the French party procured the repeal of this generous resolution, and Schwytz, from that hour, became the canton most opposed to Zwingle and his work. Even the disgrace that the partisans of these foreign treaties brought upon their native land only served to increase the hatred of these men against the intrepid minister who was endeavouring to avert from his country so many misfortunes and such deep shame. An opposition, growing more violent every day, was formed in the confederation against Zwingle and Zurich. The usages of the Church and the practices of the recruiting officers, as they were attacked conjointly, mutually supported each other in withstanding the impetuous blast of that reform which threatened to overthrow them both. At the same time enemies from without were multiplying. It was not only the pope, but other foreign princes also, who vowed a pitiless hostility to the Reformation. Did it not pretend to withdraw from their ranks those Helvetic halberds to which their ambition and pride had been indebted for so many triumphs? But on the side of the Gospel there remained God and the most excellent of the people: this was enough. Besides, from different countries, Divine Providence was bringing to its aid men who had been persecuted for their faith.

¹ Ein göttlich Vermanung an die cersamen, etc. Eidgenossen zu Schwytz. Zw. Opp. part II. 206.

² In 1561, the confederates were on the brink of civil war, when a herald of Unterwalden (Nicholas de Flue) repaired to Strass, where the diet were assembled, calmed their angry passions, and restored tranquillity and peace.

CHAPTER XIII.

A French Monk—He teaches in Switzerland—Dispute between Zwingle and the Monk—Discourse of the Commander of the Johannites—The Carnival at Berne—The Eatens of the Dead—The Skull of St. Anne—Appenzel—The Grisous—Murder and Adultery—Zwingle's Marriage.

On Saturday the 12th of July there appeared in the streets of Zurich a monk of tall, thin, and rigid frame, wearing the gray frock of the Cordeliers, of foreign air, and mounted on an ass, which hardly lifted his bare feet off the ground.¹ In this manner he had journeyed from Avignon, without knowing a word of German. By means of his Latin, however, he was able to make himself understood. Francis Lambert, for such was his name, asked for Zwingle, and handed him a letter from Berthold Haller. "This Franciscan father," said the Bernese parish priest, "who is no other than the apostolical preacher of the convent-general of Avignon, has been teaching the christian truth for these last five years; he has preached in Latin before our priests at Geneva, at Lausanne before the bishop, at Friburg, and lastly at Berne, touching the church, the priesthood, the sacrifice of the mass, the traditions of the Romish bishops, and the superstitions of the religious orders. It seems most astonishing to me to hear such things from a gray friar and a Frenchman..... characters that presuppose, as you are aware, a whole set of superstitions."² The Frenchman related to Zwingle how Luther's writings having been discovered in his cell, he had been compelled to quit Avignon without delay; how, at first, he had preached the Gospel in the city of Geneva, and afterwards at Lausanne, on the shores of the same lake. Zwingle, highly delighted, opened the church of Our Lady to the monk, and made him sit in the choir on a seat in front of the high altar. In this church Lambert delivered four sermons, in which he inveighed forcibly against the errors of Rome; but in the fourth, he defended the invocation of Mary and the saints.

"Brother! thou art mistaken,"³ immediately exclaimed an animated voice. It was Zwingle's. Canons and chaplains thrilled with joy at the prospect of a dispute between the Frenchman and the heretical priest. "He has attacked you," said they all to Lambert; "demand a public discussion with him." The monk of Avignon did so, and at ten o'clock on the 22d of July the two champions met in the conference hall of the canons. Zwingle opened the Old and New Testament in Greek and Latin; he continued discussing and explaining until two o'clock, when the French monk, clasping his hands and raising

¹ Kam ein langer, gerader, barfüsser Mönch..... ritt auf einer Eselin. Füsslin's *Beiträge*, iv. 32.

² A tall Franciscan, Gallo, qui omnia mere superstitionum confutere solent, inaudita. Zw. Opp. p. 307.

³ Bruder, da irrest du. Füsslin's *Beitr.* iv. 60.

them to heaven,¹ exclaimed: "I thank thee, O God, that by means of such an illustrious instrument thou hast brought me to so clear a knowledge of the truth! Henceforth," added he, turning to the assembly, "in all my tribulations I will call on God alone, and will throw aside my beads. Tomorrow I shall resume my journey; I am going to Basle to see Erasmus of Rotterdam, and from thence to Wittenberg to visit Martin Luther, the Augustine monk." And accordingly he departed on his ass. We shall meet with him again. He was the first man who, for the cause of the Gospel, went forth from France into Switzerland and Germany: the humble forerunner of many thousands of refugees and confessors.

Myconius had no such consolations: on the contrary, he was destined to see Sebastian Hofmeister, who had come from Constance to Lucerne, and there boldly preached the Gospel, forced to leave the city. Upon this Oswald's sorrow increased. The humid climate of Lucerne was against him; a fever preyed upon him; the physicians declared that unless he removed to some other place, he would die. "Nowhere have I a greater desire to be than near you," wrote he to Zwingle, "and nowhere less than at Lucerne. Men torment me, and the climate is wasting me away. My malady, they say, is the penalty of my iniquity: alas! whatever I say, whatever I do, turns to poison with them.....There is one in heaven on whom all my hopes repose."²

This hope was not delusive. It was about the end of March, and the feast of the Annunciation was approaching. The day before the eve of this anniversary a great festival was observed in commemoration of a fire which in 1340 had reduced the greater part of the city to ashes. The streets of Lucerne were already crowded with a vast concourse of people from the surrounding districts, and several hundreds of priests were assembled. The sermon at this solemn feast was usually delivered by some celebrated preacher. The commander of the Johannites, Conrad Schmidt of Küssnacht, arrived to perform this duty. An immense congregation filled the church. Who shall describe the general astonishment, when the commander, laying aside the custom of preaching in Latin, spoke in German, so that all might understand him,³ explaining with authority and holy fervour the love of God in sending his Son, and proving eloquently that mere external works have no power to save, and that the promises of God are truly the essence of the Gospel! "God forbid," exclaimed Conrad before the astonished people, "that we should acknowledge for our head a chief

so full of sin as the Bishop of Roject Christ!"⁴ If the Bishop of Roject butes the nourishment of the Gospel, acknowledge him as our pastor, chief; and if he distribute it, nowise acknowledge him." Oswald not contain himself for joy. "man!" cried he, "what a serene majesty! what authority! how spirit of Christ!" The effect was a solemn silence succeeded that filled the city; but this was transient. If the people stop the voice of God, his calls become every day, and even cease. This was the case with Lucerne.

Whilst the truth was thus from the pulpit at Berne, the papal tacked in the festive meetings of Nicholas Manuel, a distinguished celebrated for his poetical talent had reached the highest offices of dignant at seeing his fellow-countrymen unmercifully plundered by Samsone some carnival dramas, in which the covetousness, pomp, and hat the pope and clergy with the stings of satire. On the Shrove Tuesday the lords" (the lords were then and began their Lent eight days people), nothing was talked of in a drama or mystery, entitled, *The Dead*, which some young persons act in the Rue de la Croix. T crowded to the show. As a matter these dramatic sketches at the ment of the sixteenth century people interest; but it is with a very difficulty that we quote them in this place should prefer, doubtless, not to be quote, on the part of the Reformation of this nature; it is by other arms prevails. But history does not can only adduce what she finds.

At last the show begins, to the light of the impatient crowd as the Rue de la Croix. First appeared covered with glittering robes, and a throne. Around him stand his guards, and a motley crowd of every degree; behind them are men, and mendicants. Soon a procession appears; it is a wealthy family carrying to his last home. relatives walk slowly in front of with handkerchiefs in their hands the procession came before the bier was placed at his feet, and began:—

FIRST EMBELLISHMENT, in a sorrowful

Noble army of the saints!
Heart, oh! hear our sad complaints:
Our cousin's dead....the yawning for
His swallow'd him in life's first blood

¹ Dass er beyde Hände zusammen hob. Flinslin, Beytr. iv. 40.

² Quicquid facio venenum est illis. Sed est in quem omnis tyro mea reclinat. Zw. Epp. p. 192.

³ Wolt er keine sprach tryben mit latein schwätzen, sondern gut teutsch reden. Bullinger Chronik.

⁴ Abiit a grege Christiano, ut caput tam peccatis plenum acceptans, Christum abiecit. p. 193.

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

SECOND RELATION.

and to monk or priest we'll spare;
've a hundred crowns for mass and prayer,
his from purgatorial fire
can but save our 'parted sire.¹

on, coming out of the crowd around the pope, and
rushing hastily to the parish priest,
ROBERT MORE AND MORE.
rise to drink, sir priest, I crave!
under slough now goes to his grave.

THE PRIEST.

one!... I only thirst the more!
'dead!... would it were half a score!
more the merrier then live we!²
th is the best of games for me.

THE SEXTON.

old it were so! 'twould then be well!
'rather toil a dead man's knell
n from morn to night a field be tilling;
never complains, and to pay is willing.

THE PRIEST.

se death-knell opens the gate of heaven
ow not.—But what's that to me!
is salmon and pike, with barbel and trout,
his my house right merrily.

THE PRIEST'S NIECE.³

well! But, look ye, I claim my share;
say this soul must for me prepare
own of white, black, green, or red,
I a pretty kerchief to deck my head.

1 HIGH-PRIDE, wearing a red hat, and standing
near the pope.

not love the heritage of death,
se sweep off, in life's young prime
se-encumbered field such countless bands,
y intrigue, or else by envy urged!
istian blood Rome fattens. Hence my hat
se derive their sanguinary hue,
ours and my wealth are gain'd from death.

BISHOP WOLF'S BELLY.

hope's laws firm will I live and die.
se are sicken and my purse is full;
se times, when yet the Church was young,
as simple villagers we went;⁴
se were shepherds—now, the peers of kings.
at times a shepherd's life I love.

A VOICE.

lord's life!

BISHOP WOLF'S BELLY.

shearing time.—Shepherds and wolves are we;
be poor sheep; and if they feed us not,
I, unpaid by our ruthless fangs,
I'll sweeten we are forbid to taste.
it—beneath this heavy yoke
not falter—this is better still.
it—I heed them not; they fill my purse,
se but to augment my princely train,
allst profit never comes amiss.
with money only has to choose
the fair—pays florins four—I'm blind,
a child!—again his purse must bleed.
as a good round sum I net each year—
ousand florins; but not e'en two pence⁵
all to me, were they discreet and wise,
our to the pope! With bended knee
fore him. In his faith I'll live,
his church, and own him as my god.

THE POPE.

is the faithless world at last believe,
ambitious priest can ope or shut,
the gates of heaven. Preach faithfully
chances of the conclave's choice.

es kosten soll uns dauern dran,
o wir Mönch und Priester mögen ha'n
d soll'es kosten hundert kroten....

Bern, Manosol, iv. Wirs. K. Gesch. i. 363.

je besser! Kämen doch noch zehn! Ibid.

man word (*Ja/Fromme*) is more expressive, but

ir nicht wär mit Todten wohl,

sch mancher Acker voll, etc. Ibid.

istand, wie im Anfang der Kichen,

se vielleicht grobes Tuch und Zwilchen. Ibid.

man is very expressive—

es auf gut Deutsch ein Hurenwirth. &c. &c.

Now are we kings—the layman, a dull thrall.
Wave but the Gospel standard in the air,
And we are lost. To offer sacrifice
Or fee the priest, the Gospel teacheth not.
Did we obey its precepts, we should live—
Alas!—in poverty, and meanly die.
Ah! then farewell to richly harness'd steeds,
To sumptuous chariots—then a sullen ass
Would bear the poorly majesty of Rome,....
Not—dimly Saint Peter's rights I'll guard,
And rash intruders with my thunders blast.
Let us but will—the universe is ours,
And prostrate nations worship us as God.
I walk upon their bodies to my throne,
Avant, ye unclean laymen, from our treasure...
Three drops of holy water fill your measure.

We will not continue our translation of Manuel's drama. The anguish of the clergy on discovering the efforts of the reformers, and their anger against those who threatened to put a stop to their disorders, are painted in the liveliest colours. The dissolute manners, of which this mystery presents so vivid an image, were too common for each one not to be struck with the truth of the representation. The people were excited. Many were their jests as they departed from the show in the Rue de la Croix; but some individuals were more seriously affected; they spoke of christian liberty and of the papal despotism; they contrasted the simplicity of the Gospel with the pomp of Rome. The contempt of the people soon went beyond all bounds. On Ash Wednesday the indulgences were paraded through the streets, accompanied with satirical songs. A heavy blow had been struck in Berne and in all Switzerland at the ancient edifice of Popery.

Not long after this representation, another comedy was acted at Berne; but in this there was nothing invented. The clergy, council, and citizens were assembled in front of the Upper Gate, awaiting the skull of Saint Anne, which the famous knight Albert of Stein had gone to fetch from Lyons. At length Stein appeared, carrying the holy relic enveloped in a silken cloth, before which the Bishop of Lausanne had humbly bent the knee as it passed through his city. The precious skull was borne in procession to the Dominican church; the bells rang out; the train filed into the temple; and with great solemnity the skull of Mary's mother was placed on an altar specially consecrated to it, and behind a sumptuous troliss work. But in the midst of these rejoicings, a letter was received from the abbot of the convent of Lyons, in which reposed the relics of the saint, announcing that the monks had sold the knight a profane skull taken from the cemetery, from among the scattered fragments of the dead. This mystification deeply incensed the inhabitants of the illustrious city of Berne.

The Reformation was advancing in other parts of Switzerland. In 1521, a young man of Appenzel, Walter Klarer by name, returned from the university of Paris to his native canton. Luther's works fell into his

1 Wir möchten fast kaum ein Esel ein ha'n. Bern Manosol, iv. Wirs. K. Gesch. i. 363.

hands, and in 1522 he preached the evangelical doctrine with all the energy of a youthful Christian. An innkeeper named Rausberg, member of the council of Appenzel, a rich and pious man, opened his house to all the friends of truth. A famous captain, Bartholomew Herwegger, who had fought for Julius II. and Leo X., having returned from Rome about this time, persecuted the evangelical ministers. One day, however, remembering what wickedness he had seen at Rome, he began to read his Bible, and to attend the sermons of the new preachers: his eyes were opened, and he embraced the Gospel. On witnessing the crowds that could not find room in the churches, he said: "Let the ministers preach in the fields and public places;" and despite a violent opposition, the meadows, hills, and mountains of Appenzel often afterwards re-echoed with the tidings of salvation.

This doctrine, proceeding upwards along the banks of the Rhine, spread even as far as the ancient Rætia. One day a stranger coming from Zurich crossed the stream, and entered the house of a saddler in Fläsch, the first village of the Grisons. The saddler, Christian Anhorn, listened with astonishment to the language of his guest. The whole village invited the stranger, whose name was Jacques Burkli, to preach to them. He took his station in front of the altar; a troop of armed men, with Anhorn at their head, stood round to protect him from any sudden attack while he was proclaiming the Gospel. The rumour of this preaching spread far and wide, and on the following Sunday an immense crowd flocked to the church. In a brief space a large proportion of the inhabitants of these districts demanded the Eucharist according to our Lord's institution. But on a sudden the tocsin rang in Mayensfeldt; the affrighted people ran together to know the cause; the priests described the danger that threatened the Church; and then at the head of this fanatic crowd, ran hastily to Fläsch. Anhorn, who was working in the fields, surprised at hearing the sound of bells at so unusual a time, returned home immediately, and hid Burkli in a deep hole in his cellar. The house was surrounded, the doors burst in; they sought for the heretical preacher, but in vain: at last, the persecutors left the place.¹

The Word of God spread through the whole league of the ten jurisdictions. The priest of Mayensfeldt having returned from Rome, whither he had gone in his irritation at the progress of the Gospel, exclaimed: "Rome has made me evangelical!" and he became a fervent reformer. Erelong the Reformation extended over the league of "the house of God;" "Oh! that you could see how the dwellers in the Rætian mountains are

throwing off the yoke of the tivity!" wrote Salandronius.

Disorders of a revolting character marked the time when Zurich and the cantons snapped asunder the A married schoolmaster, de holy orders, obtained his wife this view, and they separated, finding it impossible to live in celibacy, and unwilling to hurt the feelings, quitted the priest, and went into the secular world, where he formed a criminal connection. The wife, who had heard of this, and who the poor priest had compassion on, missing the woman who he loved, took his lawful spouse. The *procurator fiscal* immediately complained; the vicar-general ordered the councilors of the city to be arrested, and ordered the council either his wife or his benefice. The wife left her husband's house, and her rival re-entered it. The Church declared itself satisfied with the adulterous priest's repentance.²

Not long after, a parish priest seduced a married woman and fled. The husband, having returned, availed himself of the priest's flight to cover his wife. As he was at the seducer met them; fell upon his husband, and inflicted a wound which latter died.³ All pious men were busy with re-establishing the law declares marriage honourable. evangelical ministers had to contend with the law of celibacy was of no use imposed by the pontiffs, and the Word of God, which, described the bishop, represents him as a father (1 Timothy iii. 2, 4). time they observed, that of the had crept into the Church, in cause of more vice and scandal. therefore, that it was not only even more, a duty to God to of them now returned to this of apostolical times. Xylocterus Zwingle also took a wife also.

No woman had been more devoted to Zurich than Anna Reinhard Meyer von Knonau, Gerold's Zwingle's arrival, she had 1 most attentive hearers; she and he had noticed her piety and affection for her children. Gerold, who had become an adopted son, drew him still mother. The sufferings of a christian woman, who was more cruelly tried than any

¹ Anhorn Wiedergeburt der Ev. Kirchen in den 3 Bünden. Ober. 1600; Wirtz. I. 167

² Hinc cum scripto redemptum in auctoritate, lethiferumque vulnere cecidit. Zw. Epp. p. 208.

³ Hebrews xiii. 4.

corded in history, had communicated a seriousness that contributed to show forth her evangelical virtues more brightly.¹ At this time she was about thirty-five years old, and her fortune only amounted to four hundred florins. It was on her that Zwingle fixed his eyes as a companion for life. He comprehended all the sacredness and sympathy of the conjugal state. He entitled it "a most holy alliance."²—"In like manner," said he, "as Christ died for his followers, and gave himself entirely for them, so should married persons do all and suffer all for one another."³ But Zwingle, when he took Anna Reinhardt to wife, did not make his marriage known. This is undoubtedly a blamable weakness in a man at other times so resolute. The light that he and his friends had acquired on the question of celibacy was not general. Weak minds might have been scandalized. He feared that his usefulness in the Church would be paralyzed, if his marriage were made public.⁴ He sacrificed a portion of his happiness to these fears, excusable perhaps, but which he ought to have shaken off.⁴

CHAPTER XIV.

How the Truth triumphs.—Meeting at Einsidlen.—Petition to the Bishop and Confederates.—The Men of Einsidlen separate.—Scene in a Convent.—Dinner with Myconius.—The Strength of the Reformation.—Effect of the Petitions to Lucerne.—The Council of the Diet.—Hallers at the Town-hall.—Friburg.—Zwingle's Destination.—Zwingle consoles him.—Zwingle quits Lucerne.—The Diet's first Act of Severity.—Conservation of Zwingle's Brothers.—Zwingle's Resolution.—The Future.—Zwingle's Prayer.

But far higher interests than these occupied the minds of the friends of truth. The diet,

as we have seen, pressed by the enemies of the Reformation, had enjoined the evangelical preachers to preach no doctrines likely to disturb the people. Zwingle felt that the moment for action had arrived; and with his characteristic energy convened a meeting at Einsidlen of the ministers of the Lord who were friendly to the Gospel. The Christian's strength consists neither in the power of arms, nor in the flames of the burning pile, nor in factious intrigues, nor in the support of the mighty ones of the earth; it is a simple, but bold and unanimous confession of those great truths to which the world must one day be subjected. God especially calls those who serve him to uphold these doctrines firmly before the people, without permitting themselves to be alarmed by the clamours of their adversaries. These truths have in themselves an assurance of their triumph; and idols fall before them, as in former times before the ark of God. The hour was come in which God willed the great truth of salvation to be thus confessed in Switzerland; it was requisite that the Gospel standard should be planted on some high place. Providence was about to draw from their secluded retreats many humble but intrepid men, and cause them to give a noble testimony in the presence of the nation.

Towards the end of June and the beginning of July 1522, pious ministers were seen journeying from every side on a new pilgrimage towards the celebrated chapel of Einsidlen.¹ From Art in the canton of Schwytz, came its priest Balthasar Trachsel; from Weiningen, near Baden, the priest Stäheli; from Zug, Werner Steiner; from Lucerne, the canon Kilchmeyer; from Uster, the incumbent Pfister; from Hongo, near Zurich, the priest Stumpf; and from Zurich itself, the canon Fabricius, the chaplain Schmidt, Grossman, the preacher of the hospital, and Zwingle. Leo Juda, the priest of Einsidlen, joyfully received all these ministers of Jesus Christ into the old abbey. Subsequently to Zwingle's residence, this place had become the stronghold of truth, and a dwelling-place for the righteous.² Thus, two hundred and fifteen years before, thirty-three brave patriots had met in the solitary plain of the Grutli, resolved to break the yoke of Austria. At Einsidlen they met to burst in sunder the yoke of human authority in Divine things. Zwingle proposed that his friends should address an urgent petition to the cantons and the bishop, with a view of obtaining the free preaching of the Gospel, and at the same time the abolition of compulsory celibacy, the source of such criminal disorders. All concurred in his opinion.³ Ulrich had himself prepared the

¹ Anna Reinhardt, von Gerold Meyer von Knonau, p. 36.
² Ein hochheiliges Bündniss. Ibid.
³ Qui veritas est, et marito non tam felicitate usum ducit, in negotio verbi sui. Zw. Epp. p. 333.
⁴ Biographers, respectable historians, and all the writers who have copied them, place Zwingle's marriage two years later, in April 1524. Without any intention of stating here all the reasons that have convinced me of their error, I shall yet say simply the most decisive authorities. A letter from Myconius, Zwingle's intimate friend, dated 22d July 1522, has these words: *Vale cum amore quia feliciter.* In another letter from the same, written about the end of the year, we read: *Vale cum amore.* The very contents of these letters prove the accuracy of their respective dates. But what is stronger still is a letter written from Strasburg by Blarer, at the very time Zwingle's marriage was made public, the 14th April 1524 (the date of the year is wanting, but internal evidence proves it to have been written in 1524), containing several passages which show that Zwingle must have been married some time; here are several, besides that quoted in the preceding note:—"Professum patiam me maritum legi. Unum hoc desiderabam in te.—Quæ multo facilius quam commisit tui confessions Antichristus posset ferre."
 —A year, ab eo, quod cum fratribus... episcopo Constantiensis congressus es, nullus credidi.—Qua ratione id tam diu celasti... non dubitasti; rationibus huc adductum, quæ quod vnum evangelicum time, here are several, besides that quoted in the preceding note:—"Professum patiam me maritum legi. Unum hoc desiderabam in te.—Quæ multo facilius quam commisit tui confessions Antichristus posset ferre."
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¹ Thaten sich zusammen etliche priester. Bull. Chronik.

² Zu Einsidlen hatten sie alle Sicherheit dahin zu gehen und dort zu wohnen. J. J. Hottinger lieli. R. Gesch. III. 83.

³ Und wurden eins an den Bischoff zu Constantia und mein Edktroessen ein Supplication zu stellen. Bull. Chronik.

addresses. The petition to the bishop was first read, and on the 2d of July it was signed by all the evangelists named above. A cordial affection knit together the preachers of the Gospel in Switzerland. There were many others who sympathized with the men who had met at Einsidlen; such were Haller, Myconius, Hedio, Capito, Ecotampadius, Sebastian Meyer, Hoffmeister, and Vanner. This harmony is one of the most beautiful features of the Swiss Reformation. These excellent persons ever acted as one man, and remained friends until death.

The men of Einsidlen felt that it was only by the power of faith that the members of the Confederation, divided by the foreign capitulations, could become a single body. But their eyes were directed to heaven. "The heavenly teaching," said they to their ecclesiastical superior in the address of the 2d of July, "that truth which God the Creator has manifested by his Son to the human race immersed in sin, has been long veiled from our eyes by the ignorance, not to say the wickedness, of a few men. But this same Almighty God has resolved to re-establish it in its primitive estate. Unite, then, with those who desire that the whole body of Christians should return to their Head, which is Christ. '.....On our part we are determined to proclaim his Gospel with indefatigable perseverance, and at the same time with such discretion that no one shall complain of it.'¹ Favour this—astonishing it may be, but not rash undertaking. Be like Moses, in the way, at the head of the people when they went out of Egypt, and with your own hands overthrow every obstacle that opposes the triumphant progress of the truth."

After this spirited appeal, the evangelists assembled at Einsidlen came to the question of celibacy. Zwingle had nothing to ask in this respect; he had such a wife as, according to Saint Paul's description, the wife of a minister of Christ should be—*grave, sober, faithful in all things*. (1 Tim. iii. 11.) But he thought of his brethren, whose consciences were not as yet, like his own, emancipated from human ordinances. He longed, moreover, for the time when all the servants of God might live openly and fearlessly in the bosom of their families, *having their children in subjection with all gravity*. (1 Tim. iii. 4.) "You cannot be ignorant," said the men of Einsidlen, "how deplorably the laws of chastity have hitherto been violated by the priests. When in the consecration of the ministers of the Lord, they ask of him who speaks for all the rest: Are those whom you present to us righteous men?—he answers: They are righteous.—Are they learned?—They are learned. But when he is asked

Are they chaste? He replies: As far as human weakness permits.² The New Testament every where condemns licentious intercourse: every where it sanctions marriage." Here follows a great number of quotations. "It is for this reason," continued they, "we entreat you, by the love of Christ, by the liberty he has purchased for us, by the wretchedness of so many feeble and wavering souls, by the wounds of so many ulcerated consciences, by all divine and human motives.....to permit what has been rashly enacted to be wisely repealed; for fear the majestic edifice of the Church should fall with a frightful crash, and spread destruction far and wide.³ Behold with what storms the world is threatened! If wisdom does not interfere, the ruin of the priestly order is certain."

The petition to the confederation was longer still.⁴ "Excellent sirs," thus spoke the allies of Einsidlen to the confederates at the end of their appeal, "we are all Swiss, and you are our fathers. There are some among us who have been faithful in the field of battle, in the chambers of pestilence, and in the midst of other calamities. It is in the name of sincere chastity that we address you. Who is unaware that we should better satisfy the lust of the flesh by not submitting to the regulations of lawful wedlock? But we must put an end to the scandals that afflict the Church of Christ. If the tyranny of the Roman pontiff is resolved to oppress us, fear nothing, brave heroes! The authority of the Word of God, the rights of christian liberty, and the sovereign power of grace, will surround and protect us.⁴ We have all the same country, the same faith; we are Swiss, and the virtue of our illustrious ancestors has always displayed its power by an invincible defence of those who are unjustly oppressed."

Thus in Einsidlen itself, in that ancient stronghold of superstition, which in our days is one of the most famous sanctuaries of Roman observances, did Zwingle and his friends boldly uplift the banner of truth and liberty. They appealed to the heads of the state and of the Church. They placarded their theses like Luther, but at the gates of the episcopal palace and of the national council. The band of friends at Einsidlen separated calm, rejoicing, and full of hope in that God in whose hands they had placed their cause; and retiring, some by the battle-field of Morgarten, others, over the chain of the Albis, and the rest, by different valleys and mountains, returned each man to his post.

¹ Ut universa Christianorum multitudo ad eaput suum, quod Christus est, rediret. Supplicatio quorundam apud Helveticos Evangelistarum. Zw. Opp. iii. 18.
² Evangelium tremulo tenore promulgare statuerunt.... Ibid.

³ Summe casti reddidit: Quatenus humana infirmitas permittit. Supplicatio, &c. Zw. Opp. iii. 18.

⁴ Ne quando moles ista non ex parvis celestis sententia constructa, cum fragore longe perniciosiore correat. Ibid. 24.

⁵ Amica et pia parentis ad communem Helvetiarum civitatem scripta, ne evangelice doctrine cursum impediunt, &c. Ibid. l. 30.

⁶ Divini enim verbi auctoritatem, libertatis christianae et divinae gratiae praesidium nobis adesse consuevit. Ibid. 31.

was something really sublime for those
 "1 says Henry Bullinger, "that these
 should have thus dared stand forth, and
 ing round the Gospel, expose themselves
 very danger. But God preserved them
 so that no harm befell them; for God
 preserves his own." It was indeed
 me: it was a bold step in the progress
 ne Reformation, one of the brightest
 of the religious regeneration of Switzer-

A holy confederation was formed at
 idlen. Humble but intrepid men had
 ped the sword of the Spirit, which is the
 d of God, and the shield of faith. The
 idlet was thrown down—the challenge
 given—not only by one man, but by
 of different cantons, prepared to sacri-
 their lives: they must await the strug-

very thing seemed to forebode that the
 est would be severe. It was but five
 after, on the 7th of July, that the ma-
 rates of Zurich, desirous of offering some
 ffection to the Roman party, summoned
 re them Conrad Grebel and Claus Hot-
 er, two of those violent men who ap-
 ed desirous of overstepping the bound-
 prudent Reformation. "We forbid
 " said the burgomaster Roust, "to speak
 not the monks and on the controverted
 tions." At these words a loud noise was
 d in the chamber, says an old chronicle.
 so manifested himself throughout all this
 k, that the people saw signs of his inter-
 ion in every thing. Each man looked
 and him in astonishment, without being
 to discover the cause of this mysterious
 amstance.²

ut it was in the convents especially that
 indignation was greatest. Every meet-
 that was held in them either for discus-
 or amusement, saw some new attack
 t forth. One day there was a great
 quet at the convent of Fraubrunn; and
 he wine had got into the heads of the
 sts, they began to launch the most en-
 omed darts against the Gospel.³ What
 t incensed the priests and monks was
 evangelical doctrine that, in the Chris-
 Church there ought not to be any
 rdotal caste raised above the believers.
 ingle friend of the Reformation was
 ent, Macrinus, a layman, and master of
 school at Solcure. At first he avoided
 discussion, passing from one table to the
 er. But at length, unable to endure the
 ent language of the guests, he rose boldly
 said aloud: "Yes! all true Christians
 priests and sacrificers, as St. Peter says:
 are priests and kings." At these words
 of the loudest howlers, the Dean of
 gdorff, a tall strong man with a voice of
 ndor, burst out laughing: "So then you

Greeklings and pedagogues are the royal
 priesthood?.....a pretty priesthood, forsooth!
beggarly kings.....priests without pre-
 bends or livings!"¹ And at the very instant
 priests and monks with one accord fell on
 the imprudent layman.

It was in Lucerne, however, that the bold
 step of the men of Einsidlen was destined to
 produce the greatest commotion. The diet
 had met in this city, and complaints arrived
 from every quarter against these daring
 preachers, who would prevent Helvetia from
 quietly selling the blood of her children to
 the stranger. On the 22d of July 1522, as
 Oswald Myconius was at dinner in his own
 house with the canon Kilchmeyer and others
 favourably disposed to the Gospel, a youth
 sent by Zwingle stood at his door.² He
 brought the two famous petitions of Einsid-
 len, and a letter from Zwingle, calling upon
 Oswald to circulate them in Lucerne. "It
 is my advice," added the reformer, "that this
 should be done quietly, gradually, rather than
 all at once; for we must learn to give up
 every thing—even one's wife—for Christ's
 sake."

The critical moment was approaching in
 Lucerne; the shell had fallen in the midst
 of the city, and was about to explode. Os-
 wald's guests read the petitions. "May God
 prosper this beginning!"³ exclaimed Oswald,
 looking up to heaven, and adding immedi-
 ately: "From this very hour this prayer
 should be the constant occupation of our
 hearts. The petitions were circulated im-
 mediately, perhaps with more ardour than
 Zwingle had required. But the moment was
 extraordinary. Eleven men, the flower of
 the clergy, had placed themselves in the
 breach; it was desirable to enlighten men's
 minds, to decide the wavering, and to win
 over the most influential members of the
 diet.

Oswald, in the midst of his exertions, did
 not forget his friends. The youthful mes-
 senger had told him of the attacks Zwingle
 had to put up with on the part of the monks
 of Zurich. "The truth of the Holy Ghost
 is invincible," wrote Myconius to him on the
 same day. "Shielded with the buckler of
 Scripture, you have conquered not only in
 one contest, nor in two, but in three, and
 the fourth is now beginning.....Grasp those
 powerful arms which are harder than ada-
 mant! Christ, to protect his followers, re-
 quires nothing but his Word. Your struggles
 impart unflinching courage to all who have
 devoted themselves to Jesus Christ."⁴

The two petitions did not produce the
 desired effect in Lucerne. Some pious men
 approved of them; but their numbers were
 few. Many, fearing to compromise them-

in was swaeren gros su denen Ryten Bull. Chronik.
 in Hous die Stube einen grossen Knail. Fisselin Beytr.
 1. zum Invalenscente Racco, disputationes, hinc verius
 s. Zw. Epp. p. 230.

¹ Estote ergo Græculi ac Domestici regale sacerdotium
 Zw. Epp. p. 230.

² Venit puer, quem misisti, inter prestandum. Ibid.
 209.

³ Deus capti fortissimi! Ibid.

⁴ In perambulas, qui es, in Christo Jesu Ibid. 209.

selves, would neither praise nor blame them.¹ "These folks," said others, "will never succeed in this business!" All the priests murmured, and whispered against them; and the people became violent against the Gospel. The passion for a military life had been revived in Lucerne after the bloody defeat of the Biococca, and war alone filled every mind.² Oswald, who watched attentively these different impressions, felt his courage sinking. The evangelical future that he had dreamed of for Lucerne and Switzerland, seemed to vanish. "Our countrymen are blind as regards heavenly things," said he with a deep sigh: "We can hope nothing from the Swiss, which concerns the glory of Christ."³

In the council and the diet the irritation was greatest. The pope, France, England, the empire—all were in commotion around Switzerland after the defeat of the Biococca and the evacuation of Lombardy by the French, under the orders of Lautrec. Were not political affairs complicated enough, that these eleven men should come with their petitions and superadd mere religious questions? The deputies of Zurich alone inclined in favour of the Gospel. The canon Xyloctect, fearing for the safety of himself and his wife (for he had married a daughter of one of the first families in the country), had shed tears of regret, as he refused to go to Einsidlen and sign the addresses. The canon Kilchmeyer was bolder, and he had every thing to fear. On the 13th of August he wrote to Zwingle: "Sentence threatens me, but I await it with courage"..... As his pen was tracing these words, the usher of the council entered his room, and summoned him to appear on the morrow.⁴ "If they throw me into prison," said he, continuing his letter, "I shall claim your help; but it will be easier to transport a rock from our Alps than to remove me a finger's breadth from the Word of Jesus Christ." The respect due to his family, and the determination of the council to make the storm burst on Oswald, saved the canon.

Berthold Haller had not signed the petitions, perhaps because he was not a Swiss. But with unyielding courage he explained the Gospel of St. Matthew, after Zwingle's example. A great crowd filled the cathedral of Berne. The Word of God operated more powerfully on the people than Manuel's dramas. Haller was summoned to the town-hall; the people escorted this meek man thither, and remained assembled in the square in front. The council were divided in their sentiments. "It is a matter that concerns the bishop," said the most influential members. "We must give him up to

Monseigneur of Lausanne." Haller's friends trembled at these words, and besought him to withdraw as soon as possible. The people surrounded him, and accompanied him home, and a great body of armed citizens remained before his house, determined to form a rampart for their humble pastor with their bodies. The bishop and council shrunk back at this spirited demonstration, and Haller was saved. He did not, however, combat alone in Berne. Sebastian Meyer refuted the pastoral letter of the Bishop of Constance, and especially the hackneyed charge, "that the disciples of the Gospel teach a new doctrine; and that the old is the true one."—"To have been a thousand years wrong," said he, "will not make us right for one single hour; or else the pagans should have kept to their creed. If the most ancient doctrines ought to be preferred, fifteen hundred years are more than five hundred, and the Gospel is older than the decrees of the pope."⁵

About this time, the magistrates of Friburg intercepted some letters addressed to Haller and Meyer by a canon of that town, named John Hollard, a native of Orbe. They imprisoned him, deprived him of his office, and finally banished him. John Vannius, a chorister of the cathedral, soon declared in favour of the evangelical doctrine; for in this war no soldier fell whose place was not immediately filled by another. "How can the muddy water of the Tiber," said Vannius, "subsist beside the pure stream that Luther has drawn from the springs of St. Paul?" But the mouth of the chorister also was shut. "In all Switzerland you will hardly find men more unfavourably disposed towards sound doctrine than the Friburgers," wrote Myconius to Zwingle.⁶

An exception must however be made as regards Lucerne; and this Myconius knew well. He had not signed the famous petitions; but if he did not, his friends did, and a victim was wanted. The ancient literature of Greece and Rome was beginning, through his exertions, to shed its light upon Lucerne; students resorted thither from various quarters to hear the learned professor; and the friends of peace listened with delight to milder sounds than the clash of halberds, swords, and breastplates, with which alone this warlike city had hitherto re-echoed. Oswald had sacrificed everything for his country;—he had quitted Zurich and Zwingle;—he had lost his health;—his wife was ailing;⁷—his child was young;—should Lucerne once cast him forth, he could nowhere look for an asylum. But this they heeded not: factions are pitiless, and what should excite their compassion does but inflame their anger. Hertenstein, burgomaster of Lucerne,

¹ Boni, qui pauci sunt, commendant libellos vestros; alii nec laudant nec vituperant. Zw. Epp. p. 210.

² Belli furor occupat omnia. Ibid.

³ Nihil ob id apud Helveticos apendens de his rebus que Christi gloriam possunt augere. Ibid.

⁴ Tu vero aud. Hinc dum scriberem, irrui præco, a Senatoribus missus. Ibid. 212.

⁵ Simili. Simili. vi.

⁶ Hoc audio vix alios esse per Helvetiam, qui peius valde sentiant doctrinæ. Zw. Epp. p. 218.

⁷ Coniux infirma. Ibid. 192.

and valiant warrior, who had become hated in the Swabian and Burgundian provinces, proposed the schoolmaster's dismissal, and wished to drive him from the canton as Greek, his Latin, and his Gospel. He succeeded. As he left the meeting of council in which Myconius had been deposed of his post, Hertenstein met Berguerer deputy: "We send you back schoolmaster," said he ironically: "pre-comfortable lodging for him."—"We let him sleep in the open air,"¹ immediately replied the courageous deputy. Berguerer promised more than he could perform.

Burgomaster's tidings were but too true, they were soon made known to the people by Myconius. He is stripped of his appointment, banished; and the only with which he is reproached is being Christ's disciple.² He turns his eyes around and nowhere finds a shelter. He beholds his wife, his son, and himself,—weak and feeble creatures,—driven from their country and around him Switzerland agitated by internal tempest, breaking and shattering it resists it. "Here," said he then to himself, "here is your poor Myconius banished by the council of Lucerne."³ Whither shall I go?.....I know not.....Assailed by such furious storms, how can I tell me? In my tribulation I cry to God who is my chief hope. Ever rich, indeed, He does not permit any who call upon him to turn away unheard. May He do for my wants!"

He wrote Oswald. He had not long to wait the word of consolation. There was an angel in Switzerland inured to the battles of the Reformation. Zwingli drew nigh to his friend and visited him up. "So rude are the blows which men strive to overthrow the house of," said Zwingli, "and so frequent are attacks, that it is not only the wind in that burst upon it, as our Lord preaches (Matth. vii. 27), but also the hail and thunder."⁴ If I did not see that the Lord watch over the ship, I should long since have abandoned the helm; but I see him, when the storm, strengthening the tacking, the yards, spreading the sails; more, commanding the very winds..... I am not a coward and unworthy the office of a man if I abandoned my post, and a disgraceful death in flight? I continue in his sovereign goodness. Let govern,—let Him carry us forward,—no hasten or delay,—let Him plunge us to the bottom of the deep.....we will nothing.⁵ We are vessels that belong

to Him. He can make use of us as he pleases, for honour or dishonour." After these words, so full of the sincerest faith, Zwingli continues: "As for yourself, this is my advice. Appear before the council, and deliver an address worthy of you and of Christ; that is to say, calculated to melt and not irritate their feelings. Deny that you are Luther's disciple; confess that you are Christ's. Let your pupils surround you and speak too; and if this does not succeed, then come to your friend,—come to Zwingli,—and look upon our city as your home!"

Encouraged by this language, Oswald followed the noble advice of the reformer; but all his efforts were unavailing. This witness to the truth was compelled to leave his country; and the people of Lucerne derided him so much that in every quarter the magistrates prevented his finding an asylum. "Nothing remains for me but to beg my bread from door to door,"¹ exclaimed this confessor of Christ, whose heart was crushed at the sight of so much hostility. But ere long the friend of Zwingli and his most powerful auxiliary, the first man in Switzerland who had combined learning with a love to the Gospel, the reformer of Lucerne, and subsequently one of the heads of the Helvetic church, was with his sick wife and infant child compelled to leave that ungrateful city, where of all his family, one only of his sisters had received the Gospel. He crossed its ancient bridge: he bade farewell to those mountains which appear to rise from the bosom of the Walstatte lake into the clouds. The canons Xyloctet and Kilchmeyer, the only friends whom the Reformation yet counted among his fellow-countrymen, followed him not long after. And at the moment when this poor man, accompanied by two feeble creatures, whose existence depended upon him, with eyes turned towards the lake, and shedding tears over his blinded country, bade adieu to those sublime scenes of nature, the majesty of which had surrounded his cradle, the Gospel itself departed from Lucerne, and Rome reigns there even to this day.

Shortly after, the diet then sitting at Baden, excited by the severity shown to Myconius, incensed by the petitions from Einsiedlen, which were now printed and every where producing a great sensation, and solicited by the Bishop of Constance, who called upon them to crush the reformer, had recourse to persecution, ordered the authorities of the common bailiwicks to denounce all the priests and laymen who should dare speak against the faith, caused the preacher who happened to be nearest to be immediately arrested, namely Urban Weiss, pastor of Fislispach, who had been previously liberated on bail, and had him taken to Constance, where he was delivered up to the bishop, who detained

last effrenum enim ac dormiendum sit et sub dño.

¹ p. 218.

² proferant nisi quod sim Lutheranus. Ibid.

³ Hic ecce mihi Myconius a Senatu Lucernano.

⁴ ventos esse, nec fulures, sed grandines et fulminas.

⁵ 217.

et, vehat, festinet, marcat, excutit, moritur, inter-

bid

¹ Ostendit querere quod edam. Sw. Epp. p. 225.

him a long while in prison. "It was thus," says Bullinger's chronicle, "that the persecutions of the confederates against the Gospel began: and this took place at the instigation of the clergy, who in every age have dragged Jesus Christ before the judgment-seat of Herod and of Pilate."¹

Nor did Zwingle himself escape trial. About this time he was wounded in the tenderest point. The rumour of his doctrines and of his struggles had passed the Sentis, penetrated the Tockenbourg, and reached the heights of Wildhaus. The family of herdsmen from which the reformer had sprung, was deeply moved. Of Zwingle's five brothers, some had continued their peaceful mountain labours; others, to their brother's great regret, had taken up arms, quitted their herds, and served a foreign prince. Both were alike astonished at the reports that reached their chalets. Already they pictured to themselves their brother dragged to Constance before the bishop, and a pile erected for his destruction on the same spot where John Huss had perished in the flames. These proud herdsmen could not endure the idea of being called the brothers of a heretic. They wrote to Zwingle, describing their pain and their fears. Zwingle replied to them as follows: "So long as God shall permit me, I will execute the task which he has confided to me, without fearing the world and its haughty tyrants. I know every thing that can befall me. There is no danger, no misfortune that I have not carefully weighed long ago. My own strength is nothingness itself, and I know the power of my enemies; but I know also that I can do every thing in Christ, who strengthens me. Though I should be silent, another would be constrained to do what God is now doing through me, and I should be punished by the Almighty. Banish all anxiety, my dear brothers. If I have any fear, it is lest I have been milder and gentler than suits our times.² What reproach (say you) will be cast upon our family, if you are burnt, or put to death in any other way!³ Oh! my beloved brothers, the Gospel derives from the blood of Christ this remarkable property, that the most violent persecutions, far from checking its progress, serve but to accelerate it. Those alone are the true soldiers of Christ, who do not fear to bear in their body the wounds of their Master. All my labours have no other aim than to proclaim to men the treasures of happiness that Christ hath purchased for us, that all might take refuge in the Father, through the death of his Son.

If this doctrine scandalizes you, I cannot stop me. You are my yes!—my own brothers, sons of father, fruit of the same womb; you were not my brothers in Christ the work of faith, then my grief so violent, that nothing could equal well.—I shall never cease to be a passionate brother, if only you will yourselves to be the brethren of Christ."⁴

The confederates appeared to rise man, against the Gospel. The at Einsidlen had given the signal, agitated at the fate of Myconius, misfortunes, the beginning of Enemies in Zurich, enemies without own relatives becoming his opprobrious opposition on the part of and priests; violent measures in the councils; coarse and perhaps blood from the partisans of foreign the highest valleys of Switzerland, the the confederation, pouring forth ble phalanxes, to save Rome, and at the cost of their lives the rise the sons of the Reformation:—su picture the penetrating eye of the discovered in the distance, and he at the prospect. What a future! work, hardly begun, about to be Zwingle, thoughtful and agitated, anguish before the throne of Jesus," said he, "thou seest how and the blasphemers stun thy pe with their clamours.⁵ Thou know from my childhood I have hated; and yet, in despite of myself, Th ceased to impel me to the con Therefore do I call upon Thee vidence to complete what Thou ha If I have built up any thing wi Thou throw it down with thy mi If I have laid any other found Thee, let thy powerful arm desti vine abounding in sweetness, who man is the Father, and whose br are, do not abandon thy shoots!⁶ hast promised to be with us until the world!"

It was on the 22d of August Ulrich Zwingle, the reformer of Sw seeing the storms descending mountains on the frail bark of the poured forth before God the tro desires of his soul.

¹ Frater vester germanus nunquam desinas fratres Christi esse perseceritis. Zw. Opp. I.

² Vides enim, plissime Jean, aurea eorum quiescens susurronibus, aycopiantis, lucron illi, &c.

³ Si fundamentum aliud præter te Jecen ibid.

⁴ O suavisima vitis, cujus vinitor pater pal sumus, satiationem tuam ne deseras! ibid.

¹ Uss anstiften der getstlichen, Die zu allen Zytten, Christum Pilato und Herold vürstellen. Chronik.

² Plus enim metuo ne forte ignot, mitiorque fuerim. De semper casta virgine Maria. Zw. Opp. I. 104.

³ Et vel igni vel alio quodam supplicii genere tollaris e medio. Ibid.

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error of examination and inquiry is in our constantly urging the literary men of Switzerland, Germany, and England to search after the original documents which form the basis of Modern History. I add my mite to the accomplishment of this important task which our age appears to undertake. Hitherto I have not contented myself merely with reading the works of temporary historians: I have examined MSS., letters, and original narratives, and have made use of several manuscripts, particularly that of Bullinger, which has been printed since the appearance of the first Volume of this Work in France.¹

The necessity of having recourse to MSS. and printed documents became more urgent to me as I approached (as I do in the Twelfth Book) the history of the Reformation in France. On this subject we possess but few memoirs, in consequence of the perils which the Reformed Church in this country has existed. In the spring of 1839 I examined, as far as was in my power, the manuscripts preserved in the libraries of Paris, and it will be seen that a manuscript in the Royal Library, to which I believe unknown, throws much light on the early stages of the Reformation; in the autumn of 1839 I consulted the MSS. in the library belonging to the pastors of the town of Neuchâtel, a town exceedingly rich with regard to MSS., as having inherited the manuscripts of Farel's library; and through the kindness of the Chatelain of Meuron I obtained the use of a manuscript life of Farel by Choupard, into which most of the documents have been copied. These MSS. have enabled me to reconstruct an outline of the Reformation in France. In addition to these aids, and to those supplied by the Library of Geneva, I made use, in the columns of the *Archives du Protestantisme*, to all friends of history and of literature who might have any manuscripts at their disposal; and I here gratefully acknowledge the different communica-

tions that have been made to me, in particular by M. Ladèze, pastor at Meaux. But although religious wars and persecutions have destroyed many precious documents, a number still exist, no doubt, in various parts of France, which would be of vast importance for the history of the Reformation; and I earnestly call upon all those who may possess or have any knowledge of them, kindly to communicate with me on the subject. It is felt now-a-days that these documents are public property; and on this account I hope my appeal will not be made in vain.

It may be thought that in writing a general History of the Reformation, I have entered into an unnecessary detail of its first dawnings in France. But these particulars are almost unknown, the events that form the subject of my Twelfth Book, occupying only four pages in the *Histoire Ecclesiastique des Églises réformées au Royaume de France*, by Theodore Beza; and other historians have confined themselves almost entirely to the political progress of the nation. Unquestionably the scenes that I have discovered, and which I am now about to relate, are not so imposing as the Diet of Worms. Nevertheless, independently of the christian interest that is attached to them, the humble but heaven-descended movement that I have endeavoured to describe, has probably exerted a greater influence over the destinies of France than the celebrated wars of Francis I. and Charles V. In a large machine, it is not that which makes the greatest show that is always the most essential part, but the most hidden spring.

Complaints have been made of the delay that has taken place in the publication of this third volume; and some persons would have had me keep back the first until the whole was completed. There are, possibly, certain superior intellects to which conditions may be prescribed; but there are others whose weakness must give them, and to this number the author belongs. To publish a volume at one time, and then a second whenever I was able, and after that a third, is the course that my important duties and my poor ability allow me to take. Other cir-

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circumstances, moreover, have interposed; severe afflictions have on two occasions interrupted the composition of this third volume, and gathered all my affections and all my thoughts over the graves of beloved children. The reflection that it was my duty to glorify that adorable Master who addressed me in such powerful appeals, and who vouchsafed me such Divine consolation, could alone have given me the courage required for the completion of my task:

I have thought these explanations due to the kindness with which this Work has been received both in France and England, and especially in the latter country. The approbation of the Protestant Christians of Great Britain, the representatives of evangelical principles and doctrines in the most distant parts of the world, is most highly valued by me; and I feel a pleasure in telling them that it is an inestimable encouragement to my labours.

The cause of truth recompenses those who embrace and defend it; and such has been the result with the nations who received the Reformation. In the eighteenth century, at the very moment when Rome thought to triumph by the Jesuits and the scaffold, the victory slipped from her grasp. Rome fell, like Naples, Portugal, and Spain, into inextricable difficulties; and at the same time two Protestant nations arose and began to exercise an influence over Europe that had hitherto belonged to the Roman-catholic powers. England came forth victorious from those attacks of the French and Spaniards which the pope had so long been stirring up against her, and the Elector of Brandenburg, in spite of the wrath of Clement XI., encircled his head with a kingly crown. Since that time England has extended her dominion in every quarter of the globe, and Prussia has taken a new rank among the continental states, while a third power, Russia, also separated from Rome, has been growing up in her immense deserts. In this manner have evangelical principles exerted their influence over the countries that have embraced them, and *righteousness hath exalted the nations* (Prov. xiv. 34). Let the evangelical nations be well assured that to Protestantism they are indebted for their greatness. From the moment they abandon the position that God has given them, and incline again towards Rome, they will lose their glory and their power. Rome is now endeavouring to win them over, employing flattery and threats by turns; she would, like Delilah, lull them to sleep upon her knees,.....but it would be to cut off their looks, that their adversaries might put out their eyes and bind them with fetters of brass.

Here, too, is a great lesson for that country with which the author feels himself so intimately connected by the ties of ancestry. Should France, imitating her different go-

vernments, turn again towards her it will be, in our belief, the signal disasters. Whoever attaches him- self to papacy will be compromised in its situation. France has no prospect of greatness but by turning to the Gospel. May this great truth be understood by the people and their rulers.

It is true that in our days paper is doing a great stir. Although labour is an incurable consumption, she who is in a hectic flush and feverish activity towards others and herself too that she is still in vigour. This a theologian in Turin deavoured to do in a work occasioned by History, and in which we are to acknowledge a certain talent in forward testimonies, even the most modest with a tone of candour to which we are accustomed, and in a becoming exception, however, of the culpability with which the author in his chapter revives accusations against former, the falsehood of which has been authentically demonstrated and acknowledged.¹

As a sequel to his Biography of M. Audin has recently published Calvin, written under the influence of able prejudices, and in which we can recognise the reformers and the Reformation. Nevertheless, we do not find in it the shameful charges against Calvin which we have just alluded to; he has passed over in praiseworthy silence. No man who has any self-respect can now venture to bring forward these gross and false imputations.

Perhaps on some other occasion we may add a few words to what we have said in our First Book on the origin of the papacy. Here they would be out of place.

I shall only remark, in a general way, that it is precisely the human and national causes that so clearly explain to which the papacy has recourse in its divine institution. Thus Christianity declares that the universal Church was committed to all the bishops, the bishops of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Ephesus, Rome, Carthage, Lyons, Milan, Hippo, Caesarea, &c., were and interfered in all that took place in the Christian world. Rome immediately for herself that duty which was common to all, and reasoning as if no one else were concerned in it, employs its stratagem to her primacy.

Let us take another example. The Eastern churches, established in the first of the empire, sent missionaries to the countries with which they were connected, and which they were connected with was done first of all by Jerusalem.

¹ La Papauté considérée dans son origine, son développement au moyen âge, ou réponse à M. Merle D'Aubigné dans son Histoire de la Réformation au seizième siècle, par l'abbé C. Maury, théologien. Genève, chez Berthier-Guery, 1844.

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ch, Alexandria, and Ephesus; and by Rome: and Rome forthwith cons from what she had done after the s, and to a less extent than the others, she was entitled to set herself above hers. These examples will suffice.

us only remark further, that Rome sed alone in the West the honour that een shared in the East by Corinth, pi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, Antioch, n a much higher degree, by Jerusalem; y, that of having had one apostle or among its first teachers. Accordingly, atin Churches must naturally have felt ain respect towards Rome. But the rn Christians, who honoured her as the h of the political metropolis of the e, would never acknowledge her eccle- sial superiority. The famous General il of Chalcedon ascribed to Constanti-, formerly the obscure Byzantium, the privileges (*τὰ ἴσα τιμήματα*) as to Rome, eclared that she ought to be elevated r. And hence when the papacy was tively formed in Rome, the East would cknowledge a master of whom it had heard mention; and, standing on the at footing of its catholicity, it abandoned /est to the power of the new sect which pruned up in its bosom. The East even is day calls itself emphatically catholic rthodox; and whenever you ask one of Eastern Christians, whom Rome has d by her numerous concessions, if he is olic? "No," replies he directly, "I am tian (a papist)."¹ this History has been criticized by the sh party, it seems also to have met with s who have regarded it in a purely liti- light. Men for whom I feel much m appear to attach greater importance itary or political history of the Refor-

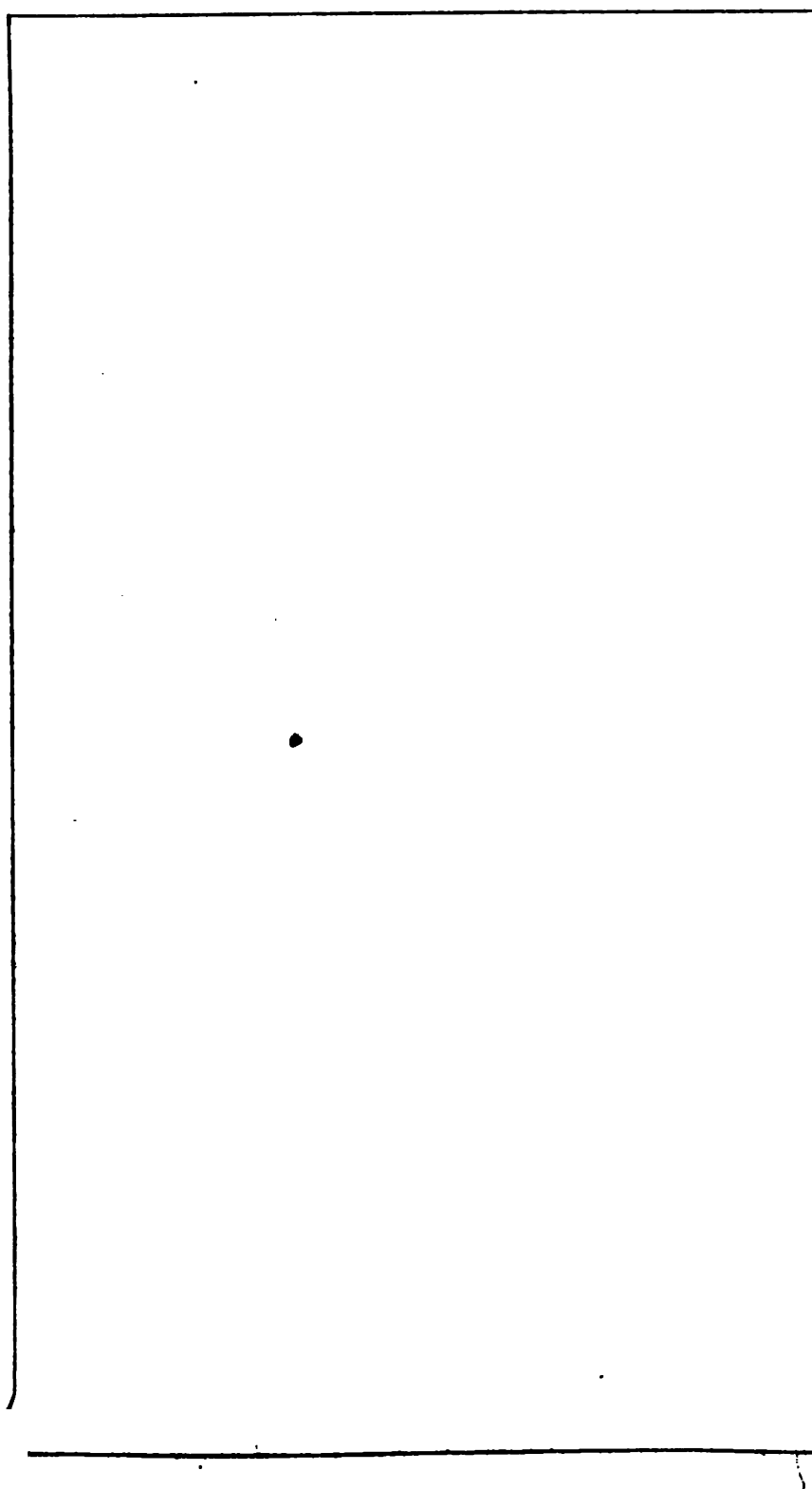
mation, than to an exposition grounded on its spiritual principles and its interior springs of action. I can well understand this way of viewing my subject, but I cannot partici- pate in it. In my opinion, the very essence of the Reformation is its doctrines and its inward life. Every work in which these two things do not hold the chief place may be showy, but it will not be faithfully and candidly historical. It would be like a philoso- pher who, in describing a man, should detail with great accuracy and picturesque beauty all that concerns the body, but should give only a subordinate place to that divine inhabitant the soul.

There are no doubt great defects in the feeble work of which I here present another fragment to the christian public; and I could desire that it were still more copiously im- bued with the spirit of the Reformation. The better I have succeeded in pointing out what- ever manifests the glory of Christ, the more faithful I shall have been to history. I wil- lingly adopt as my law those words, which an historian of the sixteenth century, a man of the sword still more than of the pen, after writing a portion of the history of that Pro- testantism in France which I do not purpose narrating, addresses to those who might think of completing his task: "I would give them that law which I acknowledge myself: that, in seeking the glory of this precious instrument, their principal aim should be that of the arm which has prepared, employed, and wielded it at His good pleasure. For all praise given to princes is unreasonable and misplaced, if it have not for leaf and root that of the living God, to whom alone belong honour and dominion for ever and ever."¹

Epiphany says, that our Lord committed to James der at Jerusalem his throne on earth (*τὸν Σέβειον* *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*): and speaking of the bishops as- sed at Jerusalem, he declares that the whole world (*ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην*) ought to submit to their authority. *Hervey*, 70, 10; 78, 7.

Journal of the Rev. Joseph Wolf. London, 1838, p. 238.

¹ As the French original does not indicate the source whence this quotation is taken, it may not be improper to mention that it will be found in the *Histoire Universelle* of Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné, 3 vols. folio, Amsterdam, 1688. D'Aubigné was then a refugee at Geneva, and in the preface to this work, which contains a history of the world and more especially of France and French Protestantism during his lifetime, he bequeaths to his children the task of completing the history he had partially traced out, and prescribes to them (in the passage quoted above) the spirit in which it should be performed. He little thought that two centuries and a half would pass away before his legacy would be accepted and the history of Protestantism completed. [*Done by the Translator.*]



HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

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BOOK IX.

FIRST REFORMS.—1521 AND 1522.

CHAPTER I.

Progress of the Reformation—New Period—Usefulness of Luther's Captivity in the Wartburg—Agitation in Germany—Melancthon and Luther—Enthusiasm.

For four years an old doctrine had been again proclaimed in the Church. The great tidings of *salvation by grace*, published in earlier times in Asia, Greece, and Italy, by Paul and his brethren, and after many ages re-discovered in the Bible by a monk of Wittenberg, had resounded from the plains of Saxony as far as Rome, Paris, and London; and the lofty mountains of Switzerland had re-echoed its powerful accents. The springs of truth, of liberty, and of life, had been re-opened to the human race. Thither had the nations hastened in crowds, and drunk gladly; but those who had there so eagerly quenched their thirst, were unchanged in appearance. All *within* was new, and yet every thing *without* seemed to have remained the same.

The constitution of the Church, its ritual, its discipline, had undergone no change. In Saxony, and even at Wittenberg, wherever the new ideas had penetrated, the papal worship continued with its usual pomp; the priest before the altar, offering the host to God, appeared to effect an ineffable transubstantiation; monks and nuns entered the convents and took their eternal vows; the pastors of the flocks lived without families; religious brotherhoods met together; pilgrimages were undertaken; believers hung their votive offerings on the pillars of the chapels; and all the ceremonies, even to the most insignificant observances of the sanctuary, were celebrated as before. There was a new life in the world, but it had not yet

created a new body. The language of the priest formed the most striking contrast with his actions. He might be heard thundering from the pulpit against the mass, as being an idolatrous worship; and then might be seen coming down to the altar, and scrupulously performing the pomps of this mystery. In every quarter the new Gospel sounded in the midst of the ancient rites. The priest himself did not perceive this strange contradiction; and the people, who had listened with admiration to the bold language of the new preachers, devoutly practised the old observances, as if they were never to lay them aside. Every thing remained the same, at the domestic hearth and in social life, as in the house of God. There was a new faith in the world, but not new works. The sun of spring had shone forth, but winter still seemed to bind all nature; there were no flowers, no foliage, nothing outwardly that gave token of the change of season. But these appearances were deceitful; a vigorous sap was circulating unperceived below the surface, and was about to change the aspect of the world.

It is perhaps to this prudent progress that the Reformation is indebted for its triumphs. Every revolution should be accomplished in the mind before it is carried out externally. The inconsistency we have noticed did not even strike Luther at first. It seemed to him quite natural that the people, who read his works with enthusiasm, should remain devoutly attached to the abuses which they assailed. One might almost fancy he had sketched his plan beforehand, and had resolved to change the mind before changing the forms. But this would be ascribing to

him a wisdom the honour of which belongs to a higher Intelligence. He carried out a plan that he had not himself conceived. At a later period he could recognise and discern these things: but he did not imagine them, and did not arrange them so. God led the way: it was Luther's duty to follow.

If Luther had begun by an external reform; if, as soon as he had spoken, he had attempted to abolish monastic vows, the mass, confession, and forms of worship, most assuredly he would have met with a vigorous resistance. Man requires time to accommodate himself to great revolutions. But Luther was by no means the violent, imprudent, daring innovator that some historians have described.¹ The people, seeing no change in their customary devotions, fearlessly abandoned themselves to their new teacher. They were even surprised at the attacks directed against a man who still left them their mass, their beads, their confessor; and attributed them to the low jealousy of obscure rivals, or to the cruel injustice of powerful adversaries. Yet Luther's opinions agitated their minds, renewed their hearts, and so undermined the ancient edifice that it soon fell of itself, without human agency. Ideas do not act instantaneously: they make their way in silence, like the waters that, filtering behind the rocks of the Alps, loosen them from the mountain on which they rest. Suddenly the work done in secret reveals itself, and a single day is sufficient to lay bare the agency of many years, perhaps of many centuries.

A new era is beginning for the Reformation. Already truth is restored in its doctrine; now the doctrine is about to restore truth in all the forms of the Church and of society. The agitation is too great for men's minds to remain fixed and immovable at the point they have attained. Upon those dogmas, now so mightily shaken, were based customs that are already tottering to their fall, and which must disappear with them. There is too much courage and life in the new generation for it to continue silent before error. Sacraments, public worship, hierarchy, vows, constitution, domestic and public life,—all are about to be modified. The ship, slowly and laboriously constructed, is about to quit the docks and to be launched on the open sea. We shall have to follow its progress through many shoals.

The captivity of the Wartburg separates these two periods. Providence, which was making ready to give so great an impulse to the Reformation, had prepared its progress by leading into profound retirement the instrument destined to effect it. The work seemed for a time buried with the workman; but the seed must be laid in the earth, that it may bring forth fruit; and from this pri-

son, which seemed to be the reform the Reformation was destined to give new conquests, and to spread over the whole world.

Hitherto the Reformation had been in the person of Luther. His a before the Diet of Worms was doubtless the sublimest day of his life. His character appeared at that time almost spotless, this which has given rise to the oft-repeated thought that if God, who concealed the truth for ten months within the walls of the city, had that instant removed him from the eyes of the world, his end would have been an apotheosis. But God reserved for his servants; and Luther preserved to the Church, in order to atone for his very faults, that the faith of the future should be based solely on the Word. He was transported suddenly far from the stage on which the great revolution of the sixteenth century was taking place, truth, that for four years he had fully proclaimed, continued in his acts upon Christendom: and the which he was but the feeble in henceforward bore the seal not of of God himself.

Germany was moved at Luther's death. The most contradictory rumours were circulated in the provinces. The absence excited men's minds more than his presence could have done. In one place it was said that friends from France had taken him in safety on the other bank of the Rhine; in another, that he had fallen by the hand of the assassin. Even in the smallest villages inquiries were made about travellers who were stopped and questioned; groups collected in the public places; sometimes some unknown orator would in a spirit-stirring narrative how he had been carried off; he would describe the cruel horsemen tying their prisoners, spurring their horses, and dragging them on foot, until his strength was exhausted, stopping their ears to his cries, and the blood from his limbs.² "Luther added he, 'has been seen pierced and through.'³ As they heard listeners uttered cries of sorrow. They said they, 'we shall never see or noble-minded man again, whose voice we have lost!' Luther's friends, with indignation, and swore to avenge his death. Women, children, men of all ages, beheld with affright the prospect of new struggles. Nothing could alarm the partisans of Rome. The monks and nuns, who at first had not been able to conceal their exultation, thinking that

¹ Hic... invalens opinio, me esse ab amica Francis misit. L. Epp. B. 5.

² Et inter festinantes curam equitum ipsam per vim tractum fuisse ut sanguis e digitis eorum liqueret, p. 30.

³ Fuit qui testatus sit, visum a se Lutheri corpus fuisse.... Pallavicini, Hist. Cons. Trid. l. 122.

victory because one man was dead, had raised their heads with an air of triumph, would now have fled he threatening anger of the people.¹ n, who, while Luther was free, had ruins to their fury, trembled now was a captive.² Aleander, especially astounded. "The only remaining saving ourselves," wrote a Roman of the Archbishop of Mentz, "is to hes and hunt for Luther through world, to restore him to the nation lling for him."³ One might have the pale ghost of the reformer, his chains, was spreading terror nd calling for vengeance. "Luth." exclaimed some, "will cause f blood to be shed."⁴

lace was there such commotion as s itself; resolute murmurs were ng both people and princes. Ulen and Hermann Busch filled the ith their plaintiff strains and songs

Charles V. and the nuncios were ceused. The nation took up the e poor monk, who, by the strength a, had become their leader.

temberg, his colleagues and friends, ally Melancthon, were at first sunk eapest affliction. Luther had im- this young scholar the treasures of theology which had thenceforward upied his mind. Luther had given and life to that purely intellectual i which Melancthon had brought berg. The depth of the reformer's ad struck the youthful Hellenist, etor's courage in maintaining the he everlasting Gospel against all thory had filled him with enthue had become a partner in his la- had taken up the pen, and with y of style which he derived from of the ancients, had successively, hand of power, humbled the au- the fathers and councils before the word of God.

hon showed the same decision in ng that Luther displayed in his Never were there two men of versity, and at the same time of ity. "Scripture," said Melancthon, to the soul a holy and marvellous t is the heavenly ambrosia."⁵— rd of God," exclaimed Luther, "is war, a destruction; it falls upon n of Ephraim like a lioness in the hus, one saw in the Scriptures a onsole, and the other a violent op-

position against the corruptions of the world. But both esteemed it the greatest thing on earth; and hence they agreed in perfect harmony. "Melancthon," said Luther, "is a wonder; all men confess it now. He is the most formidable enemy of Satan and the schoolmen, for he knows their foolishness, and Christ the rock. The little Grecian surpasses even me in divinity; he will be as serviceable to you as many Luthers." And he added that he was ready to abandon any opinion of which Philip did not approve. On his part, too, Melancthon, filled with admiration at Luther's knowledge of Scripture, set him far above the fathers of the Church. He would make excuses for the jeats with which Luther was reproached, and compared him to an earthen vessel that contains a precious treasure beneath its coarse exterior. "I should be very unwilling to reprove him inconsiderately in this matter," said Melancthon.¹

But now, these two hearts, so closely united, were separated. These two valiant soldiers can no longer march side by side to the deliverance of the Church. Luther has disappeared; perhaps he is lost for ever. The consternation at Wittemberg was extreme: like that of an army, with gloomy and dejected looks, before the blood-stained body of their general who was leading them on to victory.

Suddenly more comforting news arrived. "Our beloved father lives,"² exclaimed Philip in the joy of his soul; "take courage and be firm." But it was not long before their dejection returned. Luther was alive, but in prison. The edict of Worms, with its terrible proscriptions,³ was circulated by thousands throughout the empire, and even among the mountains of the Tyrol.⁴ Would not the Reformation be crushed by the iron hand that was weighing upon it? Melancthon's gentle spirit was overwhelmed with sorrow.

But the influence of a mightier hand was felt above the hand of man; God himself deprived the formidable edict of all its strength. The German princes, who had always sought to diminish the power of Rome in the empire, trembled at the alliance between the emperor and the pope, and feared that it would terminate in the destruction of their liberty. Accordingly, while Charles in his journey through the Low Countries greeted with an ironical smile the burning piles which flatterers and fanatics kindled on the public places with Luther's works, these very writings were read in Germany with a continually increasing eagerness, and numerous pamphlets in favour of the reform were daily inflicting some new blow on the papacy.

¹ *Imminens ferre non possunt. L. Epp. hero insisterunt, nunc me captivo ita format. ant mlticare. Ibid.*
² *vis redempturus, nisi accensis candelis undipans. Ibid.*
³ *In MS. Heckerianis. Lindner, Leb. Luth.*
⁴ *in voluptas, immo ambrosia quodam calce. l. l. 124.*

¹ *Spiritus Martini nolim temere in hac causa interpellare. Corp. Ref. l. 211.*
² *Pater noster carissimus vivit. Ibid. 200.*
³ *Dictur parari proscriptione horrenda. Ibid.*
⁴ *Dicuntur signate chartis proscriptionis hic mille milia quoque ad Insbruck. Ibid.*

The nuncios were distracted at seeing this edict, the fruit of so many intrigues, producing so little effect. "The ink with which Charles V. signed his arrest," said they bitterly, "is scarcely dry, and yet the imperial decree is every where torn in pieces." The people were becoming more and more attached to the admirable man who, heedless of the thunders of Charles and of the pope, had confessed his faith with the courage of a martyr. "He offered to retract," said they, "if he were refuted, and no one dared undertake the task. Does not this prove the truth of his doctrines?" Thus the first movement of alarm was succeeded in Wittenberg and the whole empire by a movement of enthusiasm. Even the Archbishop of Mentz, witnessing this outburst of popular sympathy, dared not give the Cordeliers permission to preach against the reformer. The university, that seemed on the point of being crushed, raised its head. The new doctrines were too firmly established for them to be shaken by Luther's absence; and the halls of the academy could hardly contain the crowd of hearers.¹

CHAPTER II.

Luther in the Wartburg—Object of his Captivity—Anxiety—Sickness—Luther's Labours—On Confession—Reply to Latomus—His daily Walks.

MEANTIME the Knight George, for by that name Luther was called in the Wartburg, lived solitary and unknown. "If you were to see me," wrote he to Melancthon, "you would take me for a soldier, and even you would hardly recognise me."² Luther at first indulged in repose, enjoying a leisure which had not hitherto been allowed him. He wandered freely through the fortress, but could not go beyond the walls.³ All his wishes were attended to, and he had never been better treated.⁴ A crowd of thoughts filled his soul; but none had power to trouble him. By turns he looked down upon the forests that surrounded him, and raised his eyes towards heaven. "A strange prisoner am I," exclaimed he, "a captive with and against my will!"⁵

"I pray for me," wrote he to Spalatin; "your prayers are the only thing I need. I do not grieve for any thing that may be said of me in the world. At last I am at rest."⁶

¹ Scholasticis quorum supra milia tibi tunc fuerunt. Spalatinus Annales, 1521, October.

² Equidem videres ac ipse via agnosceres. L. Epp. II. 11.

³ Nunc sum hic obsidus, sicut inter captivos liber. Ibid.

⁴ 12th May.

⁵ Quamquam et hilariter et libenter omnia mihi ministraret. Ibid. 15, 15th August.

⁶ Ego mirabilis captivus qui et volens et nolens hic sedeo. Ibid. 4, 12th May.

⁷ Tu fac ut pro me ores; hac una res opus mihi est. Quic-

This letter, as well as many of the same period, is dated from the island of the Wartburg. Luther compared the Wartburg to that celebrated island to which the Domitian in former times had banished the Apostle John.

In the midst of the dark foresting the reformer reposed from the struggles that had agitated his soul; he studied christian truth, not for the purpose of contention, but as a means of regeneration and life. The beginning of the Reformation was of necessity a new time required new labours. Stripping down the thorns and the thicket was requisite to sow the Word of God ably in the heart. If Luther had not so silently called upon to fight fresh battles, he would not have accomplished a duty in the Church. Thus by his escape he escaped a danger which might have ruined the Reformation,—that of attacking and destroying without ever building up.

This humble retreat had a still more precious result. Uplifted by his calmness as on a shield, he was on the very abyss; the least giddiness might have thrown him into it headlong. Some of the motives of the Reformation both in Germany and Switzerland, ran upon the spiritual pride and fanaticism. Luther a man very subject to the infirmities of nature, and he was unable to escape from these dangers. The God, however, delivered him from them suddenly removing him from the intoxicating ovations, and throwing him into an unknown retreat. There he was wrapt in pious meditation at his stool; it was again tempered in the midst of adversity; its sufferings and hardships compelled him to walk, for a time with the humble; and the principles of christian life were thenceforward in his soul with greater energy and firmness.

Luther's calmness was not of long duration. Seated in loneliness on the mountain of the Wartburg, he remained lost in deep meditation. At one time the Church appeared before him, displaying her wretchedness;¹ at another, his eyes hopefully towards heaven, he exclaimed: "Wherefore, O Lord, have you made all men in vain?" (Psalm lxviii.) And then, giving way to despair with dejection: "Alas! there is no salvation in this latter day of his anger, to stand before the Lord, and save souls."

Then recurring to his own dangers, he feared lest he should be accused of the field of battle;² and this again weighed down his soul. "I would

quid de me sit in publico, nihil moror; ego in seculo sedeo. L. Epp. II. 10th June 1521.

¹ Ego hic sedens tota die faciem Ecclesie anteo. Ibid. 1.

² Verebar ego me aciem decerere videretur. Ib.

said he, "be stretched on coals of fire, than lie here half-dead."¹

Transporting himself in imagination to Worms and Wittenberg, into the midst of his adversaries, he regretted having yielded to the advice of his friends, that he had quitted the world, and that he had not presented his bosom to the fury of men.² "Alas!" said he, "there is nothing I desire more than to appear before my cruellest enemies."³

Gentler thoughts, however, brought a truce to such anxiety. Every thing was not storm and tempest for Luther; from time to time his agitated mind found tranquillity and comfort. Next to the certainty of God's help, one thing consoled him in his sorrows; it was the recollection of Melancthon. "If I perish," wrote he, "the Gospel will lose nothing: you will succeed me as Elisha did Elijah, with a double portion of my spirit." But calling to mind Philip's timidity, he exclaimed with energy: "Minister of the Word! keep the walls and towers of Jerusalem, until you are struck down by the enemy. As yet we stand alone upon the field of battle; after me, they will aim their blows at you."⁴

The thought of the final attack Rome was about to make on the infant Church, renewed his anxieties. The poor monk, solitary and a prisoner, had many a combat to fight alone. But a hope of deliverance speedily dawned upon him. It appeared to him that the assaults of the Papacy would raise the whole German nation, and that the victorious soldiers of the Gospel would surround the Wartburg, and restore the prisoner to liberty. "If the pope," said he, "lays his hand on all those who are on my side, there will be a disturbance in Germany; the greater his haste to crush us, the sooner will come the end of the pope and his followers. And I shall be restored to you."⁵ God is awakening the hearts of many, and stirring up the nations. Only let our enemies clasp our affair in their arms and try to stifle it; it will gather strength under their pressure, and come forth ten times more formidable."

But sickness brought him down from those high places on which his courage and his faith had placed him. He had already suffered much at Worms; his disease increased in solitude.⁷ He could not endure the food at the Wartburg, which was less coarse than that of his convent; they were compelled to give him the meagre diet to which he had been accustomed. He passed whole nights without sleep. Anxieties of mind were

superadded to the pains of the body. No great work is ever accomplished without suffering and martyrdom. Luther, alone upon his rock, endured in his strong frame a passion that the emancipation of the human race rendered necessary. "Seated by night in my chamber," says he, "I uttered groans, like a woman in her travail; torn, wounded, and bleeding"¹.....then breaking off his complaints, touched with the thought that his sufferings are a blessing from God, he exclaimed with love: "Thanks be to Thee, O Christ, that thou wilt not leave me without the precious marks of thy cross!"² But soon, growing angry with himself, he cried out: "Madman and hard-hearted that I am! Woe is me! I pray seldom, I seldom wrestle with the Lord, I groan not for the Church of God!"³ Instead of being fervent in spirit, my passions take fire; I live in idleness, in sleep, and indolence!" Then, not knowing to what he should attribute this state, and accustomed to expect every thing from the affection of his brethren, he exclaimed in the desolation of his heart: "O my friends! do you then forget to pray for me, that God is thus far from me?"

Those who were around him, as well as his friends at Wittenberg and at the elector's court, were uneasy and alarmed at this state of suffering. They feared lest they should see the life they had rescued from the flames of the pope and the sword of Charles V. decline sadly and expire. Was the Wartburg destined to be Luther's tomb? "I fear," said Melancthon, "that the grief he feels for the Church will cause his death. A fire has been kindled by him in Israel; if he dies, what hope will remain for us? Would to God, that at the cost of my own wretched life, I could retain in the world that soul which is its fairest ornament!"⁴—Oh! what a man!" exclaimed he, as if already standing beside his grave; "we never appreciated him rightly!"

What Luther denominated the shameful indolence of his prison was a task that almost exceeded the strength of one man. "I am here all the day," wrote he on the 14th of May, "in idleness and pleasures (alluding doubtless to the better diet that was provided him at first). I am reading the Bible in Hebrew and Greek; I am going to write a treatise in German on Auricular Confession; I shall continue the translation of the Psalms, and compose a volume of sermons, so soon as I have received what I want from Wittenberg. I am writing without intermission."⁵ And yet this was but a part of his labours.

His enemies thought that, if he were not

¹ Nullem inter carbonas vivos ardere, quam solus semivivus, æque utinam non mortuus putare. L. Epp. ii. 10.

² Periculum esse oblectandam publico furori. Ibid. 30.

³ Nihil magis opto, quam furoribus adversariorum occurrere, obsequio juro. Ibid. 1.

⁴ Eritam si peream, nihil peribit Evangelio. Ibid. 10.

⁵ Non solum adhuc stans in acie; te quærent post me. Ibid. 2.

⁶ Qui citius id tentaveris, hoc citius et ipse et sui peribit, et ego revertar. Ibid. 10.

⁷ Anxiam est malum, quo Wormatice laborabam. Ibid. 2.

¹ Sedeo dolens, sicut puerpera, lacer et saucius et cruciatus. L. Epp. ii. 30, 9th Sept.

² Gratias Christo, qui me sine reliquiis sanctæ crucis non derelinquit. Ibid.

³ Nihil est in me pro ecclesia Dei. Ibid. 22, 13th July.

⁴ Utinam hæc vili anima mea ipsius vitam emere queam. Corp. Ref. i. 46, 14th July.

⁵ Sine intermissione scribo. L. Epp. ii. 6, 16.

dead, at least they should hear no more of him; but their joy was not of long duration, and there could be no doubt that he was alive. A multitude of writings, composed in the Wartburg, succeeded each other rapidly, and the beloved voice of the reformer was every where hailed with enthusiasm. Luther published simultaneously works calculated to edify the Church, and polemical tracts which troubled the too eager exultation of his enemies. For nearly a whole year, he by turns instructed, exhorted, reproved, and thundered from his mountain-retreat; and his amazed adversaries asked one another if there was not something supernatural, some mystery, in this prodigious activity. "He could never have taken any rest," says Cochleus.¹

But there was no other mystery than the imprudence of the partisans of Rome. They hastened to take advantage of the edict of Worms, and to strike a decisive blow at the Reformation; while Luther, condemned, under the ban of the empire, and a prisoner in the Wartburg, undertook to defend the sound doctrine, as if he were still victorious and at liberty. It was especially at the tribunal of penance that the priests endeavoured to rivet the chains of their docile parishioners; and accordingly the confessional was the object of Luther's first attack. "They bring forward," said he, "these words of St. James: *Confess your faults to one another*. Singular confessor! his name is *One Another*. Whence it would follow that the confessors should also confess themselves to their penitents; that each Christian should be, in his turn, pope, bishop, priest; and that the pope himself should confess to all!"²

Luther had scarcely finished this tract when he began another. A theologian of Louvain, by name Latomus, already notorious by his opposition to Reuchlin and Erasmus, had attacked the reformer's opinions. In twelve days, Luther's refutation was ready, and it is a masterpiece. He clears himself of the reproach that he was wanting in moderation. "The moderation of the day," said he, "is to bend the knee before sacrilegious pontiffs and impious sophists, and to say to them: Gracious lord! Excellent master! Then, when you have so done, you may put any one you please to death; you may even convulse the world, and you will be none the less a man of moderation.....Away with such moderation! I would rather be frank and deceive no one. The shell may be hard, but the kernel is soft and tender."³

As Luther's health continued feeble, he

thought of leaving the place of his ment. But how could he manage to appear in public would be exposing The back of the mountain on which tress stood was crossed by numerous ways, bordered by tufts of strawberri heavy gate of the castle opened, prisoner ventured, not without fear, t some of the fruit.⁴ By degrees I bolder, and in his knight's garb I wander through the surrounding cou tended by one of the guards of the worthy but somewhat churlish ma: day, having entered an inn, Luthe aside his sword, which encumbered I hastily took up some books that le His nature got the better of his p His guardian trembled lest a move extraordinary in a soldier, should suspicions that the doctor was not knight. At another time the two c alighted at the convent of Reinhart where Luther had slept a few month on his road to Worms.⁵ Suddenly o lay-brothers uttered a cry of surprise was recognised. His attendant p it, and dragged him hastily away. ready they were galloping far from t ter before the astonished brother h vered from his amazement.

The military life of the doctor h: tervals something about it truly the One day the nets were made rea gates of the fortress opened—the lo dogs rushed forth. Luther desired the pleasures of the chase. The h soon grew animated; the dogs spr ward, driving the game from the cov the midst of all this uproar, the George stands motionless: his mind pined with serious thoughts; the around him fill his heart with sorrow not this," says he, "the image of t setting on his dogs—that is, the those representatives of Antichrist, ing them in pursuit of poor soul: young hare was caught: delighted prospect of liberating it, he wrappes fully in his cloak, and set it down midat of a thicket; but hardly had l a few steps away from the spot he dogs scented the animal and killed ther, attracted by the noise, uttered of sorrow, and exclaimed: "O po thou, too, Satan! thus it is ye ende destroy even those souls that have be from death!"⁶

¹ Zu selten gehet er inn die Erdbeer am 8 Mathes, p. 51.

² Vol. II. p. 237.

³ Theologianar etiam ibi inter retia et capes misericordie et doloris miscuit mysterium. L.

⁴ Quid enim ista imago, nisi Babelum significans, quas et impios maxime canes suas.... Ibid.

⁵ Sic sevit Paps et Satan ut servatis etiam i dant. Ibid. 44.

¹ Cum gulmescere non posset. Cochli. Act. Luther. p. 29.
² Und der Pöbel müsse ihm beichten. L. Kpp. xvi. 701.
³ Cortex meus esse potest durior, sed nucleus meus mollior et dulcis est. Ibid. Lat. II. 213.

CHAPTER III.

sent of the Reform—Marriage of Feldkirchen—
 Marriage of Monks—Theses—Tract against Monachism no longer a Monk.

The doctor of Wittenberg, thus dead-
 ened, was seeking relaxation in these
 the neighbourhood of the Wartburg,
 was going on as if of itself: the
 was beginning; it was no longer
 to doctrine, it entered deeply into
 ions. Bernard Feldkirchen, pastor
 erg, the first under Luther's direc-
 t-tack the errors of Rome,¹ was also
 o throw off the yoke of its institu-
 e married.

ermans are fond of social life and
 joys; and hence, of all the papal
 s, compulsory celibacy was that
 duced the saddest consequences.

which had been first imposed on
 of the clergy, had prevented the
 ical fiefs from becoming hereditary.
 extended by Gregory VII. to the
 lergy, it was attended with the most
 e results. Many priests had evaded
 ations imposed upon them by the
 ndalous disorders, and had drawn
 and hatred on the whole body;
 ose who had submitted to Hilde-
 law were inwardly exasperated
 e Church, because, while conferring
 perior dignitaries so much power,
 nd earthly enjoyment, it bound its
 ministers, who were its most useful
 s, to a self-denial so contrary to the

ier popes nor councils," said Feld-
 and another pastor named Seidler,
 followed his example, "can impose
 nandment on the Church that en-
 body and soul. The obligation of
 God's law compels me to violate the
 of men."² The re-establishment
 ge in the sixteenth century was a
 aid to the moral law. The eccle-
 authority became alarmed, and im-
 y fulminated its decrees against
 o priests. Seidler, who was in the
 s of Duke George, was given up to
 rors, and died in prison. But the
 Frederick refused to surrender Feld-
 to the Archbishop of Magdeburg.
 ghness," said Spalatin, "declines to
 part of a constable." Feldkirchen
 continued pastor of his flock, al-
 husband and a father.

rest emotion of the reformer when he
 this was to give way to exultation:
 re this new bridegroom of Kemberg,"
 , "who fears nothing, and hastens
 in the midst of the uproar." Luther

was of opinion that priests ought to marry.
 But this question led to another,—the mar-
 riage of monks; and here Luther had to
 support one of those internal struggles of
 which his whole life was composed; for every
 reform must first be won by a spiritual
 struggle. Melancthon and Carlstadt, the one
 a layman, the other a priest, thought that
 the liberty of contracting the bonds of wed-
 lock should be as free for the monks as for
 the priests. The monk Luther did not think
 so at first. One day the governor of the
 Wartburg having brought him Carlstadt's
 theses on celibacy: "Gracious God!" ex-
 claimed he, "our Wittenbergers then will
 give wives even to the monks!".....This
 thought surprised and confounded him; his
 heart was troubled. He rejected for himself
 the liberty that he claimed for others. "Ah!"
 said he indignantly, "they will not force me
 at least to take a wife."¹ This expression
 is doubtless unknown to those who assert
 that Luther preached the Reformation that
 he might marry. Inquiring for truth, not
 with passion, but with uprightness of pur-
 pose, he maintained what seemed to him
 true, although contrary to the whole of his
 system. He walked in a mixture of error
 and truth, until error had fallen and truth
 remained alone.

There was, indeed, a great difference be-
 tween the two questions. The marriage of
 priests was not the destruction of the priest-
 hood; on the contrary, this of itself might
 restore to the secular clergy the respect of
 the people; but the marriage of monks was
 the downfall of monachism. It became a
 question, therefore, whether it was desirable
 to disband and break up that powerful army
 which the popes had under their orders.
 "Priests," wrote Luther to Melancthon,
 "are of divine appointment, and consequen-
 tly are free as regards human commandments.
 But of their own free will the monks adopted
 celibacy; they are not therefore at liberty to
 withdraw from the yoke they voluntarily
 imposed on themselves."²

The reformer was destined to advance, and
 carry by a fresh struggle this new position
 of the enemy. Already had he trodden
 under foot a host of Roman abuses, and even
 Rome herself; but monachism still remained
 standing. Monachism, that had once carried
 life into so many deserts, and which, passing
 through so many centuries, was now filling
 the cloisters with sloth, and often with licen-
 tiousness, seemed to have embodied itself,
 and gone to defend its rights in that castle
 of Thuringia, where the question of its life
 and death was discussed in the conscience of
 one man. Luther struggled with it: at one
 moment he was on the point of gaining the
 victory, at another he was nearly overcome.

¹ At mihi non obtrudunt uxorem. L. Epp. II. 42.

² Me enim vehementer movet, quod sacerdotum ordo, a
 Deo institutus, est liber, non autem monachorum qui sui
 sponte statum eligerunt. Ibid. 34.

p. 74.
 ne ergo ut humanas traditiones violarem, neces-
 sarijuria divini. Corp. Ref. I. 441.

At length, unable longer to maintain the contest, he flung himself in prayer at the feet of Jesus Christ, exclaiming: "Teach us, deliver us, establish us, by Thy mercy, in the liberty that belongs to us; for of a surety we are thy people!"¹

He had not long to wait for deliverance; an important revolution was effected in the reformer's mind; and again it was the doctrine of justification by faith that gave him victory. That arm which had overthrown the indulgences, the practices of Rome, and the pope himself, also wrought the downfall of the monks in Luther's mind and throughout Christendom. Luther saw that monachism was in violent opposition to the doctrine of salvation by grace, and that a monastic life was founded entirely on the pretended merits of man. Feeling convinced, from that hour, that Christ's glory was interested in this question, he heard a voice incessantly repeating in his conscience: "Monachism must fall!"—"So long as the doctrine of justification by faith remains pure and undefiled in the Church, no one can become a monk," said he.² This conviction daily grew stronger in his heart, and about the beginning of September he sent "to the bishops and deacons of the Church of Wittenberg," the following theses, which were his declaration of war against a monastic life:—

"Whatsoever is not of faith is sin (Rom. xiv. 23).

"Whosoever maketh a vow of virginity, of chastity, of service to God without faith, maketh an impious and idolatrous vow—a vow to the devil himself.

"To make such vows is worse than the priests of Cybele or the vestals of the pagans; for the monks make their vows in the thought of being justified and saved by these vows; and what ought to be ascribed solely to the mercy of God, is thus attributed to meritorious works.

"We must utterly overflow such convents, as being the abodes of the devil.

"There is but one order that is holy and makes man holy, and that is Christianity or faith."

"For convents to be useful they should be converted into schools, where children should be brought up to man's estate; instead of which they are houses where adult men become children, and remain so for ever."

We see that Luther would still have tolerated convents as places of education; but ere long his attacks against these establishments became more violent. The immorality and shameful practices that prevailed in the cloisters recurred forcibly to his thoughts. "I am resolved," wrote he to Spalatin on the 11th of November, "to deliver the young

from the hellish fires of celibacy."³ He wrote a book against monastic vows; he dedicated to his father—

"Do you desire," said he in his de to the old man at Mansfeldt, "do desire to rescue me from a monast You have the right, for you are my father, and I am still your son. But no longer necessary: God has been hand with you, and has Himself d me by his power. What matters it I wear or lay aside the tonsure and t Is it the cowl—is it the tonsure—tha the monk? *All things are yours, Paul, and you are Christ's.* I do not to the cowl, but the cowl to me. monk, and yet not a monk; I am creature, not of the pope, but of Jesu Christ, alone and without any go-bet my bishop, my abbot, my prior, my father, and my master; and I k other. What matters it to me if I should condemn me and put me to He cannot call me from the grave: me a second time.....The great day ing near in which the kingdom of a tions shall be overthrown. Would that it were worth while for the pop us all to death! Our blood would to heaven against him, and thus his nation would be hastened, and his near."⁴

The transformation had already l fected in Luther himself; he was n a monk. It was not outward circum or earthly passions, or carnal prec that had wrought this change. Th been a struggle: at first Luther ha the side of monachism; but truth a gone down into the lists, and mo had fallen before it. The victori passion gains are ephemeral; those are lasting and decisive.

CHAPTER IV.

Archbishop Albert—The Idol of Halle—Luther's Alarm of the Court—Luther's Letter to bishop—Albert's Reply—Joachim of Brandenburg

WHILE Luther was thus preparing for one of the greatest revolutions destined to be effected in the Church, the Reformation was beginning powerfully into the lives of Christian Romish partisans, blind as those are who have been long in the power, imagined that, because Luther in the Wartburg, the Reform was d

¹ Dominus Jesus erodiat et liberet nos, per misericordiam suam, in libertatem nostram. To Melancthon, on Celibacy, 6th August 1521. L. Opp. II. 40.

² L. Opp. (W.) xvil. 1. 465.

³ Es ist nicht mehr denn eine einige Geistlichkeit, die da heilig ist, und heilig macht.....L. Opp. xvil. 712.

⁴ Adolescentes liberare ex isto inferno coelibatu II. 42.

⁵ Dass unser Blut möcht schreiben, und dringet, dass sein David ein Kinde würde. L. Opp. II.

ding; and fancied they should be y to resume their ancient practice had been for a moment disturbed nk of Wittenberg. Albert, elector of Mentz, was one of those who, all things being equal, decide th; but who, as soon as their in-ut in the balance, are ready to with error. His most important have a court as brilliant as that ce in Germany, his equipages as his table as well furnished: the indulgences served admirably to is object. Accordingly, the de-ct Luther had scarcely issued from al chancery, before Albert, who residing with his court at Halle, the vendors of indulgences, who alarmed at the words of the re-endeavoured to encourage them nguage as this: "Fear nothing, enced him; let us begin to shear . peace; the monk is a prisoner; ned by bolts and bars; this time very clever if he comes again to n our affairs." The market was he merchandise was displayed for again the churches of Halle re- the speeches of the mounte-

ier was still alive, and his voice ful enough to pass beyond the gratings behind which he had n. Nothing could have roused tion to a higher pitch. What! iolent battles have been fought: fronted every danger: the truth- torious, and yet they dare trample t, as if it had been vanquished! oice shall again be heard, which ready put an end to this criminal shall enjoy no rest," wrote he to until I have attacked the idol of its brothel at Halle."¹

ct to work immediately; he cared : the mystery with which some nvelop his residence in the Wart- was like Elijah in the desert sh thunderbolts against the im- b. On the first of November he treatise *Against the New Idol of*

ice of Luther's plans reached the Alarmed and in emotion at the e sent about the middle of Octo- his attendants (Capito and Auer- Wittenberg) to avert the storm. ust moderate his impetuosity." Melancthon, who received them But Melancthon, although mild s not one of those who imagine n consists in perpetual conces- sation, and silence. "It is oves him," replied he, "and our

age needs a bitter and pungent salt."¹ Upon this Capito turned to Jonas, and endeavoured through him to act upon the court. The news of Luther's intention was already known there, and produced great amazement. "What!" said the courtiers: "re- kindle the fire that we have had so much trouble to extinguish! Luther can only be saved by being forgotten, and yet he is rising up against the first prince in the empire!"—"I will not suffer Luther to write against the Archbishop of Mentz, and thus disturb the public tranquillity," said the elector.²

Luther was annoyed when these words were repeated to him. Is it not enough to imprison his body, but they will enchain his mind also, and the truth with it?.....Do they fancy that he hides himself through fear, and that his retirement is an avowal of defeat? He maintains that it is a victory. Who dared stand up against him at Worms and oppose the truth? Accordingly when the captive in the Wartburg had read the chaplain's letter, informing him of the prince's sentiments, he flung it aside, determined to make no reply. But he could not long contain himself; he took up the epistle and wrote to Spalatin: "The elector will not suffer!.....and I too will not suffer the elector not to permit me to write.....Rather would I destroy yourself, the elector, nay, every creature in the world!"³ If I have resisted the pope, who is the creator of your cardinal, why should I give way before his creature? It is very fine, forsooth, to hear you say that we must not disturb the public tranquillity, while you allow the everlasting peace of God to be disturbed!.....Spalatin, it shall not be so! Prince, it shall not be so!⁴ I send you a book I had already prepared against the cardinal when I received your letter. Forward it to Melancthon."

Spalatin trembled as he read this manuscript; again he represented to the reformer how imprudent it would be to publish a work that would force the imperial government to lay aside its apparent ignorance of Luther's fate, and punish a prisoner who dared attack the greatest prince in the empire and the Church. If Luther persevered in his designs, the tranquillity would again be disturbed, and the Reformation perhaps be lost. Luther consented to delay the publication of his treatise, and even permitted Melancthon to erase the most violent passages.⁵ But, irritated at his friend's timidity, he wrote to the chaplain: "The Lord lives and reigns, that Lord in whom you court-folks do not believe, unless he so accommodate His works to your reason, that there is no longer any necessity

¹ Hic seculo opus esse acerrimo sale. Corp. Ref. i. 425.
² Non passurum principem scribi in Moguntinum. L. Epp. ii. 98.

³ Potius te et principem ipsum perdam et omnem creaturam. Ibid.

⁴ Non sic, Spalatin; non sic, princeps. Ibid.

⁵ Ut acerbiora redat. Ibid. lii.

Inter quos idolum Moguntinum invadam, cum allemani. L. Epp. ii. 98, 7th October.

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

to believe." He then resolved to write direct to the cardinal.

It is the whole episcopal body that Luther thus brings to the bar in the person of the German primate. His words are those of a bold man, ardent in zeal for the truth, and who feels that he is speaking in the name of God himself.

"Your electoral highness," wrote he from the depth of the retreat in which he was hidden, "has set up again in Halle the idol that swallows the money and the souls of poor Christians. You think, perhaps, that I am disabled, and that the emperor will easily stifle the cries of the poor monk..... But know that I shall discharge the duties that christian charity has imposed upon me, without fearing the gates of hell, and much less the pope, his bishops, and cardinals.

"For this reason my humble prayer is, that your electoral highness would remember the beginning of this affair—how from one tiny spark proceeded so terrible a conflagration. All the world was at that time in a state of security. This poor begging friar (thought they), who unaided would attack the pope, is too weak for such an undertaking. But God interposed; and he caused the pope more labour and anxiety than he had ever felt since he had taken his place in the temple of God to tyrannize over the Church. This same God still lives: let none doubt it.¹ He will know how to withstand a cardinal of Mentz, even were he supported by four emperors; for He is pleased above all things to hew down the lofty cedars and to abase the haughty Pharaohs.

"For this reason I inform your highness by letter, that if the idol is not thrown down, I must, in obedience to God's teaching, publicly attack your highness, as I have attacked the pope himself. Let your highness conduct yourself in accordance with this advice; I shall wait a fortnight for an early and favourable reply. Given in my wilderness, the Sunday after St. Catherine's day (15th November) 1521.

"From your electoral highness's devoted and obedient servant,

"MARTIN LUTHER."

This letter was sent to Wittenberg, and from Wittenberg to Halle, where the cardinal-elect was then residing; for no one ventured to intercept it, foreseeing the storm that would be aroused by so daring an act. But Melancthon accompanied it by a letter addressed to the prudent Capito, in which he endeavoured to prepare the way for a favourable termination of this difficult business.

It is impossible to describe the feelings of the youthful and weak archbishop on receiving the reformer's letter. The work announced *against the idol of Halle* was like a

sword suspended over his head. At the same time, what anger must he kindled in his heart by the insolent peasant's son,—of this excommunicated monk, who dared make use of language to a prince of the house of burg,—the primate of the German Capito besought the archbishop to a monk. Alarm, pride, and the voice of science which he could not stifle, fearfully in Albert's bosom. A dread of the book, and perhaps remorse prevailed; he humbled himself: together all he thought calculated to the man of the Wartburg, and he had barely elapsed when Luther received following letter, still more astonishing his own terrible epistle:—

"My dear Doctor,—I have received your letter, and have taken it to heart. But I think the motive that you to write me such an epistle ceased to exist. I desire, with God's conduct myself as a pious bishop and a prince, and I confess my need of grace of God. I do not deny the sinner, liable to sin and error, sinning daily. I am well assured that out of God's grace I am worthless and mire, even as other men, if not more replying to your letter, I would not this gracious disposition; for I am desirous of showing you all kindness, for love of Christ. I know how to receive a christian and fraternal rebuke

"With my own hand. At

Such was the language addressed to the excommunicated monk of the Wartburg, the Elector-archbishop of Mentz, commissioned to represent the emperor in Germany the constitution of the Church. Did Albert, in writing it, give vent to the generous impulses of his conscience, or slavish fears? In the first case, it is a letter; in the second, it merits our contempt. We would rather suppose it originated in the better feelings of his heart. However may be, it shows the immeasurable superiority of God's servants over all the princes of the earth. While Luther was a prisoner and condemned, derived courage from his faith, the archbishop and cardinal, environed with all the honours and favours of the world, trembled before the throne. This contrast appears clear and is the key to the strange enigma of the history of the Reformation. A Christian is not called upon to use force, and to number his means of success. The only thing he should be anxious to know whether the cause he undertakes is really that of God, and whether it is only to his Master's glory. Unquestionably he has an inquiry to make; but he must be wholly spiritual,—the Christian looking

¹ Dearly beloved God! what work, do wonderful men demand as ... *ibid.* p. 112.

did not the arm; he weighs the justice, and not its outward strength. This question is once settled, his ear. He must move forward boldly, even against the world and all its hosts, in the unshaken conviction himself will fight for him.

Genies of the Reformation thus on extreme severity to extreme; they had already done the same; and these sudden transitions are all occurrence in the battle that goes against truth. Every cause that falls is attacked with an internal which makes it tottering and undrives it by turns from one pole to the other. Steadiness of purpose and far better; they would thus perpetuate its fall, but at least if it did fall with glory.

Albert's brothers, Joachim I., Brandenburg, gave an example of the character which is so rare, even in our own times. Immovable principles, firm in action, knowing how then necessary the encroachments were, he opposed an iron hand to the Reformation. At Worms he said that Luther should not be heard, he ought to be punished as a heretic, of his safe-conduct. Scarcely had of Worms been issued, when he said it should be strictly enforced to his states. Luther could appreciate a character, and making a

between Joachim and his other, he said: "We may still pray for the elect of Brandenburg."¹ The disinclination of this prince seemed to have been uttered to his people. Berlin and Brandenburg long remained closed against the Reformation. But what is received elsewhere faithfully.² While other counsellors then hailed the Gospel with joy, for instance, and Westphalia,—to abandon it, Brandenburg, the German states to enter on the way of faith, was destined in after-days in the foremost ranks of the nation.

He did not read Cardinal Albert's words without a suspicion that it was hypocrisy, and in accordance with the Pope. He kept silence, however, content with declaring to the world so long as the archbishop, who was capable of managing a small court, not lay aside his cardinal's mask and pomp, and become a simple man of the Word, it was impossible that he should in the way of salvation.³

encl. des Brandeb. II. 425.
populum est illorum hominum (ex March.)
et quam semel in religione sententiam appro-
batam deserant. Leutingeri (Opp. I. 41.)
renuntiatus et pompam episcopalem ablegare.

CHAPTER V.

Translation of the Bible—Wants of the Church—Principles of the Reformation—Temptations of the Devil—Luther's Works condemned by the Sorbonne—Melancthon's Reply—Luther Visits Wittenberg.

WHILE Luther was thus struggling against error, as if he were still in the midst of the battle, he was also labouring in his retirement of the Wartburg, as if he had no concern in what was going on in the world. The hour had come in which the Reformation, from being a mere theological question, was to become the life of the people; and yet the great engine by which this progress was to be effected was not yet in being. This powerful and mighty instrument, destined to hurl its thunderbolts from every side against the proud edifice of Rome, throw down its walls, cast off the enormous weight of the Papacy under which the Church lay stifled, and communicate an impulse to the whole human race which would still be felt until the end of time,—this instrument was to go forth from the old castle of the Wartburg, and enter the world on the same day that terminated the reformer's captivity.

The farther the Church was removed from the time when Jesus, the true Light of the world, was on the earth, the greater was her need of the torch of God's Word, ordained to transmit the brightness of Jesus Christ to the men of the latter days. But this Divine Word was at that time hidden from the people. Several unsuccessful attempts at translation from the Vulgate had been made in 1477, 1490, and in 1518; they were almost unintelligible, and from their high price beyond the reach of the people. It had even been prohibited to give the German Church the Bible in the vulgar tongue.¹ Besides which, the number of those who were able to read did not become considerable until there existed in the German language a book of lively and universal interest.

Luther was called to present his nation with the Scriptures of God. That same God who had conducted St. John to Patmos, there to write his revelation, had confined Luther in the Wartburg, there to translate His Word. This great task, which it would have been difficult for him to have undertaken in the midst of the cares and occupations of Wittenberg, was to establish the new building on the primitive rock, and, after the lapse of so many ages, lead Christians back from the subtleties of the schoolmen to the pure fountain-head of redemption and salvation.

The wants of the Church spoke loudly; they called for this great work; and Luther, by his own inward experience, was to be led to perform it. In truth, he discovered in faith

¹ Codex Diplomat. Ecclesie Magnat. Br. 622.

that repose of the soul which his agitated conscience and his monastic ideas had long induced him to seek in his own merits and holiness. The doctrine of the Church, the scholastic theology, knew nothing of the consolations that proceed from faith; but the Scriptures proclaim them with great force, and there it was that he had found them. Faith in the Word of God had made him free. By it he felt emancipated from the dogmatical authority of the Church, from its hierarchy and traditions, from the opinions of the schoolmen, the power of prejudice, and from every human ordinance. Those strong and numerous bonds which for centuries had enchained and stifled Christendom, were snapped asunder, broken in pieces, and scattered round him; and he nobly raised his head freed from all authority except that of the Word. This independence of man, this submission to God, which he had learned in the Holy Scriptures, he desired to impart to the Church. But before he could communicate them, it was necessary to set before it the revelations of God. A powerful hand was wanted to unlock the massive gates of that arsenal of God's Word from which Luther had taken his arms, and to open to the people against the day of battle those vaults and antique halls which for many ages no foot had ever trod.

Luther had already translated several fragments of the Holy Scripture; the seven penitential Psalms had been his first task.¹ John the Baptist, Christ himself, and the Reformation, had begun alike by calling men to repentance. It is the principle of every regeneration in the individual man, and in the whole human race. These essays had been eagerly received; men longed to have more; and this voice of the people was considered by Luther as the voice of God himself. He resolved to reply to the call. He is a prisoner within those lofty walls; what of that! he will devote his leisure to translating the Word of God into the language of his countrymen. Ere long this Word will be seen descending from the Wartburg with him; circulating among the people of Germany, and putting them in possession of those spiritual treasures hitherto shut up within the hearts of a few pious men. "Would that this one book," exclaimed Luther, "were in every language, in every hand, before the eyes, and in the ears and hearts of all men!"² Admirable words, which, after a lapse of three centuries an illustrious body,³ translating the Bible into the mother-tongue of every nation upon earth, has undertaken to realize. "Scripture without any comment," said he again, "is the sun whence all teachers receive their light."

Such are the principles of Christianity

and of the Reformation. According to venerable words, we should not call the Fathers to throw light upon Scripture to explain the Fathers. The reformers and the apostles set up Christ of God as the only light, as they sacrifice of Christ as the only right. By mingling any authority of man with the absolute authority of God, or any righteousness with this perfect right of Christ, we vitiate both the foundation of Christianity. These are the two fundamental heresies of Rome, and which, although less in a smaller degree, some teach desirous of introducing into the bosom of the Reformation.

Luther opened the Greek original of the Holy Scripture to the people, and under the difficult task of making these divine words speak his mother tongue. Important in the history of the Reformation! At the time the Reformation was no longer the work of the reformer. The Bible was in the hands of his contemporaries; Luther withdrew. God appeared to him in the Bible. The reformer's work was done. Each one may now hear the voice of himself; as for Luther, henceforth he was with the crowd, and takes his station among the ranks of those who come to draw from the common fountain of light and life.

In translating the Holy Scripture Luther found that consolation and strength, he stood so much in need. Solitary health, and saddened by the exertions of his followers,—seeing his life weariness in the gloom of that old castle, he occasionally to endure terrible struggles those times, men were inclined to see the visible world the conflicts that sustains with its spiritual enemies; lively imagination easily embodied the visions of his heart, and the superstitions of the Middle Ages had still some hold upon the mind, so that we might say of him, as has been said of Calvin with regard to his punishment inflicted on heretics: there is a remnant of popery in him.⁴ So not in Luther's view simply an imaginary thing; he thought that the very day of God appeared to men as he appeared to Jesus Christ. Although the authenticity of many of the stories subject contained in the Table-talk where is more than doubtful, history still record this failing in the reformer. Never was he more assailed by these ideas than in the solitude of the Wartburg. In the days of his strength he had the devil in Worms; but now all the power seemed broken and he was tarnished. He was thrown aside and was victorious in his turn, and in the

¹ Psalms 6, 32, 34, 51, 102, 130, 147.

² Et solus hic liber omnium linguarum, manuum, oculorum, auribus, cordibus versaretur. L. Epp. II. 114.

³ The Bible Society.

⁴ Michelet, in his *Mémoires de Luther*, devotes thirty pages to the various accounts of these hallucinations.

l Luther imagined he saw his giant
ding before him, lifting his finger
ning attitude, exulting with a bitter
h sneer, and gnashing his teeth in
ge. One day especially, it is said,
r was engaged on his translation of
Testament, he fancied he beheld
led with horror at his work, tor-
ism, and prowling round him like a
to spring upon his prey. Luther,
nd incensed, snatched up his ink-
flung it at the head of his enemy.
s disappeared, and the missile was
pieces against the wall.¹

s sojourn in the Wartburg began
upportable to him. He felt indig-
e timidity of his protectors. Some-
ould remain a whole day plunged
id silent meditation, and awakened
ly to exclaim, "Oh, that I were at
rg!" At length he could hold out
; there had been caution enough;
ee his friends again, hear them, and
with them. True, he ran the risk
into the hands of his enemies, but
ould stop him. About the end of
; he secretly quitted the Wartburg,
it for Wittenberg.²

storm had just burst upon him.
e Sorbonne had spoken out. That
school of Paris, the first authority
rch after the pope, the ancient and
source whence theological learning
aded, had given its verdict against
nation.

lowing are some of the propositions
d by this learned body. Luther
"God ever pardons and remits sins
ily, and requires nothing of us in
cept that in future we should live
to righteousness." And he had
f all deadly sins, this is the most
umely, that any one should think
guilty of a damnable and deadly
God." He had said in another
urning heretics is contrary to the
Holy Ghost."

e three propositions, and to many
ides, which they quoted, the theo-
sulty of Paris replied, "Heresy!—
accursed!"³

young man, twenty-four years of
ort stature, diffident, and plain in
e, dared take up the gauntlet
e first college in the world had
own. They knew pretty well at
rg what should be thought of these
censures: they knew that Rome
d to the suggestions of the Domi-
id that the Sorbonne had been mis-

er of the Wartburg still carefully directs the
attention to the spots made by Luther's ink-
er sich heimlich aus seiner Patmo auf. L. Opp.
atio theologorum Parisiensium super doctrina
Corp. Ref. I. 356-358.

led by two or three fanatical doctors who
were designated at Paris by satirical nick-
names.¹ Accordingly, in his Apology, Me-
lancthon did not confine himself to defending
Luther; but, with the boldness which cha-
racterizes his writings, carried the war into
the enemy's camp. "You say he is a Mani-
chean!—he is a Montanist!—let fire and
faggot repress his foolishness! And who is
Montanist? Luther, who would have us
believe in Holy Scripture alone, or you, who
would have men believe in the opinions of
their fellow-creatures rather than in the Word
of God?"²

To ascribe more importance to the word of
a man than to the Word of God was in very
truth the heresy of Montanus, as it still is
that of the pope and of all those who set the
hierarchical authority of the Church or the
interior inspirations of mysticism far above
the positive declarations of the Sacred Writ-
ings. Accordingly the youthful master of
arts, who had said, "I would rather lay
down my life than my faith,"³ did not stop
there. He accused the Sorbonne of having
obscured the Gospel, extinguished faith, and
substituted an empty philosophy in the place
of Christianity.⁴ After this work of Me-
lancthon's, the position of the dispute was
changed; he proved unanswerably that the
heresy was at Paris and Rome, and the
catholic truth at Wittenberg.

Meanwhile Luther, caring little for the
condemnations of the Sorbonne, was pro-
ceeding in his military equipment to the uni-
versity. He was greatly distressed by
various reports which reached him on the
road of a spirit of impatience and indepen-
dence that was showing itself among some
of his adherents.⁵ At length he arrived at
Wittenberg without being recognised, and
stopped at Amsdorff's house. Immediately
all his friends were secretly called together;⁶
and Melancthon among the first, who had so
often said, "I would rather die than lose
him."⁷ They came!—What a meeting!—
what joy!—The captive of the Wartburg
tasted in their society all the sweetness of
christian friendship. He learnt the spread
of the Reformation, the hopes of his brethren;
and, delighted at what he saw and heard,⁸
offered up a prayer,—returned thanks to
God,—and then with brief delay returned to
the Wartburg. *

¹ Damnarunt triumviri Beda, Quercus, et Christophorus.
Nomina sunt horum monastrorum etiam vulgo nunc nota
Beda, Stercus, Christoforus. Zwingli Epp. I. 174.

² Corp. Ref. I. 396.

³ Scias me positurum animam citius quam fidem. Ibid.

⁴ Evangelium obscuratum est, fides extincta. ... Ks. Chri-
stianismo, contra omnem sensum spiritus, facta est quedam
philosophica vivendi ratio. Ibid. 430.

⁵ Per viam vexatus rumore vario de nostrorum quorun-
dam importunitate. L. Epp. II. 109.

⁶ Liess in der Stille seine Freunde fodern. L. Opp. xviii.

⁷ Quo si mihi carentum est, mortem fortius tulerò. Corp.
Ref. I. 453, 455.

⁸ Omnia vehementer placent quò video et audio. L. Epp.
II. 109.

CHAPTER VI.

French Reforms—Gabriel Zwilling on the Mass—The University—Melancthon's Propositions—The Elector—Monastic Institutions attacked—Emancipation of the Monks—Disturbances—Chapter of the Augustine Monks—Carlstadt and the Mass—First Celebration of the Lord's Supper—Importance of the Mass in the Romish System.

LUTHER's joy was well-founded. The work of the Reformation was then making a great stride. Feldkirchen, always in the van, had led the assault; now the main body was in motion, and that power which carried the Reformation from the doctrine it had purified into the worship, life, and constitution of the Church, now manifested itself by a new explosion, more formidable to the papacy than even the first had been.

Rome, having got rid of the reformer, thought the heresy was at an end. But in a short time everything was changed. Death removed from the pontifical throne the man who had put Luther under the ban of the Church. Disturbances occurred in Spain, and compelled Charles to visit his kingdom beyond the Pyrenees. War broke out between this prince and Francis I., and as if that were not enough to occupy the emperor, Soliman made an incursion into Hungary. Charles, thus attacked on all sides, was forced to forget the monk of Worms and his religious innovations.

About the same time, the vessel of the Reformation, which, driven in every direction by contrary winds, was on the verge of foundering, righted itself, and floated proudly above the waters.

It was in the convent of the Augustines at Wittenberg that the Reformation broke out. We ought not to feel surprise at this: it is true the reformer was there no longer; but no human power could drive out the spirit that had animated him.

For some time the Church in which Luther had so often preached re-echoed with strange doctrines. Gabriel Zwilling, a zealous monk and chaplain to the convent, was there energetically proclaiming the Reformation. As if Luther, whose name was at that time every where celebrated, had become too strong and too illustrious, God selected feeble and obscure men to begin the Reformation which that renowned doctor had prepared. "Jesus Christ," said the preacher, "instituted the sacrament of the altar in remembrance of his death, and not to make it an object of adoration. To worship it is a real idolatry. The priest who communicates alone commits a sin. No prior has the right to compel a monk to say mass alone. Let one, two, or three officiate, and let the others receive the Lord's sacrament under both kinds."¹

¹ Einen 3 oder 2 befehlen Mess zu halten und die andern 13 von denen, das Sacrament sub utroque specie, mit empfahen. Corp. Ref. I. 460.

This is what Friar Gabriel required; this daring language was listened to by the other brethren, and by those who came from the Low Countries. They were disciples of the Gospel; should they not conform in every command? Had not Luther hit the nail on the head in the month of June? "Henceforth and for ever I will say private masses?"² Thus the soldiers of the hierarchy, emanating from the Word, boldly took part again.

At Wittenberg they met with resistance from the prior. Calling that all things should be done in a proper manner, they gave way, but with the condition that to uphold the mass was the Gospel of God.

The prior had gained the day; he had been stronger than them all. It seemed, therefore, that this movement of Augustines was one of those capricious subordinations so frequently occurring in monasteries. But it was in reality, of God itself which was then acting in Christendom. A solitary cry, uttered by the bosom of a convent, found its echoes in many voices; and that which no one had desired to confine within the cloister, went forth and took a large part in the very midst of the city.

Rumours of the dissensions among the friars soon spread through the town. Citizens and students of the university, some with, some against the prior, the elector's court was troubled. The elector sent his chancellor Pontanus to Wittenberg with orders to reduce the disobedience, by putting them, if necessary, to bread and water;³ and on the 12th of July, at seven in the morning, a deputation from the professors, of which he formed a part, visited the convent to urge the brethren to attempt no innovation at least to wait a little longer. Under the influence of their zeal revived: as they were in their faith, except the prior who, when they appealed to Scripture, understanding of believers, and to the words of the theologians; and two days after in a written declaration.

The doctors now examined the matter more closely, and found that the truth was on their side. They had given up, and were convinced that they ought to do so; their cry was heard; their anxiety kept up at last, after long hesitation, their courageous resolution.

On the 20th of October, they made their report to the elector.

² Der meiste Theil Jener Parthei Niederland Ref. I. 476.

³ Sed et ego amplius non faciam missam eternum. I. Epp. II. 36.

⁴ Wollen die Mönche nicht Mess halten, sie in der Küche und Keller empfinden. Corp.

⁵ Mit dem Mess halten keine Neuerung ma

electoral highness," said they, after setting forth the errors of the mass, "put an end to every abuse, lest Christ in the day of judgment should rebuke us as he did the people of Capernaum."

Thus it is no longer a few obscure monks who are speaking; it is that university which for several years has been hailed by all the wise as the school of the nation; and the very means employed to check the Reformation are those which will now contribute to its extension.

Melancthon, with that boldness which he carried into learning, published fifty-five propositions calculated to enlighten men's minds.

"Just as looking at a cross," said he, is not performing a good work, but simply contemplating a sign that reminds us of Christ's death;

"Just as looking at the sun is not performing a good work, but simply contemplating a sign that reminds us of Christ and of his Gospel;

"So, partaking of the Lord's Supper is not performing a good work, but simply making use of a sign that reminds us of the grace that has been given us through Christ.

"But here is the difference, namely, that the symbols invented by men simply remind us of what they signify; while the signs given us by God, not only remind us of the things themselves, but assure our hearts of the will of God."

"As the sight of a cross does not justify, so the mass does not justify.

"As the sight of a cross is not a sacrifice either for our sins or for the sins of others, so the mass is not a sacrifice.

"There is but one sacrifice,—but one satisfaction,—Jesus Christ. Besides him, there is none.

"Let such bishops as do not oppose the impiety of the mass be accursed."

Thus spoke the pious and gentle Philip.

The elector was amazed. He had desired to reduce some young friars,—and now the whole university, headed by Melancthon, rose in their defence. To wait seemed to him in all things the surest means of success. He did not like sudden reforms, and desired that every opinion should make its way without obstruction. "Time alone," thought he, "clears up all things and brings them to maturity." And yet in spite of him the Reformation was advancing with hasty steps, and threatened to carry every thing along with it. Frederick made every exertion to arrest its progress. His authority, the influence of his character, the reasons that appeared to him the most convincing, were all set in operation. "Do not be too hasty," said he to the theologians; "your number is too small to carry such a reform. If it is

based upon the Gospel, others will discover it also, and you will put an end to abuses with the aid of the whole Church. Talk, debate, preach on these matters as much as you like, but keep up the ancient usages."

Such was the battle fought on the subject of the mass. The monks had bravely led the assault; the theologians, undecided for a moment, had soon come to their support. The prince and his ministers alone defended the place. It has been asserted that the Reformation was accomplished by the power and authority of the elector; but far from that, the assailants shrunk back at the sound of his voice, and the mass was saved for a few days.

The heat of the attack had already been directed against another point. Friar Gabriel still continued his heart-stirring sermons in the Church of the Augustines. Monachism was now the object of his reiterated blows; if the mass was the stronghold of the Roman doctrines, the monastic orders were the support of the hierarchy. These, then, were the two first positions that must be carried.

"No one," said Gabriel, according to the prior's report, "no dweller in the convents keeps the commandments of God; no one can be saved under a cowl; every man that enters a cloister enters it in the name of the devil. The vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, are contrary to the Gospel."

This extraordinary language was reported to the prior, who avoided going to church for fear he should hear it.

"Gabriel," said they, "desires that every exertion should be made to empty the cloisters. He says if a monk is met in the streets, the people should pull him by the frock and laugh at him; and that if they cannot be driven out of the convents by ridicule, they should be expelled by force. Break open, pull down, utterly destroy the monasteries (says he), so that not a single trace of them may remain; and that not one of those stones, that have contributed to shelter so much sloth and superstition, may be found in the spot they so long occupied."

The friars were astonished; their consciences told them that Gabriel's words were but too true, that a monkish life was not in conformity with the will of God, and that no one could dispose of their persons but themselves.

Thirteen Augustines quitted the convent together, and laying aside the costume of their order, assumed a lay dress. Those who possessed any learning attended the lectures of the university, in order one day to be serviceable to the Church; and those whose minds were uncultivated, endeavoured to gain a livelihood by the work of their own

¹ *Signa ad hominum reportis admonent tatum; signa
sibi tradita, quod admonent, certificant etiam
se de voluntate Dei.* Corp. Ref. I. 424.

¹ *Kein Mönch werde in der Kappe zelig.* Corp. Ref. I.
423.

² *Dass man nicht oben Stück von einem Kloster da um
gestanden, merken möge.* Ibid. 423.

hands, according to the injunctions of the apostle, and the example of the good citizens of Wittenberg.¹ One of them, who understood the business of a joiner, applied for the freedom of the city, and resolved to take a wife.

If Luther's entry into the Augustine convent at Erfurth had been the germ of the Reformation, the departure of these thirteen monks from the convent of the Augustines at Wittenberg was the signal of its entering into possession of Christendom. For thirty years past Erasmus had been unveiling the uselessness, the folly, and the vices of the monks; and all Europe laughed and grew angry with him: but sarcasm was required no longer. Thirteen high-minded and bold men returned into the midst of the world, to render themselves profitable to society and fulfil the commandments of God. Feldkirchen's marriage had been the first defeat of the hierarchy; the emancipation of these thirteen Augustines was the second. Monachism, which had arisen at the time when the Church entered upon its period of enslavement and error, was destined to fall at the dawning of liberty and truth.

This daring step excited universal ferment in Wittenberg. Admiration was felt towards those men who thus came to take their part in the general labours, and they were received as brethren. At the same time a few outcries were heard against those who persisted in remaining lazily sheltered behind the walls of their monastery. The monks who remained faithful to their prior trembled in their cells; and the latter, carried away by the general movement, stopped the celebration of the low masses.

The smallest concession in so critical a moment necessarily precipitated the course of events. The prior's order created a great sensation in the town and university, and produced a sudden explosion. Among the students and citizens of Wittenberg were found some of those turbulent men whom the least excitement arouses and hurries into criminal disorders. They were exasperated at the idea of the low masses, which even the superstitious prior had suspended, still being said in the parish church; and on Tuesday the 3d of December, as the mass was about to be read, they suddenly advanced to the altar, took away the books, and drove the priests out of the chapel. The council and university were annoyed, and met to punish the authors of these misdeeds. But the passions once aroused are not easily quelled. The Cordeliers had not taken part in this movement of the Augustines. On the following day, the students posted a threatening placard on the gates of their convent; after that forty students entered their church, and although they refrained

from violence, they ridiculed it, so that the latter dared not say in the choir. Towards evening were told to be upon their g students (it was said) are resolved to the monastery!" The frightened not knowing how to shelter the these real or supposed attack sought the council to protect the of soldiers was sent, but the er appear. The university caused who had taken part in these di be arrested. It was discovered were from Erfurth, where they notorious for their insubordinate penalties of the university w upon them.

And yet the necessity was t ing carefully into the lawfulness vows. A chapter of Augustini Misnia and Thuringia assembled berg in the month of December. to the same opinion as Luther. hand they declared that monast not criminal, but on the oth were not obligatory. "In they, "there is neither layma each one is at liberty to quit t or to stay in it. Let him wh beware lest he abuse his libe who remains obey his superiors love." They next abolished me the saying of masses for mone decreed that the best instructed should devote themselves to the the Word of God, and that the support their brethren by the own hands.²

Thus the question of vows tled; but that of the mass w The elector still resisted the protected an institution which l ing in all Christendom. The indulgent a prince could not the public feeling. Carlstadt's ticular was affected by the ger tation. Zealous, upright, and like Luther, to sacrifice every t truth, he was inferior to the wisdom and moderation; he wa exempt from vain-glory, and w tion inclined to examine matte tom, he was defective in judg clearness of ideas. Luther had from the mire of scholasticism, him to the study of Scripture; l had not acknowledged with l all-sufficiency of the Word of G ingly he was often seen adopt singular interpretations. So lo was at his side, the superiority kept the scholar within due bou Carlstadt was free. In the uni

¹ *Ettliche unter den Bürgern, ettliche unter den Studenten, says the prior in his complaint to the Elector. Corp. Ref. l. 483.*

² *In summa es sollen die Aufruhr etlich Erfurth erweckt haben. Corp. Ref. l. 48. Corp. Ref. l. 486. The editors assign 1 month of October before the friars had qu at Wittenberg.*

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every where in Wittenberg, this rick-favored man, who had never excelled in eloquence, might be heard progressing with great fervour ideas that were deep and profound, but often enthusiastic and exaggerated. "What madness," ex-claimed he, "to think that one must leave reformation to God's working alone! A learner of things is beginning. The hand should interfere. Woe be to him who is behind, and does not mount the heights in the cause of the Almighty."

The archdeacon's language communicated to him the impatience he felt himself. But the popes have ordained is im-posed certain upright and sincere men followed his example. "Let us not be partakers in those abominations by which they are to subsist any longer. What is commanded by the Word of God ought to be done in the whole of Christendom, whether it may be the ordinances of men. If the laws of the State and of the Church will their duty, let us do ours. Let us have all negotiations, conferences, theses, disputations, and let us apply the effect-iveness to so many evils. We need a Elijah to throw down the altars of

the re-establishment of the Lord's Supper, the moment of ferment and enthusiasm, which could not present the solemn holiness of its first institution by the Word of God, on the eve of his death, and at the foot of the cross. But if God does use of weak and perhaps passion-ate, it was nevertheless his hand that was in the Church the feast of his love.

In the previous October, Carlstadt had celebrated the Lord's Supper in private with twelve of his friends, in accordance with Christ's institution. On the Sunday before Christmas he gave out from the pulpit on the day of our Lord's circum-cision (the first day of the year) he would be the eucharist in both kinds (bread and wine) to all who might present themselves at the altar; that he would omit all useless and in celebrating this mass would neither cope nor chalice.

The frightened council entreated the coun-ciler to prevent such a flagrant irre-regularity; and upon this Carlstadt resolved to wait until the appointed time. On the day, 1521, he preached in the church on the necessity of quitting the mass and receiving the sacrament in both kinds. After the sermon he went to the altar; pronounced the words of consecra-tion in German, and then turning towards the people, said with a solemn voice, "Whoever feels the burden of his sins, let him come and receive the body

and blood of our Lord."¹ And then, without elevating the host, he distributed the bread and wine to all, saying; "This is the cup of my blood, the blood of the new and ever-lasting Covenant."

Antagonist sentiments prevailed in the assembly. Some, feeling that a new grace from God had been given to the Church, approached the altar in silence and emotion. Others, attracted chiefly by the novelty, drew nigh with a certain sense of agitation and impatience. Five communicants alone had presented themselves in the confessional: the rest simply took part in the public confession of sins. Carlstadt gave a public absolution to all, imposing on them no other penance than this: "Sin no more." They concluded with singing the *Agnus Dei*.²

No one opposed Carlstadt; these reforms had already obtained general assent. The archdeacon administered the Lord's Supper again on New Year's day, and on the Sunday following, and from that time it was regularly celebrated. Einsiden, one of the elector's councillors, having reproached Carlstadt with seeking his own glory rather than the salvation of his hearers: "Mighty lord," replied he, "there is no form of death that can make me withdraw from Scripture. The Word has come upon me with such promptitude.....Woe be to me if I preach it not!"³ Shortly after, Carlstadt married.

In the month of January 1522, the council and university of Wittenberg regulated the celebration of the Lord's Supper according to the new ritual. They were, at the same time, engaged on the means of reviving the moral influence of religion; for the Reformation was destined to restore simultane-ously faith, worship, and morality. It was decreed not to tolerate mendicants, whether they were begging friars or not; and that in every street there should be some pious man commissioned to take care of the poor, and summon open sinners before the university and the council.⁴

Thus fell the mass—the principal bulwark of Rome; thus the Reformation passed from simple teaching into public worship. For three centuries the mass and transubstantia-tion had been peremptorily established.⁵ From that period every thing in the Church had taken a new direction; all things tended to the glory of man and the worship of the priest. The Holy Sacrament had been adored; festivals had been instituted in hon-our of the sublimest of miracles; the adora-tion of Mary had acquired a high import-ance; the priest who, on his consecration, received the wonderful power of "making

¹ Wer mit Sünden beschwert und nach der Gnade Gottes hungert und durstet. Corp. Ref. i. 540.

² Wenn man communicirt hat, so singt man; *Agnus Dei* carmen. Ibid.

³ Mir ist das Wort fast in grosser Geschwindigkeit einge-fallen. Ibid. 545.

⁴ Keinen öffentlichen Sünder zu dulden.....Ibid. 550.

⁵ By the Council of Lateran, in 1311.

Ne anderen Schirmpotage alle lassen lassen. Corp. i.

the body of Christ," had been separated from the laity, and had become, according to Thomas Aquinas, a mediator between God and man;¹ celibacy had been proclaimed as an inviolable law; auricular confession had been enforced upon the people, and the cup denied them; for how could humble laymen be placed in the same rank as priests invested with the most august ministry? The mass was an insult to the Son of God: it was opposed to the perfect grace of His cross, and the spotless glory of His everlasting kingdom. But if it lowered the Saviour, it exalted the priest, whom it invested with the unparalleled power of reproducing, in his hand and at his will, the Sovereign Creator. From that time the Church seemed to exist not to preach the Gospel, but simply to reproduce Christ bodily.² The Roman pontiff, whose humblest servants created at pleasure the body of God himself, sat as God in the temple of God, and claimed a spiritual treasure, from which he drew at will indulgences for the pardon of souls.

Such were the gross errors which, for three centuries, had been imposed on the Church in conjunction with the mass. When the Reformation abolished this institution of man, it abolished these abuses also. The step taken by the archdeacon of Wittenberg was therefore one of a very extended range. The splendid festivals that used to amuse the people, the worship of the Virgin, the pride of the priesthood, the authority of the pope—all tottered with the mass. The glory was withdrawn from the priests, to return to Jesus Christ, and the Reformation took an immense stride in advance.

CHAPTER VII.

False Reform—The New Prophets—The Prophets at Wittenberg—Melancthon—The Elector—Luther—Caristadt and the Images—Disturbances—Luther is called forth—He does not hesitate—Dangers.

PREJUDICED men might have seen nothing in the work that was going on but the effects of an empty enthusiasm. The very facts were to prove the contrary, and demonstrate that there is a wide gulf between a Reformation based on the Word of God and a fanatical excitement.

Whenever a great religious ferment takes place in the Church, some impure elements always appear with the manifestations of truth. We see the rise of one or more false reforms proceeding from man, and which serve as a testimony or countersign to the

real reform. Thus many false prophets testified to the time of Christ, and the Messiah had appeared. The Reformation of the sixteenth century could not be accomplished without presenting a similar warning. In the small town of Wittenberg was first manifested.

In that place there lived a fanatic, agitated by the great events then stirring all Christendom, and aspiring to revelations from the Deity, instead of desiring sanctification of heart, asserted that they were called to inaugurate the Reformation so feebly sketched there. "What is the use," said he, "of clinging so closely to the Bible? Always the Bible! Can the Bible be sufficient for our instruction? God had designed to instruct us, would he not have sent us a prophet? It is by the Spirit alone that we can be enlightened. God himself reveals to us. God himself reveals to us what we should do, and what we should say. Thus did these fanatics, like the prophets of Rome, attack the foundation on which the entire Reformation rested—the all-sufficiency of the Word."

A simple clothier, Nicholas Hemmelin, announced that the angel appeared to him during the night after communicating matters which he had not yet revealed, said to him: "I will sit on my throne." A former student, Mark Stübner, who had received direct from God the gift of interpreting the Holy Scriptures, another weaver, Mark Thomas, and a new adherent, Adam Munzer, a man of fanatical character, organized a regular organization to this end. Stübner, desirous of following Christ, selected from among his fellow-apostles and seventy-two disciples, as a sect in Rome had done, that apostles and prophets of length restored to the Church of Christ.

The new prophets, perceiving the footsteps of those of old, claimed their mission: "Woe! woe! they; 'a Church governed by the spirit as the bishops cannot be governed by Christ. The impious rulers of the Church will be overthrown. In five, six years, a universal desolation will visit the world. The Turk will seize many; all the priests will be killed; even those who are married, men, no sinner will remain alive on the earth has been purified by fire, will then set up a kingdom; it will be put in possession of the supreme

¹ Sacerdos constituitur medius inter Deum et populum. Th. Aquin. Summa, III. 23.

² Veritasque hujus sacramenti non est in usu fidelium, sed in consecratione materia. Ibid. Quest. 80.

¹ Advolaase Gabrielem Angelum. Cambr. p. 48.

² Preterea, de sece predicant viros esse apostolicos. Corp. Ref. I. 514. The author follows Irving.—T.A.

and commit the government of the nations to the saints.¹ Then there will be one faith, one baptism. The day of the Lord is at hand, and the end of the world draweth nigh. Woe! woe! woe!" Then declaring that infant baptism was valueless, the new prophets called upon all men to come and receive from their hands the true baptism, as a sign of their introduction into the new Church of God.

This language made a deep impression on the people. Many pious souls were stirred by the thought that prophets were again restored to the Church, and all those who were fond of the marvellous threw themselves into the arms of the fanatics of Zwickau.

But scarcely had this old heresy, which had already appeared in the days of Montanism and in the Middle Ages, found followers, when it met with a powerful antagonist in the Reformation. Nicholas Hausmann, of whom Luther gave this powerful testimony, "What we preach, he practises,"² was pastor of Zwickau. This good man did not allow himself to be misled by the pretensions of the false prophets. He checked the innovations that Storch and his followers desired to introduce, and his two deacons acted in unison with him. The fanatics, reflected by the ministers of the Church, fell into another extravagance. They formed meetings in which revolutionary doctrines were professed. The people were agitated, and disturbances broke out. A priest, carrying the host, was pelted with stones;³ the civil authority interfered, and cast the ring-leaders into prison.⁴ Exasperated by this proceeding, and eager to vindicate themselves and to obtain redress, Storch, Mark Thomas, and Stubner repaired to Wittenberg.⁵

They arrived there on the 27th of December 1521. Storch led the way with the gait and bearing of a trooper.⁶ Mark Thomas and Stubner followed him. The disorder then prevailing in Wittenberg was favourable to their designs. The youths of the academy and the citizens, already profoundly agitated and in a state of excitement, were a soil well fitted to receive these new prophets.

Thinking themselves sure of support, they immediately called on the professors of the university, in order to obtain their sanction. "We are sent by God to instruct the people," said they. "We have held familiar conversations with the Lord; we know what will happen;⁷ in a word, we are apos-

ties and prophets, and appeal to Dr Luther." This strange language astonished the professors.

"Who has commissioned you to preach?" asked Melancthon of his old pupil Stubner, whom he received into his house. "The Lord our God."—"Have you written any books?"—"The Lord our God has forbidden me to do so." Melancthon was agitated: he grew alarmed and astonished.

"There are, indeed, extraordinary spirits in these men," said he; "but what spirits? Luther alone can decide. On the one hand, let us beware of quenching the Spirit of God, and, on the other, of being led astray by the spirit of Satan."

Storch, being of a restless disposition, soon quitted Wittenberg. Stubner remained. Animated by an eager spirit of proselytism, he went through the city, speaking now to one, then to another; and many acknowledged him as a prophet from God. He addressed himself more particularly to a Swabian named Cellarius, a friend of Melancthon's, who kept a school in which he used to instruct a great number of young people, and who soon fully acknowledged the mission of the new prophets.

Melancthon now became still more perplexed and uneasy. It was not so much the visions of the Zwickau prophets that disturbed him, as their new doctrine on baptism. It seemed to him conformable with reason, and he thought that it was deserving examination; "for" said he, "we must neither admit nor reject any thing lightly."¹

Such is the spirit of the Reformation. Melancthon's hesitation and anxiety are a proof of the uprightness of his heart, more honourable to him, perhaps, than any systematic opposition would have been.

The elector himself, whom Melancthon styled "the lamp of Israel,"² hesitated. Prophets and apostles in the electorate of Saxony as in Jerusalem of old! "This is a great matter," said he; "and as a layman, I cannot understand it. But rather than fight against God, I would take a staff in my hand, and descend from my throne."

At length he informed the professors, by his councillors, that they had sufficient trouble in hand at Wittenberg; that in all probability these pretensions of the Zwickau prophets were only a temptation of the devil; and that the wisest course, in his opinion, would be to let the matter drop of itself; nevertheless that, under all circumstances, whenever his highness should clearly perceive God's will, he would take counsel of neither brother nor mother, and that he was ready to suffer every thing in the cause of truth.³

Luther in the Wartburg was apprized of

¹ Utrum potius tunc instaret sacra et respublicas tradat
sacris viris tenendas. Camer. Vita Mel. p. 45.

² Quod nos docemus, ille fecit.

³ Super Priester der das Venerabile getragen mit Steinen
geworfen. Schk. p. 62.

⁴ Boni et illic in vincula coniecti. Mel. Corp. Ref. I. 513.

⁵ Ille aduolant tres viri, duo ianices, literarum rudes,
literarum lertius est. Ibid.

⁶ Incendens more et habuit militum istorum quos Luth-
erum dicimus. L. Opp. II. 245.

⁷ Eam sibi cum Deo familiaria colloquia, videre futura
sunt. Elector. 27th Dec. 1521. Corp. Ref. I. 514.

¹ Censebat enim neque admittendum neque rejiciendum
quicquam temere. Camer. Vita Mel. p. 45.

² Electori lucerna Israel. Ibid. p. 513.

³ Darüber auch leiden was S. C. G. leiden sollt. Ibid. p.
537.

the agitation prevailing in the court and at Wittenberg. Strange men had appeared, and the source whence their mission proceeded was unknown. He saw immediately that God had permitted these afflicting events to humble his servants, and to excite them by trials to strive more earnestly after sanctification.

"Your electoral grace," wrote he to Frederick, "has for many years been collecting relics from every country. God has satisfied your desire, and has sent you, without cost or trouble, a whole *cross*, with nails, spears, and scourges.....Health and prosperity to the new relic!.....Only let your highness fearlessly stretch out your arm, and suffer the nails to enter your flesh!..... I always expected that Satan would send us this plague."

But at the same time nothing appeared to him more urgent than to secure for others the liberty that he claimed for himself. He had not two weights and two measures. "Beware of throwing them into prison," wrote he to Spalatin. "Let not the prince dip his hand in the blood of these new prophets."¹ Luther went far beyond his age, and even beyond many other reformers, on the subject of religious liberty.

Circumstances were becoming every day more serious in Wittenberg.²

Carlstadt rejected many of the doctrines of the new prophets, and particularly their anabaptism; but there is a contagion in religious enthusiasm that a head like his could not easily resist. From the arrival of the men of Zwickau in Wittenberg, Carlstadt accelerated his movements in the direction of violent reforms. "We must fall upon every ungodly practice, and overthrow them all in a day," said he.³ He brought together all the passages of Scripture against images, and inveighed with increasing energy against the idolatry of Rome. "They fall down—they crawl before these idols," exclaimed he; "they burn tapers before them, and make them offerings.....Let us arise and tear them from the altars!"

These words were not uttered in vain before the people. They entered the churches, carried away the images, broke them in pieces, and burnt them.⁴ It would have been better to wait until their abolition had been legally proclaimed; but some thought that the caution of the chiefs would compromise the Reformation itself.

To judge by the language of these enthusiasts, there were no true Christians in Wittenberg save those who went not to confession, who attacked the priests, and who ate meat on fast days. If any one was suspected

of not rejecting all the rites of the as an invention of the devil, he was as a worshipper of Baal. "We must Church," cried they, "composed of only!"

The citizens of Wittenberg laid before council certain articles which it was to accept. Many of these regulations conformable to evangelical morals, required more particularly that all public amusement should be closed.

But Carlstadt soon went still farther began to despise learning; and the professor was heard from his chair advising pupils to return home, to take up the plough, and quietly till the earth, because man was ordained bread in the sweat of his brow.

Mohr, the master of the boys' school, led away by the same fan called to the assembled citizens from window of his schoolroom to come away their children. Why should made study, since Storch and Stub never been at the university, and were prophets?.....A mechanic, it was as well qualified as all the doctors world, and perhaps better, to preach the Gospel.

Thus arose doctrines in direct opposition to the Reformation, which had been by the revival of letters. It was weapons of theological learning that had attacked Rome; and the enthusiasm of Wittenberg, like the fanatical mon whom Erasmus and Reuchlin had presumed to trample all human under foot. If this vandalism succeeded holding its ground, the hopes of the were lost; and another irruption of fanatics would extinguish the light that had kindled in Christendom.

The results of these strange disorders soon showed themselves. Men's minds absorbed, agitated, diverted from the the university became disorganized; moralized students broke the bonds of discipline and dispersed; and the government of Germany recalled their subjects. The men who desired to reform in every thing, were on the point of all.⁵ One struggle more (exclaiming friends of Rome, who on all sides were gaining their confidence), one last and all will be ours!

Promptly to check the excesses of fanatics was the only means of saving the Reformation. But who could do it? He was too young, too much agitated himself by these phenomena. The elector? He was a pacific man of his age. To build at Altenburg, Weimar, Lechnau, and Co. adorn churches with the beautiful

¹ Ne principes manus eruentet in prophetia. L. Epp. ii.

² Ubi sebant omnia in dies difficiliora. Camer. Vita Mel. p. 49.

³ Irrendum et demolendum statim. Ibid.

⁴ Die Bilder zu stürzen und aus den Kirchen zu werfen. Math. p. 31.

⁵ Etliche Fürsten ihre Bewandten abgefordert. Ref. i. 569.

⁶ Perdit et funditus diruta. Camer. Vita Mel.

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

Cranach; to improve the singing in
els; to advance the prosperity of
ersity; to promote the happiness of
ets; to stop in the midst of the
whom he met playing in the streets,
them little presents:—such were
le occupations of his life." And now
vanced age, would he contend with
—would he oppose violence to vio-
How could the good and pious Fred-
ke up his mind to this?
sease continued to spread, and no
forward to check it. Luther was
Wittenberg. Confusion and ruin
n hold of the city. The Reforma-
seen an enemy spring from its own
ore formidable than popes and em-
It was on the very verge of the

! Luther! was the general and
is cry at Wittemberg. The citi-
ed for him earnestly; the professors
is advice; the prophets themselves
to him. All entreated him to re-

ly imagine what was passing in the
s mind. All the terrors of Rome
hing in comparison with what now
is heart. It is from the very midst
eformation that its enemies have
th. It is preying upon its own
nd that doctrine, which alone had
peace to his troubled heart, becomes
sion of fatal disturbances to the

new." he had once said, "that my injured one man, one single man, lowly and obscure (which it cannot, he Gospel itself), I would rather die than not retract it."² And now city, and that city Wittenberg, is to disorder! True, his doctrine has in this; but from every quarter of voices are heard accusing him of more keen than he had ever felt sail him now, and new temptations im. "Can such then be the end of work of the Reformation?" said self. Impossible!—he rejects these God has begun,.....God will per-work. "I creep in deep humility to of the Lord,"³ exclaimed he, "and him that his name may remain to this work; and that if anything e mixed up with it, he will remem-I am a sinful man."

was communicated to Luther of the
 m of these new prophets, and of
 klime interviews with God, did not
 him one moment. He knew the
 be anguish, the humiliation of the
 life: at Erfurth and Wittemberg he
 e trial of the power of God, which

did not so easily permit him to believe that God appeared to his creatures and conversed with them. "Ask these prophets," wrote he to Melancthon, "whether they have felt those spiritual torments, those creations of God, those deaths and hells which accompany a real regeneration....."¹ And if they speak to you only of agreeable things, of tranquil impressions, of devotion and piety, as they say, do not believe them, although they should pretend to have been transported to the third heaven. Before Christ could attain his glory, he was compelled to suffer death; and in like manner the believer must go through the bitterness of sin before he can obtain peace. Do you desire to know the time, place, and manner in which God talks with men? Listen: *As a lion so hath he broken all my bones: I am cast out from before his face, and my soul is abased even to the gates of hell.....* No! The Divine Majesty (as they call Him!) does not speak face to face with men, so that they may see Him; for no man (says He) can see my face and live."

But his firm conviction of the delusion under which these prophets were labouring, served but to augment Luther's grief. Has the great truth of salvation by grace so quickly lost its charms that men turn aside from it to follow fables? He begins to feel that the work is not so easy as he had thought at first. He stumbles at the first stone that the deceitfulness of the human heart had placed in his path; he is bowed down by grief and anxiety. He resolves, at the hazard of his life, to remove it out of the way of his people, and decides on returning to Wittenberg.

At that time he was threatened by imminent dangers. The enemies of the Reformation fancied themselves on the very eve of destroying it. George of Saxony, equally indisposed towards Rome and Wittenberg, had written, as early as the 16th of October 1521, to Duke John, the elector's brother, to draw him over to the side of the enemies of the Reformation. "Some," said he, "deny that the soul is immortal. Others (and these are monks!) attach bells to swine and set them to drag the relics of St. Anthony through the streets, and then throw them into the mire.² All this is the fruit of Luther's teaching! Entreat your brother the elector either to punish the ungodly authors of these innovations, or at least publicly to declare his opinion of them. Our changing beard and hair remind us that we have reached the latter portion of our course, and urge us to put an end to such great evils."

After this George departed to take his seat in the imperial government at Nuremberg.

1. 100.
 Ich esse sehr Tode leyden. *Wieder Emser. L.*
 21.
 Ich zu seiner Gnaden. *Ibid. 615.*

¹ Queras num experti sint spirituales illas angustias et
nativitates divinas, mortes infernales. I. Epp. II. 214.
² Mit Schweinen und Schellen.....in Koch geworfen.
Weimar Ann. Beck. p. 409.

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

an assembly of the elect as the day. Thus was a great change of time, in Luther's heart, in his work of renovation that was going on in the world. The knight might perhaps have driven to extremes; the sects which he raised their heads brought the true path of moderation in the Wartburg divides the Reformation into two

riding slowly on the road to it was already the second day, and Shrove Tuesday. To a terrible storm burst forth, were flooded. Two Swiss were travelling in the same direction, were hastening onwards in the city of Jena. They, Basle, and the celebrity of attracted them to that unending on foot, fatigued, and John Kessler of St. Gall and quickened their steps. The commotion with the amusement; balls, masquerades, ting engrossed the people of in the two travellers arrived, no room at any of the inns. are directed to the *Black Bear*, ty gates. Dejected and hapless thither slowly. They ed them kindly.¹ They took the open door of the public of the state in which the ed them, and not venturing of the tables sat a solitary it's dress, wearing a red cap breeches over which fell the oulet; his right hand rested of his sword, his left grasped before him lay an open book, are to be reading with great the noise made by the en- two young men, he raised his hem affably, and invited them t at his table; then presenting lass of beer, and alluding to be said: "You are Swiss, I re from what canton?"—"From if you are going to Wittem- there meet with a fellow- Doctor Schurff."—Encouraged eception, they added: "Sir, m as where Martin Luther is "I know for certain," replied that he is not at Wittemberg; there shortly. Philip Melanc- Study Greek and Hebrew, clearly understand the Holy "If God spare our lives," ob-

served one of the young men, "we will not return home without having seen and heard Doctor Luther; for it is on his account that we have undertaken this long journey. We know that he desires to abolish the priesthood and the mass; and as our parents destined us to the priesthood from our infancy, we should like to know clearly on what grounds he rests his proposition." The knight was silent for a moment, and then resumed: "Where have you been studying hitherto?"—"At Basle."—"Is Erasmus of Rotterdam still there? what is he doing?" They replied to his questions, and there was another pause. The two Swiss knew not what to think. "Is it not strange," thought they, "that this knight talks to us of Schurff, Melancthon, and Erasmus, and on the necessity of learning Greek and Hebrew."—"My dear friends," said the unknown suddenly, "what do they think of Luther in Switzerland?"—"Sir," replied Kessler, "opinions are very divided about him there as every where else. Some cannot extol him enough; and others condemn him as an abominable heretic."—"Ha! the priests, no doubt," said the stranger.

The knight's cordiality had put the students at their ease. They longed to know what book he was reading at the moment of their arrival. The knight had closed it, and placed it by his side. At last Kessler's companion ventured to take it up. To the great astonishment of the two young men, it was the Hebrew Psalter! The student laid it down immediately, and as if to divert attention from the liberty he had taken, said: "I would willingly give one of my fingers to know that language."—"You will attain your wish," said the stranger, "if you will only take the trouble to learn it."

A few minutes after, Kessler heard the landlord calling him; the poor Swiss youth feared something had gone wrong; but the host whispered to him: "I perceive that you have a great desire to see and hear Luther; well! it is he who is seated beside you." Kessler took this for a joke, and said: "Mr. Landlord, you want to make a fool of me."—"It is he in very truth," replied the host; "but do not let him see that you know him." Kessler made no answer, but returned into the room and took his seat at the table, burning to repeat to his comrade what he had just heard. But how could he manage it? At last he thought of leaning forward, as if he were looking towards the door, and then whispered into his friend's ear: "The landlord assures me that this man is Luther."—"Perhaps he said Hütten," replied his comrade; "you did not hear him distinctly."—"It may be so," returned Kessler; "the host said: It is Hütten; the two names are pretty much alike, and I mistook one for the other."

At that moment the noise of horses was heard before the inn; two merchants, who

¹ of Kessler, with all its details, and in of the times, in *Berret, Johann Kessler, Erzählungen*, iii. 330, and *Marheinecke* 21, 2d edition.

² Schöpl, in blossen Hosen und Wamms

desired a lodging, entered the room; they took off their spurs, laid down their cloaks, and one of them placed beside him on the table an unbound book, which soon attracted the knight's notice. "What book is that?" asked he.—"A commentary on some of the Gospels and Epistles by Doctor Luther," replied the merchant; "it is just published."—"I shall procure it shortly," said the knight.

At this moment the host came to announce that supper was ready. The two students, fearing the expense of such a meal in company with the knight Ulrich of Hütten and two wealthy merchants, took the landlord aside, and begged him to serve them with something apart. "Come along, my friends," replied the landlord of the Black Bear; "take your place at table beside this gentleman; I will charge you moderately."—"Come along," said the knight, "I will settle the score."

During this meal, the stranger knight uttered many simple and edifying remarks. The students and the merchants were all ears, and paid more attention to his words than to the dishes set before them. "Luther must either be an angel from heaven or a devil from hell," said one of the merchants in course of conversation; "I would readily give ten florins if I could meet Luther and confess to him."

When supper was over, the merchants left the table; the two Swiss remained alone with the knight, who, taking a large glass of beer, rose and said solemnly, after the manner of the country: "Swiss, one glass more for thanks." As Kessler was about to take the glass, the unknown set it down again, and offered him one filled with wine, saying: "You are not accustomed to beer."

He then arose, flung a military cloak over his shoulders, and extending his hand to the students, said to them: "When you reach Wittenberg, salute Dr Schurff on my part."—"Most willingly," replied they; "but what name shall we give?"—"Tell him simply," added Luther, "He that is to come salutes you." With these words he quitted the room, leaving them full of admiration at his kindness and good nature.

Luther, for it was really he, continued his journey. It will be remembered that he had been laid under the ban of the empire; whoever met and recognised him, might seize him. But at the time when he was engaged in an undertaking that exposed him to every risk, he was calm and serene, and conversed cheerfully with those whom he met on the road.

It was not that he deceived himself: he saw the future big with storms. "Satan," said he, "is enraged, and all around are plotting death and hell.¹ Nevertheless, I go forward and throw myself in the way of the

emperor and of the pope, having no protection save God in heaven. Power has been given to all men to kill me wherever they find me. But Christ is the Lord of all; if it be His will that I be put to death, so be it!"

On that same day, Ash-Wednesday, Luther reached Borna, a small town near Leipsic. He felt it his duty to inform the prince of the bold step he was about to take, and accordingly alighted at the Guide Inn, and wrote the following letter:—

"Grace and peace from God our Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ!

"Most serene Elector, gracious Lord! The events that have taken place at Wittenberg, to the great reproach of the Gospel, have caused me such pain that if I were not confident of the truth of our cause, I should have given way to despair.

"Your highness knows this, or if not, be it known to you now, that I received the Gospel not from men but from heaven, through our Lord Jesus Christ. If I called for discussion, it was not because I had any doubts of the truth, but in humility, and in the hope to win over others. But since my humility is turned against the Gospel, my conscience compels me now to act otherwise. I have sufficiently given way to your highness by passing this year in retirement. The devil knows well that I did not do so through fear. I should have entered Worms had there been as many devils in the city as tiles on the house-tops. Now Duke George, with whom your highness frightens me, is yet much less to be feared than a single devil. If that which is passing at Wittenberg were taking place at Leipsic (the duke's residence), I would immediately mount my horse to go thither, although (may your highness pardon these words) for nine whole days together it were to rain nothing but Duke Georges, and each one nine times more furious than he is. What is he thinking of in attacking me? Does he take Christ my Lord for a man of straw? O Lord, be pleased to avert the terrible judgment which is impending over him!

"Be it known to your highness that I am going to Wittenberg under a protection far higher than that of princes and electors. I think not of soliciting your highness's support, and, far from desiring your protection, I would rather protect you myself. If I knew that your highness could or would protect me, I would not go to Wittenberg at all. There is no sword that can further this cause. God alone must do every thing without the help or concurrence of man. He who has the greatest faith is he who is most able to protect. But I observe that your highness is still weak in faith.

"But since your highness desires to know what you have to do, I will answer with all deference: your highness has already done

¹ Furit Satanas; et fremunt vicini undique, necesse quot mortibus et infernis. L. Epp. ii. 133.

¹ Er hält meinen Herrn Christum für ein Mann von Stroh gedachten. L. Epp. ii. 133.

ad ought to do nothing at all, and cannot endure either your ous or mine. Let your high- t be guided by this.

hat concerns me, your highness an elector; you must let the imperial majesty take their our towns and rural districts. er no resistance if men desire to me;¹ for no one should resist cept He who has established

highness leave the gates open, safe-conducts, if my enemies in ir envoys come in search of me ghness's states. Every thing : without trouble or danger to

ritten this letter in haste, that be made uneasy at hearing of I have to do with a very differ- Duke George. He knows me now him pretty well.

Borna, at the inn of the Guide, nesday 1522.

electoral highness's

Very humble servant,

"MARTIN LUTHER."

Luther drew nigh to Wittem- rote to his prince, but not to f. An imperturbable confidence t. He saw the hand of God in nd that was sufficient for him.

of faith can never be carried e of the editions of Luther's e following remark in the mar- ter: "This is a wonderful writ- rd and last Elias!"²

ntered Wittemberg on Friday 1, having been five days on the enach. Doctors, students, and broke forth in rejoicings; for vered the pilot who alone could vessel from the shoals among entangled.

; who was at Lockau with his reat emotion as he read the ter. He was desirous of vind- fore the diet: "Let him address wrote the prince to Schurff, the motives of his return to and let him say also that he out my permission." Luther

dy to incur the displeasure of s and the anger of the whole he to the prince. "Are not rgers my sheep? Has not God a to me? And ought I not, if xpose myself to death for their les, I fear to see a terrible out- any by which God will punish

our nation. Let your highness be well as- sured, and doubt not that the decrees of heaven are very different from those of Nu remberg."¹ This letter was written on the very day of Luther's arrival at Wittem- berg.

On the following day, being the eve of the first Sunday in Lent, Luther visited Jerome Schurff. Melancthon, Jonas, Amsdorff, and Augustin Schurff, Jerome's brother, were there assembled. Luther eagerly questioned them, and they were informing him of all that had taken place, when two foreign stu- dents were announced, desiring to speak with Dr. Jerome. On entering this assembly of doctors, the two young men of St. Gall were at first abashed; but they soon recovered themselves on discovering the knight of the Black Bear among them. The latter imme- diately went up to them, greeted them as old acquaintances, and smiled as he pointed to one of the doctors: "This is Philip Melane- thon, whom I mentioned to you." The two Swiss remained all day with the doctors of Wittemberg, in remembrance of the meeting at Jena.

One great thought absorbed the reformer's mind, and checked the joy he felt at meeting his friends once more. Unquestionably the character in which he was now to appear was obscure; he was about to raise his voice in a small town of Saxony, and yet his under- taking had all the importance of an event which was to influence the destinies of the world. Many nations and many ages were to feel its effects. It was a question whether that doctrine which he had derived from the Word of God, and which was ordained to exert so mighty an influence on the future development of the human race, would be stronger than the destructive principles that threatened its existence. It was a question whether it were possible to reform without destroying, and clear the way to new devel- opments without annihilating the old. To silence fanatical men inspired by the energy of a first enthusiasm; to master an unbridled multitude, to calm it down, to lead it back to order, peace, and truth; to break the course of the impetuous torrent which threat- ened to overthrow the rising edifice of the Reformation, and to scatter its ruins far and wide:—such was the task for which Luther had returned to Wittemberg. But would his influence be sufficient for this? The event alone could show.

The reformer's heart shuddered at the thought of the struggle that awaited him. He raised his head as a lion provoked to fight shakes his long mane. "We must now trample Satan under foot, and contend against the angel of darkness," said he. "If our adversaries do not retire of their own accord, Christ will know how to compel them. We

sehren....so sie mich fahen oder tödten
u.
die und letzte Elias....L. Opp. (L.) xviii.

¹ L. Epp. ii. 143. Luther was forced to alter this expres- sion at the elector's request.

who trust in the Lord of life and of death are ourselves lords of life and of death."¹

But at the same time the impetuous reformer, as if restrained by a superior power, refused to employ the anathemas and thunders of the Word, and became an humble pastor, a gentle shepherd of souls. "It is with the Word that we must fight," said he, "by the Word must we overthrow and destroy what has been set up by violence. I will not make use of force against the superstitious and unbelieving. Let him who believeth draw nigh! let him who believeth not keep afar off! no one must be constrained. Liberty is the very essence of faith."²

The next day was Sunday. On that day the doctor, whom for nearly a year the lofty ramparts of the Wartburg have concealed from every eye, will reappear before the people in the pulpit of the church. It was rumoured in Wittenberg that Luther was come back, and that he was going to preach. This news alone, passing from mouth to mouth, had already given a powerful diversion to the ideas by which the people were misled. They are going to see the hero of Worms. The people crowded together, and were affected by various emotions. On Sunday morning the church was filled with an attentive and excited crowd.

Luther divines all the sentiments of his congregation; he goes up into the pulpit; there he stands in the presence of the flock that he had once led as a docile sheep, but which has broken from him like an untamed bull. His language is simple, noble, yet full of strength and gentleness: one might have supposed him to be a tender father returning to his children, inquiring into their conduct, and kindly telling them what report he had heard about them. He candidly acknowledges the progress they have made in faith; and by this means prepares and captivates their minds. He then continues in these words:—

"But we need something more than faith; we need charity. If a man who bears a sword in his hand be alone, it is of little consequence whether it be sheathed or not; but if he is in the midst of a crowd, he should act so as to wound nobody.

"What does a mother do to her infant? At first she gives it milk, then some very light food. If she were to begin by giving it meat and wine, what would be the consequence?.....

"So should we act towards our brethren. My friend, have you been long enough at the breast? It is well! but permit your brother to drink as long as yourself.

"Observe the sun! He dispenses two things, light and heat. There is no king powerful enough to bend aside his rays; they come straight to us—but heat is ra-

diated and communicated in ev-
tion. Thus faith, like light, shou
be straight and inflexible; but
like heat, should radiate on ev
and bend to all the wants of our b

Luther having thus prepared hi
began to press them more closely:

"The abolition of the mass, say
conformity with Scripture: Agr
what order, what decency have
served? It behoved you to off
vent prayers to the Lord, and ap
public authority; then might e
have acknowledged that the thir
God."

Thus spake Luther. This daun
who at Worms had withstood the
the earth, produced a deep impress
minds of his hearers by these wor
dom and of peace. Carlstadt and
phets of Zwickau, so great and
for a few weeks, and who had t
over and agitated Wittenberg, ha
into pigmies beside the captive of
burg.

"The mass," continued he, "thing; God is opposed to it; it ou
abolished; and I would that throug
whole world it were replaced by th
of the Gospel. But let no one be
it by force. We must leave the
God's hands. His Word must act
we. And why so, you will ask? I
do not hold men's hearts in my
the potter holds the clay. We hav
to speak; we have *not* the right to
us preach: the rest belongs unto G
I to employ force, what should I g
mace, formality, apings, human or
and hypocrisy.....But there wou
sincerity of heart, nor faith, nor
Where these three are wanting, all
ing, and I would not give a pear
such a result."³

"Our first object must be to w
hearts; and for that purpose we m
the Gospel. To-day the Word will
one heart, to-morrow into anothe
will operate in such a manner that
will withdraw from the mass and
it. God does more by his Word al
you and I and all the world by ou
strength. God lays hold upon th
and when the heart is taken, all is

"I do not say this for the rest
the mass. Since it is down, in G
there let it lie! But should you h
to work as you did? Paul, arrivin
in the powerful city of Athens, fou
altars raised to false gods. He w
one to the altar, and observed then
touching one. But he walked i
into the middle of the market-pla
clared to the people that all their g
idols. His language took possessio

¹ Dominus enim vivum et mortui. L. Epp. II. 150.

² Non enim ad edem et ad ea que sedet sunt, alius cognoscitur. 154. 151.

³ Ich wollte nicht einen Hirsstiel draus gehn (L.) XVIII. 282.

idols fall without Paul's hammer.

ch, discuss, and write; but I none, for faith is a voluntary I have done! I stood up pe, indulgences, and papists, violence or tumult. I put Word; I preached and wrote did. And yet while I was ed familiarly at table with Melancthon, drinking and gos-

Wittenberg beer, the Word ached overthrew popery, so nee nor emperor has done it

And yet I did nothing: the id all. If I had wished to the whole of Germany would een deluged with blood. But ve been the result? Ruin both to body and soul. I quiet, and left the Word to a world alone. Do you know thinks when he sees men ace to propagate the Gospel world? Seated with folded he fire of hell, Satan says, t looks and frightful grin: ise these madmen are to !' But when he sees the and contending alone on the then he is troubled, and his ogether; he shudders and "

into the pulpit again on Tues- ounterful voice resounded once the agitated crowd. He on the five succeeding days. w of the destruction of images, neats, the institution of the the restoration of the cup, confession. He showed that re of far less importance than hat the originators of the dis- i taken place in Wittenberg used their liberty. He em- is the language of christian ts of holy indignation.

more especially against those ightlessly of Christ's Supper. outward manducation that tian," said he, "but the in- ual eating that worketh by ut which all forms are mere ce. Now this faith consists that Jesus Christ is the Son aving taken our sins and in- itself, and having borne them is himself their sole and al- nt; that he stands continually t he reconcileth us with the t he hath given us the sacra- ly to strengthen our faith in e mercy. If I believe in these my defender; with him, I h, hell, and devils; they can , nor disturb a single hair of s spiritual bread is the conso-

lation of the afflicted, health to the sick, life to the dying, food to the hungry, riches to the poor. He who does not groan under his sins must not approach that altar: what can he do there? Ah! let our conscience accuse us, let our hearts be rent in twain at the thought of our sins, and then we shall not so presumptuously approach the holy sacrament."

The crowd ceased not to fill the temple; people flocked from the neighbouring towns to hear the new Elijah. Among others, Capito spent two days at Wittenberg, and heard two of the doctor's sermons. Never had Luther and Cardinal Albert's chaplain been so well agreed. Melancthon, the magistrates, the professors, and all the inhabitants, were delighted.¹ Schurf, charmed at the result of so gloomy an affair, hastened to communicate it to the elector. On Friday the 15th March, the day on which Luther delivered his sixth sermon, he wrote: "Oh, what joy has Dr. Martin's return diffused among us! His words, through Divine mercy, every day are bringing back our poor misguided people into the way of truth. It is clear as the sun that the Spirit of God is in him, and that by His special providence he returned to Wittenberg."²

In truth, these sermons are models of popular eloquence, but not of that which in the times of Demosthenes, or even of Savonarola, fired men's hearts. The task of the Wittenberg orator was more difficult. It is easier to rouse the fury of a wild beast than to allay it. Luther had to soothe a fanaticized multitude, to tame its unbridled passions; and in this he succeeded. In his eight discourses, the reformer did not allow one offensive word to escape him against the originators of these disorders,—not one unpleasant allusion. But the greater his moderation, the greater also was his strength; the more caution he used towards these deluded men, the more powerful was his vindication of offended truth. How could the people of Wittenberg resist his powerful eloquence? Men usually ascribe to timidity, fear, and compromise, those speeches that advocate moderation. Here there was nothing of the sort. Luther appeared before the inhabitants of Wittenberg braving the excommunication of the pope and the proscription of the emperor. He had returned in despite of the prohibition of the elector, who had declared his inability to defend him. Even at Worms, Luther had not shown so much courage. He confronted the most imminent dangers; and accordingly his words were not disregarded: the man who braved the scaffold had a right to exhort to submission. That man may boldly speak of obedience to God, who, to do so, defies all the persecution of man. At Luther's voice all objections vanished, the tumult subsided. sedi-

¹ Grosse Freude und Frohlocken unter Gelehrten und Ungelahrten. L. Opp. viii. 286.
² Aus sonderlicher Schickung des Allmächtigen....*ibid.*

tious cries were heard no longer, and the citizens of Wittenberg returned quietly to their dwellings.

Gabriel Didymus, who had shown himself the most enthusiastic of all the Augustine friars, did not lose one of the reformer's words. "Do you not think Luther a wonderful teacher?" asked a hearer in great emotion. "Ah!" replied he, "I seem to listen to the voice, not of a man, but of an angel."¹ Erelong Didymus openly acknowledged that he had been deceived. "He is quite another man," said Luther.²

It was not so at first with Carlstadt. Despising learning, pretending to frequent the workshops of the Wittenberg mechanics to receive understanding of the Holy Scriptures, he was mortified at seeing his work crumble away at Luther's appearance.³ In his eyes this was checking the reform itself. Hence his air was always dejected, gloomy, and dissatisfied. Yet he sacrificed his self-love for the sake of peace; he restrained his desires of vengeance, and became reconciled, outwardly at least, with his colleague, and shortly after resumed his lectures in the university.⁴

The chief prophets were not at Wittenberg when Luther returned. Nicholas Storch was wandering through the country; Mark Stubner had quitted Melancthon's hospitable roof. Perhaps their prophetic spirit had disappeared, and they had had *neither voice nor answer*,⁵ so soon as they learnt that the new Elijah was directing his steps towards this new Carmel. The old schoolmaster Cellarius alone had remained. Stubner, however, being informed that the sheep of his fold were scattered, hastily returned. Those who were still faithful to "the heavenly prophecy" gathered round their master, reported Luther's speeches to him, and asked him anxiously what they were to think and do.⁶ Stubner exhorted them to remain firm in their faith. "Let him appear," cried Cellarius, "let him grant us a conference,—let him only permit us to set forth our doctrine, and then we shall see....."

Luther cared little to meet such men as these; he knew them to be of violent, impatient, and haughty dispositions, who could not endure even kind admonition, and who required that every one should submit at the first word, as to a supreme authority.⁷ Such are enthusiasts in every age. And yet, as they desired an interview, the doctor could not refuse it. Besides, it might be of use to the weak ones of the flock were he to unmask the imposture of the prophets. The

conference took place. Stubner of proceedings by explaining in what he desired to regenerate the Church transform the world. Luther listened with great calmness.¹ "Nothing have advanced," replied he at last "is based upon Holy Scripture.—I mere fable." At these words Cellarius contain himself no longer; he raised his voice, gesticulated like a madman, and struck the table with his fist claimed, in a passion, that it was to speak thus to a man of God. Luther observed: "St. Paul decl the proofs of his apostleship were known by miracles; prove your manner."—"We will do so," answered prophets.² "The God whom I said Luther, 'will know how to be gods.'" Stubner, who had preserved tranquillity, then fixed his eyes on former, and said to him with an air of rational, "Martin Luther! I will decide now passing in thy soul....." Gaining to believe that my doctrine Luther, after a brief pause, exclaimed chastise thee, Satan!" At these the prophets were as if distracted Spirit, the Spirit!" cried they, adopting that cool tone of contempt cutting and homely language so familiar to him, said, "I slap your spirit on the Their clamours now increased; Cellarius particular, distinguished himself by silence. He foamed and trembled with They could not hear one another room where they met in conference length the three prophets abandoned field and left Wittenberg the same

Thus had Luther accomplished for which he had left his retreat. He made a stand against fanaticism, and led from the bosom of the renovated the enthusiasm and disorder by which been invaded. If with one hand the matron threw down the dusty decorations of Rome, with the other it rejected the notions of the mystics, and established the ground it had won, the living changeable Word of God. The Church the Reformation was thus firmly set was destined to walk for ever between two extremes, equally remote from the excesses of the fanatics and the torpor of the papacy.

A whole population excited, deluged unrestrained, had at once become calm, and submissive; and the moment again reigned in that city which days before had been like the troubled

Perfect liberty was immediately

¹ Imo, inquit, angelus, non hominis vocem mihi audire videor. Camer. p. 12.

² In alium virum mutatus est. L. Epp. ii. 124.

³ Ego Carlstedium offendi, quod ordinationes suas cavet. Ibid. 177.

⁴ Philippus et Carlstedii lectiones, ut sunt optimas. Ibid. 364.

⁵ Klage xviii. 22.

⁶ Rursum ad ipsum confuere.... Camer. p. 52.

⁷ Vehementer superbus et impetens.... credi vult plena austeritate, ad primam vocem.... L. Epp. ii. 179.

¹ Audistis Lutherus placide. Camer. p. 52.

² Cum et aequum pedibus et propositam mensibus ferret. Ibid.

³ Quid pollicentes de mirabilibus affectionibus

⁴ Ihren Geist haue er über die Schnause. L. burx. Aug. iii. 137.

⁵ Spumabat et fremebat et furebat. L. Epp.

Wittenberg. Luther still continued in the convent and wear his monastic habit; but every one was free to do as he pleased. In communicating at the Lord's Supper a general absolution was sufficient, or a special one might be obtained. It was now as a principle to reject nothing that was opposed to the clear and foretelling of the Holy Scriptures.¹ It was not indifference; on the contrary, it was thus restored to what constitutes very essence; the sentiment of withdrawing from the accessory forms in which it had well nigh perished, and transcribing it to its true basis. Thus the Reformation was saved, and its teaching enabled to continue its development in the life of the Church in charity and truth.

CHAPTER IX.

Importance of the Publication—Necessity of a Systematic Arrangement—Melancthon's Last Communion—Original Sin—Salvation—Free Will—Effects of the Communion.

UTILITY WAS hardly established when Luther turned to his dear Melancthon, and begged his assistance in the final revision of the New Testament which he had done with him from the Wartburg.² As in the year 1519 Melancthon had laid the grand principle, that the Fathers explained according to Scripture, and Scripture according to the Fathers.³ Living more profoundly every day on the books of the New Testament, he felt at times harmed by their simplicity and injured by their depth. "There alone can I find the true food of the soul," boldly as this man so familiar with all the philosophy of the ancients. Accordingly he complied with Luther's invitation; and from that time the two friends passed long hours together studying and digesting the inspired Word. Often would arise in their laborious researches to the admiration of Luther said by him, "Reason thinks, Oh! if I could hear God speak! I would run from one world to the other to hear him..... then, my brother man! God, the Father of the heavens and the earth, speaks!" The printing of the New Testament was done with unexampled zeal.⁴ One has said that the very workmen felt importance of the task in which they

were engaged. Three presses were employed in this labour, and ten thousand sheets, says Luther, were printed daily.⁵

At length, on the 21st of September 1522, appeared the complete edition of three thousand copies, in two folio volumes, with this simple title: THE NEW TESTAMENT GERMAN—WITTEMBERG. It bore no name of man. Every German might henceforward procure the Word of God at a moderate price.⁶

The new translation, written in the very tone of the holy writings, in a language yet in its youthful vigour, and which for the first time displayed its great beauties, interested, charmed, and moved the lowest as well as the highest ranks. It was a national work: the book of the people; nay more—it was in very truth the Book of God. Even opponents could not refuse their approbation to this wonderful work, and some indiscreet friends of the reformer, impressed by the beauty of the translation, imagined they could recognise in it a second inspiration. This version served more than all Luther's writings to the spread of Christian piety. The work of the sixteenth century was thus placed on a foundation where nothing could shake it. The Bible, given to the people, recalled the mind of man, which had been wandering for ages in the tortuous labyrinth of scholasticism, to the Divine fountain of salvation. Accordingly the success of this work was prodigious. In a short time every copy was sold. A second edition appeared in the month of December; and in 1533 seventeen editions had been printed at Wittenberg, thirteen at Augsburg, twelve at Basle, one at Erfurth, one at Grimsa, one at Leipsic, and thirteen at Strasburg.⁷ Such were the powerful levers that uplifted and transformed the Church and the world.

While the first edition of the New Testament was going through the press, Luther undertook a translation of the Old. This labour, begun in 1522, was continued without interruption. He published his translation in parts as they were finished, the more speedily to gratify public impatience, and to enable the poor to procure the book.

From Scripture and faith, two sources which in reality are but one, the life of the Gospel has flowed, and is still spreading over the world. These two principles combated two fundamental errors. Faith was opposed to the Pelagian tendency of Roman Catholicism; Scripture, to the theory of tradition and the authority of Rome. Scripture led man to faith, and faith led him back to Scripture. "Man can do no meritorious work; the free grace of God, which he receives by faith in Christ, alone saves him." Such was the doctrine proclaimed in Christendom.

¹ Klare und gründliche Schrift.
² In omnia nunc elimare cupimus, Philippus et ego.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Ibid.
⁷ Ibid.

¹ Ante Michaelis non absolvetur, quamquam singulis diebus de sex millia chartarum sub tribus prelis excudantur.

² Ibid.

³ A florin and a half, about half a crown.

⁴ Gesch. d. deutsch. Bibl. Uebersetz.

But this doctrine could not fail to impel Christendom to the study of Scripture. In truth, if faith in Christ is every thing in Christianity, if the practices and ordinances of the Church are nothing, it is not to the teaching of the Church that we should adhere, but to the teaching of Christ. The bond that unites to Christ will become everything to the believer. What matters to him the outward link that connects him with an outward church enslaved by the opinions of men?.....Thus, as the doctrine of the Bible had impelled Luther's contemporaries towards Jesus Christ, so in turn the love they felt to Jesus Christ impelled them to the Bible. It was not, as has been supposed in our days, from a philosophical principle, or in consequence of doubt, or from the necessity of inquiry, that they returned to Scripture; it was because they there found the Word of Him they loved. "You have preached Christ to us," said they to the reformer, "let us now hear him himself." And they seized the pages that were spread before them, as a letter coming from heaven.

But if the Bible was thus gladly received by those who loved Christ, it was scornfully rejected by those who preferred the traditions and observances of men. A violent persecution was waged against this work of the reformer's. At the news of Luther's publication, Rome trembled. The pen which had transcribed the sacred oracles was really that which Frederick had seen in his dream, and which, reaching to the Seven Hills, had shaken the tiara of the papacy.¹ The monk in his cell, the prince on his throne, uttered a cry of anger. Ignorant priests shuddered at the thought that every citizen, nay every peasant, would now be able to dispute with them on the precepts of our Lord. The King of England denounced the work to the Elector Frederick and to Duke George of Saxony. But as early as the month of November the duke had ordered his subjects to deposit every copy of Luther's New Testament in the hands of the magistrates. Bavaria, Brandenburg, Austria, and all the states devoted to Rome, published similar decrees. In some places they made sacrilegious bonfires of these sacred books in the public places.* Thus did Rome in the sixteenth century renew the efforts by which paganism had attempted to destroy the religion of Jesus Christ, at the moment when the dominion was escaping from the priests and their idols. But who can check the triumphant progress of the Gospel? "Even after my prohibition," wrote Duke George, "many thousand copies were sold and read in my states."

God even made use of those hands to circulate his Word that were endeavouring to destroy it. When the Romanist theologians

saw that they could not prohibit men's work, they themselves in translation of the New Testament Luther's version, altered here and there the publishers. There was no hindrance to its being read. Rome as yet that wherever the Word of God is there her power is shaken. In Brandenburg permitted all his subjects to read any translation of the Bible, in German, provided it did not contradict Wittenberg. The people of Germany those of Brandenburg in particular made great progress in the knowledge of truth.

The publication of the New Testament in the vulgar tongue is an important step in the Reformation. If *Feldkirchen* was the first step in the progress of the Reformation from doctrine into fact, the abolition of monastic vows was the second; if the re-establishment of the Holy Supper was the third,—the publication of the New Testament was perhaps the fourth and most important of all. It worked an entire revolution in society: not only in the presbytery, in the monk's cell, and in the study of our Lord; but also in the house of the great, in the houses of the poor, and in the cottages of the peasant the Bible began to be read in the Christian home, Christendom itself was reformed. Then arose other habits, other customs, other conversations, and another life. The publication of the New Testament in the vulgar tongue left the School and the Church to take possession of the hearts of the people.

The effect produced was immense. Christianity of the primitive Church by the publication of the Holy Scriptures from the oblivion of centuries in which it had lain, was thus presented before the nation; and this view was a justification of the attacks that had been made against Rome. The simplest men knew how to read, women learned to read, and another and more violent opponent of the Reformation was created. The Reformation carried it about with them; soon it was by heart, and the pages of this book proclaimed the perfect union of the Reformation with the Divine revelation.

And yet it was only by fragments that the doctrine of the Bible and of the Christian religion had been set forth hitherto. The truth had been put forward in fragments; a certain error attacked in one vast plain lay sattered and the ruins of the old edifice and the materials of the new; but the new edifice was not yet published of the New Testament. The Reformation had satisfied this want. The Reformation could say, as it gave this book: *It*

¹ Vol. I. p. 86.

* *Qui et alibi in una congesti rogi publice combusti sunt.*

¹ *U't auctores, mulieres, et quilibet idiotæ legerent.* Cochius, p. 50.

system! But as every man is at liberty to assert that his system is that of the Bible, the Reformation was called to arrange what it had found in Scripture. And this Melancthon now did in its name.

He had walked with regular but confident steps in the development of his theology, and had from time to time published the results of his inquiries. Before this, in 1520, he had declared that in several of the seven sacraments he could see nothing but an imitation of the Jewish ceremonies; and in the infallibility of the pope, a haughty presumption equally opposed to the Holy Scriptures and to good sense. "To contend against these doctrines," he had said, "we require more than one Hercules."¹ Thus had Melancthon reached the same point as Luther, although by a calmer and more scientific process. The time had come in which he was to confess his faith in his turn.

In 1521, during Luther's captivity, Melancthon's celebrated work, "*On the Common-places of Theology*," had presented to christian Europe a body of doctrine of solid foundations and admirable proportions. A simple and majestic unity appeared before the astonished eyes of the new generation. The translation of the Testament justified the Reformation to the people; Melancthon's *Common-places* justified it in the opinion of the learned.

For fifteen centuries the Church had existed, and had never seen such a work. For a long time the ordinary developments of scholastic theology, Luther's friend at last gave the world a theological system derived solely from Scripture. In it there reigned a breath of life, a vitality of understanding, a strength of conviction, and a simplicity of statement, that form a striking contrast with the subtle and periphrastic systems of the schools. Men of the most philosophic minds, as well as the strictest theologians, were equally filled with admiration.

Erasmus entitled this work a wondrous army drawn up in battle array against the tyrannous battalions of the false doctors;² and while he avowed his dissent from the author on several points, he added, that although he had always loved him, he had never loved him so much as after reading this work. "So true it is," said Calvin when presenting it subsequently to France, "that the greatest simplicity is the greatest virtue in treating of the christian doctrine."³

But no one felt such joy as Luther. Throughout life this work was the object of his admiration. The disconnected sounds that his hand, in the deep emotion of his soul, had drawn from the harp of the prophets and apostles, were here blended to-

gether into one enchanting harmony. Those scattered stones, which he had laboriously hewn from the quarries of Scripture, were now combined into a majestic edifice. Hence he never ceased recommending the study of this work to the youths who came to Wittenberg in search of knowledge: "If you desire to become theologians," he would say, "read Melancthon."⁴

According to Melancthon, a deep conviction of the wretched state to which man is reduced by sin is the foundation on which the edifice of christian theology should be raised. This universal evil is the primary fact, the leading idea on which the science is based; it is the characteristic that distinguishes theology from those sciences whose only instrument is reason.

The christian divine, diving into the heart of man, explains its laws and mysterious attractions, as another philosopher in after-years explained the laws and attraction of bodies. "Original sin," said he, "is an inclination born with us,—a certain impulse which is agreeable to us,—a certain force leading us to sin, and which has been communicated by Adam to all his posterity. As in fire there is a native energy impelling it to mount upward, as there is in the load-stone a natural quality by which iron is attracted; so also there is in man a primitive force that inclines him to evil. I grant that in Socrates, Xenocrates, and Zeno, were found temperance, firmness, and chastity; these shadows of virtues were found in impure hearts and originated in self-love. This is why we should regard them not as real virtues, but as vices."⁵ This language may seem harsh; but not so if we apprehend Melancthon's meaning aright. No one was more willing to acknowledge virtues in the pagans that entitled them to the esteem of man; but he laid down this great truth, that the sovereign law given by God to all his creatures, is to love Him above all things. Now, if man, in doing that which God commands, does it not from love to God, but from love of self, can God accept him for daring to substitute himself in the place of His infinite Majesty? and can there be no sinfulness in an action that is express rebellion against the supreme Deity?

The Wittenberg divine then proceeds to show how man is saved from this wretchedness. "The apostle," said he, "invites thee to contemplate the Son of God sitting at the right hand of the Father, mediating and interceding for us;⁶ and calls upon thee to feel assured that thy sins are forgiven thee, that thou art reputed righteous, and accepted

¹ Adversus quem non uno nobis, ut ita dicam, Hercule opus est. Corp. Ref. i. 137.

² Vides doctrinam scilicet pulchre instructam adversus doctrinam pharisaicam. Er. Epp. p. 910.

³ La Source de Theologie, par Philippe Melancthon, Genève, 1541. Johan Calvin aux Lecteurs.

⁴ Illud in invitum (said he on another occasion) non solum immortalitate sed et canone ecclesiastico dignum. De Servo Arbitrio.

⁵ Loc. Communes Theologici, Basle, 1521, p. 35. This edition is very rare. For the subsequent revisions consult that of Erigenen, 1529, founded on that of Basle, 1541.

⁶ Vult te intueri Filium Dei sedentem ad dextram Patris, mediatorem interpellantem pro nobis. Ibid.

by the Father for the sake of that Son who suffered for us on the cross."

The first edition of the *Common-places* is especially remarkable for the manner in which the theologian of Germany speaks of free will. He saw more clearly perhaps than Luther, for he was a better theologian, that this doctrine could not be separated from that which constituted the very essence of the Reformation. Man's justification before God proceeds from faith alone: this is the first point. This faith enters man's heart by the grace of God alone: here is the second. Melancthon saw clearly that if he allowed that man had any natural ability to believe, he would be throwing down in the second point that great doctrine of grace which he had stated in the first. He had too much discernment and understanding of the Holy Scriptures to be mistaken in so important a matter. But he went too far. Instead of confining himself within the limits of the religious question, he entered upon metaphysics. He established a fatalism which might tend to represent God as the author of evil,—a doctrine which has no foundation in Scripture. "As all things which happen," said he, "happen necessarily, according to the Divine predestination, there is no such thing as liberty in our wills."¹

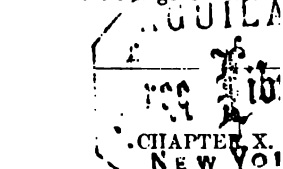
But the object Melancthon had particularly in view was to present theology as a system of piety. The schoolmen had so dried up the doctrine as to leave no traces of vitality in it. The task of the Reformation was therefore to reanimate this lifeless doctrine. In the subsequent editions, Melancthon felt the necessity of expounding these doctrines with greater clearness.² But such was not precisely the case in 1521. "To know Christ," said he, "is to know his blessings."³ Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, desiring to give a summary of the christian doctrines, does not philosophize on the mystery of the Trinity, on the mode of incarnation, on active or passive creation; of what then does he speak?—of the law,—of sin,—of grace. On this our knowledge of Christ depends."

The publication of this body of theology was of inestimable value to the cause of truth. Calumnies were refuted; prejudices swept away. In the churches, palaces, and universities, Melancthon's genius found admirers, who esteemed the graces of his character. Even those who knew not the author were attracted to his creed by his book. The roughness and occasional violence of Luther's

language had often repelled here was a man who explained truths whose sudden explosion the world, with great elegance and exquisite taste, admirable perspicuity and order. The work was so read with avidity, and studied with gentleness and moderate hearts. Such nobility and force in their respect; and the society, hitherto undecided, we to a wisdom that made use of language.

On the other hand, the truth, whom Luther's terrible yet humbled, remained for a time disconcerted at the appearance of Melancthon's treatise. They saw in another man as worthy of the Luther himself. "Alas!" exclaims unhappy Germany! to what wilt thou be brought by this?

Between the years 1521 and 1522, the *Common-places* passed through several editions, without including the Bible, this is the most possibly contributed most to the development of the evangelical doctrine.



Opposition—Henry VIII.—Walsley—The
Sir Thomas More—Luther's Book—Luther
on Luther—Presented to the Pope—His
—Energy and Violence—Luther's Reply
Bishop of Rochester—Reply of Sir Thomas
Proceedings.

While the "grammarian" Melancthon was contributing by these gentle and useful support to Luther, men of a more daring spirit, who were turned against him. He had escaped Wartburg and reappeared on the world; and at this news the former adversaries were revived.

Luther had been three months at Wittenberg when a rumour of the thousand tongues of fame, intelligence that one of the great Christendom had risen against Henry VIII., the head of the house of Lancaster, and in whose power much bloodshed, the white were at length united, the in England, who claimed to re-assert their influence of his crown, I then a book against the poor monk. "There is much to be said in little book by the King of En-

¹ Quandoquidem omnia que eveniunt, necessario eveniunt juxta divinam predestinationem, nulla est voluntas nostra libertas. Loc. Com. Theol. Basile, 1521, p. 35.

² See the edition of 1561, reprinted in 1829, p. 14-15, the several chapters.—De tribus personis.—De divinitate Filii.—De duabus naturis in Christo.—Testimonia quod Filius sit persona.—Testimonia refutantia Arianos.—De divinis proprietatibus humanis et divinis naturæ Christi.—De Spiritu Sancto, &c. &c.

³ Hoc est Christum cognoscere, beneficia ejus cognoscere. Ibid.

⁴ Heu! infelicem hoc novo partu Germaniam.

to Lange on the 26th of June

ry was then thirty-one years old; "he ll, strong-built and proportioned, and air of authority and empire."² His nance expressed the vivacity of his vehement, presuming to make every give way to the violence of his passion and thirsting for glory, he at first considered his faults under a certain impetuosity peculiar to youth, and flatterers were willing to encourage them. He would visit, in company with his courtiers, the use of his chaplain, Thomas Wolsey, son of an Ipswich butcher. Endowed with great skill, of overweening ambition, unbounded audacity, this man, probably the Bishop of Winchester, chancellor of the kingdom, had rapidly advanced to the master's favour, and allured him to his side by the attractions of pleasures and arts, in which the young prince would have ventured to indulge in his own.

This is recorded by Polydore Virgil at that time papal sub-collector in England.

In these dissolute meetings, who surpassed the licentiousness of the courtiers who attended Henry VIII. full of the decorum befitting a minister of the Church, he would sing, dance, laugh, be fool, fence, and indulge in obscene conversation.⁴ By these means he succeeded in obtaining the first place in the king's list, and, as sole minister, all the princes of the land were forced to purchase his

company lived in the midst of balls, banquets, feasting, and riotously squandered the money his father had slowly accumulated. Successive tournaments succeeded each other without interval. In these sports the king, who was distinguished above all the courtiers by his manly beauty, played the part.⁵ If the contest appeared for a doubtful result, the strength and address of the young monarch, or the artful policy of his counsellors, gave him the victory, and the triumph was sounded with shouts and applause in honour. The vanity of the youthful king was inflated by these easy triumphs, and there was no success in the world to be thought he might not aspire. The king was often seen among the spectators.

Her serious features and sad look, her absent and dejected air, formed a striking contrast with the noise and glitter of these festivities. Shortly after his accession to the throne, and for reasons of state, Henry VIII. had espoused Catherine of Aragon, his senior by eight years: she was his brother Arthur's widow, and aunt to Charles V. While her husband followed his pleasures, the virtuous Catherine, whose piety was truly Spanish, would leave her bed in the middle of the night to take a silent part in the prayers of the monks,¹ at which she would kneel down without cushion or carpet. At five in the morning, after taking a little rest, she would again rise, and putting on the Franciscan dress, for she had been admitted into the tertiary order of St. Francis, and hastily throwing the royal garments around her,² would repair to church at six o'clock to join in the service.

Two beings, living in such different spheres, could not long continue together.

Romish piety had other representatives besides Catherine in the court of Henry VIII. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, then nearly seventy years of age, as distinguished for learning as for the austerity of his manners, was the object of universal veneration. He had been the oldest councillor of Henry VII., and the Duchess of Richmond, grandmother to Henry VIII., calling him to her bedside, had commended to his care the youth and inexperience of her grandson. The king, in the midst of his irregularities, long continued to revere the aged bishop as a father.

A man much younger than Fisher, a layman and a lawyer, had prior to this attracted general attention by his genius and noble character. His name was Thomas More, son of one of the judges of the King's Bench. He was poor, austere, and diligent. At the age of twenty he had endeavoured to quench the passions of youth by wearing a shirt of haircloth, and by self-scourging. On one occasion, being summoned by Henry VIII. while he was attending mass, he replied, that God's service was before the king's. Wolsey introduced him to Henry, who employed him on various embassies, and showed him much kindness. He would often send for him, and converse with him on astronomy, about Wolsey, or on divinity.

In truth, the king himself was not unacquainted with the Romish doctrines. It would appear, that if Arthur had lived, Henry was destined for the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. Thomas Aquinas,³ St. Bonaventure, tournaments, banquets, Elizabeth Blunt and others of his mistresses—all were mixed up in the mind and life of this

at libellum regis Angliæ; sed cum illum suspicor lectum—an allusion to Lee, the king's chaplain, as on the word Lee, a lion. L. Esp. li. 213.

2. Eccl. Hist. of Great Britain, fol. li. 1.

3. cum voluptatum omnium sacraminum fecit, quo sequenter ducebat. Polyd. Virgilius, Angl. Hist., fol. p. 631. Polydore appears to have suffered from pride, and to be rather inclined to exaggerate Henry's faults.

4. His adolescentibus una psallebat, saltabat, serpens plenos habebat, ridebat, jocabatur, &c. Ibid. in corporis forma predictus, in qua etiam regis in aqua quendam speciem elucebat. Sandersus de Re Anglicana, p. 4. This work of Sanders, papal agent in England, should be read very cautiously, for it is full of false and calumnious assertions, as has been shown by Cardinal Quirini and the Roman-catholic agents. See the History of England by the latter, &c.

¹ Surgebat media nocte ut nocturnis religiosorum precibus interesset. Sandersus de Schismate Anglicano, p. 6.

² Sub regio vestitu Divi Francisci habitus utebatur. Ibid.

³ Legibus studiose libros divi Thomæ Aquinatis. Polyd. Virg. p. 634.

prince, who had masses of his own composition sung in his chapel.

As soon as Henry had heard talk of Luther, he became indignant against him, and hardly was the decrees of the Diet of Worms known in England, before he ordered the pontiff's bull against the reformer's works to be put into execution.¹ On the 12th of May 1521, Thomas Wolsey, who, together with the office of chancellor of England, combined those of cardinal and legate of Rome, went in solemn procession to St. Paul's. This man, whose pride had attained the highest pitch, thought himself the equal of kings. He used to sit in a chair of gold, sleep in a golden bed, and a cover of cloth of gold was spread on the table during his meals.² On this occasion he displayed great magnificence. His household, consisting of 800 persons, among whom were barons, knights, and sons of the most distinguished families, who hoped by serving him to obtain public office, surrounded this haughty prelate. Silk and gold glittered not only on his garments (he was the first ecclesiastic who ventured to dress so sumptuously),³ but even on the housings and harness of the horses. Before him walked a tall priest bearing a silver column terminated by a cross; behind him, another ecclesiastic of similar height carried the archiepiscopal crosier of York; a nobleman at his side held the cardinal's hat.⁴ Lords, prelates, ambassadors from the pope and emperor, accompanied him, followed by a long line of mules bearing chests covered with the richest and most brilliant hangings. It was this magnificent procession that was carrying to the burning pile the writings of the poor monk of Wittenberg. When they reached the cathedral, the insolent priest placed his cardinal's hat on the altar. The virtuous Bishop of Rochester stationed himself at the foot of the cross, and with agitated voice preached earnestly against the heresy. After this the impious books of the heresiarch were brought together and devoutly burned in the presence of an immense crowd. Such was the first intelligence that England received of the Reformation.

Henry would not stop here. This prince, whose hand was ever upraised against his adversaries, his wives, or his favourites, wrote to the elector-palatine: "It is the devil, who, by Luther's means, has kindled this immense conflagration. If Luther will not be converted, let him and his writings be burnt together!"⁵

This was not enough. Having been convinced that the progress of heresy was owing to the extreme ignorance of the Ger-

man princes, Henry thought the more had arrived for showing his learning. victories of his battle-axe did not permit to doubt of those that were reserved for pen. But another passion, vanity, greatest in the smallest minds, spurred king onward. He was humiliated at his no title to oppose to that of "Catholic" "Most Christian," borne by the king of Spain and France, and he had been begging a similar distinction from the pope of Rome. What would be more like procure it than an attack upon her? Henry therefore threw aside the ki purple, and descended from his throne the arena of theological discussion. He listed Thomas Aquinas, Peter Lomb Alexander Hales, and Bonaventure into service; and the world beheld the publication of the *Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther, by the most inviolable King of England and France, Lord of land, Henry the eighth of that name.*

"I will rush in front of the Church to her," said the King of England in this wise; "I will receive in my bosom the poisoned arrows of her assailants.¹ The present state of things calls me to do so. As a servant of Christ, whatever be his age or rank, should rise up against the common enemy of Christendom."²

"Let us put on a twofold breastplate: the heavenly breastplate, to conquer by weapons of truth him who combats those of error; but also an earthly breastplate, that if he shows himself obstinate in his malice, the hand of the executioner constrain him to be silent, and that on least he may be useful to the world, by terrible example of his death."³

Henry VIII. was unable to hide the contempt he felt towards his feeble adversary. "This man," said the crowned theologian, "seems to be in the pangs of child-birth after a travail without precedent, he produces nothing but wind.⁴ Remove the clinging envelope of the insolent verbiage which he clothes his absurdities, as a man is clothed in purple, and what remains? a wretched and empty sophism."

The king defends, successively, the penance, confirmation, marriage, orders, extreme unction; he is not sparing of abusive language towards his opponent; he calls him by turns a wolf of hell, a poison viper, a limb of the devil. Even Luther's sincerity is attacked. Henry VIII. calls the mendicant monk with his royal authority "and writes as 'twere with his scepter" says an historian.⁵

¹ Primum libros Lutheranos, quorum magnus jam numerus pervenerat in manus suorum Anglorum, comburendos curavit. Pol. Virg. p. 664.

² Ut sella aurea, ut pulvino aureo, ut velo aureo ad uteretur. Ibid.

³ Primum episcoporum et cardinalium, vestimentum exterius sericum sibi induit. Ibid. p. 631.

⁴ Galerum cardinalium, ordinis insignem, sublimem a ministro præferebat... super altare collocabat. Ibid. p. 645.

⁵ Knapp's *Nachlese*, II. 455.

¹ Neque adversus venenata jacula hostis eam oppugni obiectem. Assertio septem sacramentorum adv. M. Lutherum, in prologo.

² Omnis Christi servus, omnis ætas, omnis sexus, o ordo consumatur. Ibid.

³ Et qui nocuit verbo malitie, suppliet prociit eam. Ibid.

⁴ Mirum est quanto nitu parturientem, quam nihil nisi merum ventum. Ibid.

⁵ Collier, *Ecc. Hist.* p. 17.

must be confessed that his bad, considering the author. The style is not altogether but the public of the day did themselves to paying it due just-logical treatise of the power-land was received with a tor-on. "It is the most learned ver saw," cried some.—"We are it," re-echoed others, "to Augustine. He is a Constan-magne!"—He is more," said a second Solomon!"—ties soon extended beyond the land. Henry desired John f Windsor, his ambassador at nt his book to the sovereign X. received the envoy in full d Clarke laid the royal work ring: "The king my master hat, having now refuted Lu- with the pen, he is ready to erents with the sword." Leo, his promise, replied, that the ould not have been written l of the Holy Ghost, and con- nry the title of *Defender of the* s still borne by the sovereigns

in which this volume met with fluted greatly to increase the readers. In a few months eopies issued from different e whole christian world," e was filled with admiration

agant panegyrics augmented le vanity of this chief of the himself seemed to have no : was inspired by the Holy t that time he would suffer no His papacy was no longer at Greenwich; infallibility re- shoulders: at a subsequent istributed greatly to the Re- gland.

l Henry's book with a smile lsdain, impatience, and indig- alschood and the abuse it con- ecially the air of contempt and hich the king assumed, irri- emberg doctor to the highest thought that the pope had ork, and that on all sides the Gospel were triumphing over on and the reformer as already d vanquished, increased his Besides, what reason had he

Was he not fighting in the g greater than all the kings of he meekness of the Gospel ap-

peared to him unseasonable. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. He went beyond all bounds. Persecuted, insulted, hunted down, and wounded, the furious lion turned round, and proudly roused himself to crush his enemy. The elector, Spulatin, Melanc- thion, and Bugenhagen, strove in vain to pacify him. They would have prevented his replying; but nothing could stop him. "I will not be gentle towards the king of Eng- land," said he. "I know that it is vain for me to humble myself, to give way, to en- treat, to try peaceful methods. At length I will show myself more terrible towards these furious beasts, who goad me every day with their horns. I will turn mine upon them. I will provoke Satan until he falls down life- less and exhausted.¹ If this heretic does not recant, says Henry VIII. the new Thomas, he must be burnt alive! Such are the wea- pons they are now employing against me: the fury of stupid asses and swine of the brood of Thomas Aquinas; and then the stake.² Well then, be it so! Let these hogs advance if they dare, and let them burn me! Here I am waiting for them. After my death, though my ashes should be thrown into a thousand seas, they will rise, pursue, and swallow up this abominable herd. Living, I shall be the enemy of the papacy; burnt, I shall be its destruction. Go then, swine of St. Thomas, do what seemeth good to you. You will ever find Lu- ther like a bear upon your road, and as a lion in your path. He will spring upon you whithersoever you go, and will never leave you at peace, until he has broken your iron heads, and ground your brazen foreheads into dust."

Luther first reproaches Henry VIII. with having supported his doctrines solely by the decrees and opinions of men. "As for me," says he, "I never cease crying the Gospel, the Gospel! Christ, Christ!—And my ad- versaries continue to reply: 'Custom, custom! Ordinances, ordinances! Fathers, fathers! —St. Paul says: *Let not your faith stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God* (1 Cor. ii. 5.) And the apostle by this thun- derclap from heaven overthrows and disperses all the hobgoblins of this Henry, as the wind scatters the dust. Frightened and con- founded, these Thomists, Papists, and Henrys fall prostrate before the thunder of these words."³

He then refutes the king's book in detail, and overturns his arguments one after the other, with a perspicuity, spirit, and know-

¹ *Mes in ipso exerebo cornu, irritaturus Satanam, donec effusa viribus et Jonathan corruat in se ipso.* L. Epp. ii. 22.

² *Ignis et furor in-olubilium a-linorum et Thomistico- rum porcorum.* Contra Henricum Regem, (Opp. Lat. li. cxi.) This language reminds us of the Irish Ashtator. There is, however, great force and nobility in the orator of the 16th than in him of the 12th century. See *Revue Britannique* for November 1831. *Le Règne d'Henri VIII.* "Scaped swine of civilized society," &c. p. 30.

³ *Contusit et prostravit jacens a facie verborum latius ton- truit.* Contra Henricum reg. Opp. Lat. li. cxi.

ref. of England, i. 30.
ences, liber p. 13, a multis chalcographis
dilectus. Cœdorus, p. 4.

n christianum et gaudet admiratione
it to fancy it was written with some de-
Buruet, Preface.

ledge of the Holy Scriptures and history of the Church, but also with an assurance, disdain, and sometimes violence, that ought not to surprise us.

Having reached the end of his confutation, Luther again becomes indignant that his opponent should derive his arguments from the Fathers only: this was the basis of the whole controversy. "To all the words of the Fathers and of men, of angels and of devils," said he, "I oppose, not old customs, not the multitude of men, but the Word of the Eternal Majesty,—the Gospel, which even my adversaries are obliged to recognise. To this I hold fast, on this I repose, in this I boast, in this I exult and triumph over the papists, the Thomists, the Henrys, the sophists, and all the swine of hell.¹ The King of heaven is with me; for this reason I fear nothing, although a thousand Augustines, a thousand Cyprians, and a thousand of these churches which Henry defends, should rise up against me. It is a small matter that I should despise and revile a king of the earth, since he himself does not fear in his writings to blaspheme the King of heaven, and to profane His holy name by the most impudent falsehoods."²

"Papists!" exclaimed he in conclusion, "will ye never cease from your idle attacks? Do what you please. Nevertheless, before that Gospel which I preach down must come popes, bishops, priests, monks, princes, devils, death, sin, and all that is not Christ or in Christ."³

Thus spoke the poor monk. His violence certainly cannot be excused, if we judge it by the rule to which he himself appealed,—by the Word of God. It cannot even be justified by alleging either the grossness of the age (for Melancthon knew how to observe decorum in his writings), or the energy of his character, for if this energy had any influence over his language, passion also exerted more. It is better, then, that we should condemn it. And yet it is but right to observe that in the sixteenth century this violence did not appear so strange as it would in our days. The learned were then an estate, as well as the princes. By becoming a writer, Henry had attacked Luther. Luther replied according to an established law in the republic of letters, that we must consider the truth of what is said, and not the quality of him that says it. Let us add also, that when this same king turned against the pope, the abuse which the Romish writers and the pope himself poured upon him, far exceeded all that Luther had ever said.

Besides, if Luther called Dr. Eck an ass and Henry VIII. a hog, he indignantly rejected the intervention of the secular arm; while Eck was writing a dissertation to

prove that heretics ought to be burnt. Henry was erecting scaffolds that conform with the precepts of the council of Ingolstadt.

Great was the emotion at the king of Surrey, Wolsey, and the crowd of courtiers, who put a stop to the festivities and pageants at Greenwich to vent their indignation and sarcasm. The venerable Bishop of Winchester, who had been delighted to see the young prince, formerly confided to breaking a lance in defence of the pope, was deeply wounded by the attack of the monk. He replied to it in immediate words distinctly characterizing the pope and the Church. "Take us the foxes, the foxes, that spoil the vines, says Christ in the Song of Songs. This teaches us Fisher, 'that we must take the head before they grow big. Now Luther is a big fox, so old, so cunning, and so he is very difficult to catch. What is he? a fox? He is a mad dog, a wolf, a cruel bear; or rather all these animals in one; for the monster includes beasts within him.'"⁴

Sir Thomas More also descended from his arena to contend with the monk of Wittenberg. Although a layman, his zeal for the Reformation amounted to fanaticism; he did not even urge him to shed blood. He urged the nobles to undertake the defence of the papacy, their violence often exceeding that of the ecclesiastics. "Reverend father, father, tippler, Luther, runaway monk of St. Augustine, mis-shapen body of either faculty, unlearned doctor of logic."⁵ Such is the language addressed by the reformer by one of the most illustrious men of his age. He then proceeds to show in what manner Luther had composed his book against Henry VIII.: "He composed it with his companions together, and desired each his own way and picked up scraps of abuse and scurrility. One frequented public carriages and boats; another frequented gambling-houses; a third the taverns and barbers' shops; a fourth the brothels. They noted down in their books all the most insolent, filthy, and things they heard; and bringing by these abominations and impurities, discharged all into that filthy kennel which Luther's mind. If he retracts his facts and calumnies," continues More, "let us aside his folly and his madness, if he lowers his own filth;.....he will find we will seriously discuss with him. I proceed as he has begun, joking, fooling, calumniating, vomiting scurrilous pools;.....let others do what they

¹ Hic sto, hic sedeo, hic maneo, hic glorio, hic triumpho, hic insulto papistis....Opp. Lat. ii. 342.

² Nec magnum al ego regem terra contemno. Ibid. 344, verso.

³ L. Opp. Leipzig. xviii. 208.

⁴ Canem dixisse rabidum, imo lupum, aut asinus quam undam ursam. Cochleus, &c.

⁵ Reverendus frater, pater, potator, Luther.

⁶¹ Si....sua resorbeat et sua relingat sterco.

⁶² Sentinas, cloacas, latrinas,.....stercora. It

I should prefer leaving the little own fury and filth."¹ More would better to have restrained his own. Her degraded his style to so low a level made no reply.

Henry VIII. still further increased Henry's to More. He would often visit a humble dwelling at Chelsea. The king, leaning on his favourite, would walk in the garden, with More and her children, around a window, could not turn away his eyes. After one of these visits, who knew his man well, said: "If my head could win him a battle in France, he would not hesitate to do so."

More, thus defended by the Bishop of Exeter and by his future chancellor, had to resume his pen. Confronted at himself treated in the face of Europe as a writer, Henry VIII. abandoned his position he had taken, and away the pen of the theologian, to the more effectual means of

an ambassador was despatched from the Tower of London with a letter for the electors of Saxony. "Luther, the real son from heaven," wrote he, "is at his floods of venom upon the earth, stirring up revolts in the name of Jesus Christ, abolishing laws, invading powers that be, inflaming the state priests, laymen and priests, pope, and subjects against their king, and he desires nothing better than Christians fighting and destroying each other, and the enemies of our faith in a scene of carnage with a fright-

ful doctrine which he calls heresy, if it be not Wickliffe's? Now, my lords and uncles, I know what you have done to destroy it. In Bohemia, hunted it down like a wild beast, and put it into a pit, they shut it up and covered it. You will not allow it to escape your negligence, lest, creeping into the land, it become master of the whole country, its smoking nostrils should kindle the flames of hell, spreading that on far and wide which your nation has wished to extinguish in its

own reason, most worthy princes, I beg to exhort you and even to entreat in the name of all that is most

sacred, promptly to extinguish the cursed sect of Luther: put no one to death, if that can be avoided; but if this heretical obstinacy continues, then shed blood without hesitation, in order that the abominable heresy may disappear from under heaven."²

The elector and his brother referred the king to the approaching council. Thus Henry VIII. was far from attaining his end. "No great name mixed up in the dispute," said Paul Sarpi, "served to render it more curious, and to conciliate general favour towards Luther, as usually happens in combats and tournaments, where the spectators have always a leaning towards the weaker party, and take delight in exaggerating the merit of his actions."³

CHAPTER XI.

General Movement—The Monks—How the Reformation was carried on—Unlearned Believer—The Old and the New Doctors—Printing and Literature—Bookselling and Colportage.

A GREAT movement was going on. The Reformation, which, after the Diet of Worms, had been thought to be confined with its first teacher in the narrow chamber of a strong castle, was breaking forth in every part of the empire, and, so to speak, throughout Christendom. The two classes, hitherto mixed up together, were now beginning to separate; and the partisans of a monk, whose only defence was his tongue, now took their stand fearlessly in the face of the servants of Charles V. and Leo X. Luther had scarcely left the walls of the Wartburg, the pope had excommunicated all his adherents, the imperial diet had just condemned his doctrine, the princes were endeavouring to crush it in most of the German states, the ministers of Rome were lowering it in the eyes of the people by their violent invectives, and the other states of Christendom were calling upon Germany to sacrifice a man whose assaults they feared even at a distance; and yet this new sect, few in numbers, and among whose members there was no organization, no bond of union, nothing in short that concentrated their common power, was already frightening the vast, ancient, and powerful sovereignty of Rome by the energy of its faith and the rapidity of its conquests. On all sides, as in the first warm days of spring, the seed was bursting from the earth spontaneously and without effort. Every day showed some new progress. Individuals, villages, towns, whole cities, joined in this new confession of the name of Jesus Christ. There was unquench-

¹ At stereocoribus... relinquere. Cochleus, p. 1. is delighted at quoting these passages according to his taste are the finest parts in M. Nisard, on the contrary, confesses in his work, whom he defends with great warmth and in this writing "the impurities dictated by the Catholic are such that all attempt at impossible." *Revue des deux Mondes*, v. 502. ² Er, gleich wie eine Schlange vom Himmel. *Opp.* xviii. 212. The original is in Latin: *Idcirco ut serpens, virus effundit in terras.* ³ Kein schädlich Anblasen des höllischen Feuer. *Id.* 213.

¹ Oder aber auch mit Blut vergossen. *L. Opp.* xviii. 228. ² Hist. Council of Trent, pp. 15, 16.

opposition, there were terrible persecutions, but the mysterious power that urged all these people onward was irresistible; and the persecuted, quickening their steps, going forward through exile, imprisonment, and the burning pile, every where prevailed over their persecutors.

The monastic orders that Rome had spread over Christendom, like a net intended to catch souls and keep them prisoners, were the first to break their bonds, and rapidly to propagate the new doctrine throughout the Church. The Augustines of Saxony had walked with Luther, and felt that inward experience of the Holy Word which, by putting them in possession of God himself, dethroned Rome and her lofty assumptions. But in the other convents of the order, evangelical light had dawned in like manner. Sometimes they were old men, who, like Staupitz, had preserved the sound doctrines of truth in the midst of deluded Christendom, and who now besought God to permit them to depart in peace, for their eyes had seen his salvation. At other times, they were young men, who had received Luther's teaching with the eagerness peculiar to their age. The Augustine convents at Nuremberg, Osnabruck, Dillingen, Ratisbon, Strasburg, and Antwerp, with those in Hesse and Wurtemberg, turned towards Jesus Christ, and by their courage excited the wrath of Rome.

But this movement was not confined to the Augustines only. High-spirited men imitated them in the monasteries of other orders, and notwithstanding the clamours of the monks, who would not abandon their carnal observances, notwithstanding the anger, contempt, sentences, discipline, and imprisonments of the cloister, they fearlessly raised their voices in behalf of that holy and precious truth, which they had found at last after so many painful inquiries, such despair and doubt, and such inward struggle. In the majority of the cloisters, the most spiritual, pious, and learned monks declared for the Reformation. In the Franciscan convent at Ulm, Eberlin and Kettenbach attacked the slavish works of monasticism, and the superstitious observances of the Church, with an eloquence capable of moving the whole nation; and they called for the immediate abolition of the monasteries and houses of ill-fame. Another Franciscan, Stephen Kempe, preached the Gospel at Hamburg, and, alone, presented a firm front to the hatred, envy, menaces, snares, and attacks of the priests, who were irritated at seeing the crowd abandon their altars, and flock with enthusiasm to hear his sermons.¹

Frequently the superiors of the convents were the first led away in the path of reform. At Halberstadt, Neuenwerk, Halle, and Sagan, the priors set the example to their monks, or at least declared that if a monk

felt his conscience burdened by that of monastic vows, far from detaining the convent, they would take his shoulders and thrust him out of do

Indeed throughout all Germany were seen laying down their fowls at the gates of the monasteries were expelled by the violence of thren or the abbots; others, of pacific character, could no longer continual disputes, abuse, clam hatred which pursued them even slumbers; the majority were convicted the monastic life was opposed to God and to a christian life; some h at this conviction by degrees; a suddenly, by reading a passage in The sloth, grossness, ignorance, a dation that constituted the very the mendicant orders, inspired v scribable disgust all men of elevat who could no longer support the their vulgar associates. One day, can going his rounds, stopped with in his hand begging alms at a bla forge in Nuremberg: "Why," said t "do you not gain your bread by th your own hands?" At these v sturdy monk throw away his staff, ing the hammer plied it vigorous anvil. The useless mendicant ha an honest workman. His box a were sent back to the monastery.²

The monks were not the only per rallied round the standard of the priests in still greater numbers preach the new doctrines. But were not required for its propagi frequently acted on men's minds, an them from their deep slumber wit one having spoken.

Luther's writings were read i towns, and even villages; at night b side the schoolmaster would often r aloud to an attentive audience. So hearers were affected by their perus would take up the Scriptures to elc their doubts, and were struck with at the astonishing contrast betw Christianity of the Bible and th After oscillating between Rome ar ture, they soon took refuge with th Word which shed so new and awe ance on their hearts. While they this state, some evangelical preac bably a priest or a monk, woul Speaking eloquently and with con he announced that Christ had n atonement for the sins of his people monstated by Holy Scripture the works and human penances. A t position would then break out; th and sometimes the magistrates, wor

¹ Der übrigen Prediger Feindschaft, Feid, Kachstellan- gen, Fräicken, und Schrecken. Beckendorf, p. 166.

² Seckendorff, p. 511, Stentzel, Script. Ber. 81

³ Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte, II. 70.

⁴ Equae omnia prompte, alacriter, eloquenter. p. 52.

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Christians were denominated the *Line-tree Brethren*.

While the priests were exhibiting their sordid covetousness before the eyes of the people, the new preachers said to them, "Freely we have received, freely do we give."¹ The idea often expressed by the new preachers from the pulpit, that Rome had formerly sent the Germans a corrupted Gospel, so that now for the first time Germany heard the Word of Christ in its heavenly and primal beauty, produced a deep impression on men's minds.² And the noble thought of the equality of all men, of a universal brotherhood in Jesus Christ, laid strong hold upon those souls which for so long a period had groaned beneath the yoke of feudalism and of the papacy of the Middle Ages.³

Often would unlearned Christians, with the New Testament in their hands, undertake to justify the doctrine of the Reformation. The catholics who remained faithful to Rome withdrew in affright; for to priests and monks alone had been assigned the task of studying sacred literature. The latter were therefore compelled to come forward; the conference began; but ere long, overwhelmed by the declarations of Holy Scripture cited by these laymen, the priests and monks knew not how to reply.⁴ "Unhappily," says Cochleus, "Luther had persuaded his followers to put no faith in any other oracle than the Holy Scriptures." A shout was raised in the assembly, denouncing the scandalous ignorance of these old theologians, who had hitherto been reputed such great scholars by their own party.⁵

Men of the lowest station, and even the weaker sex, with the aid of God's Word, persuaded and led away men's hearts. Extraordinary works are the result of extraordinary times. At Ingolstadt, under the eyes of Dr. Eck, a young weaver read Luther's works to the assembled crowd. In this very city, the university having resolved to compel a disciple of Melancthon to retract, a woman, named Argula de Staufen, undertook his defence, and challenged the doctors to a public disputation. Women and children, artisans and soldiers, knew more of the Bible than the doctors of the schools or the priests of the altars.

Christendom was divided into two hostile bodies, and their aspects were strikingly contrasted. Opposed to the old champions of the hierarchy, who had neglected the study of languages and the cultivation of literature (as one of their own body informs us), were generous-minded youths, devoted to study, investigating Scripture, and familiarizing themselves with the masterpieces of anti-

1 *adhibere catholici concionatores.* Cochleus, p. 52.
 2 *nam redacti inopiam, aliunde sibi victum qua-*
sant. Ibid. p. 53.
 3 *haudibus nostris predicatoribus qui sequebamur*
poeti Evangelii sui dicebant. Ibid.
 4 *missa re domestica, in speciem veri Evangelii,*
amicos relinquebant. Ibid.
 5 *aliquos nati fuissent amicos in ea civitate....*

1 *Mira eis erat liberalitas.* Cochleus, p. 53.
 2 *Fam uaque diem nunquam Germane predicant.* Ibid.
 3 *omnes equales et fratres in Christo.* Ibid.
 4 *A laici Lutherani, plures Scripturam locos, quam a*
monachis et presbyteris. Ibid. p. 54.
 5 *Reputabantur catholici ab illis ignari Scripturarum.*
 Ibid.

quity.¹ Possessing an active mind, an elevated soul, and intrepid heart, these young men soon acquired such knowledge, that for a long period none could compete with them. It was not only the vitality of their faith which rendered them superior to their contemporaries, but an elegance of style, a perfume of antiquity, a sound philosophy, a knowledge of the world, completely foreign to the theologians "of the old leaven," as Cochleus himself terms them.² Accordingly, when these youthful defenders of the Reformation met the Romish doctors in any assembly, they attacked them with such ease and confidence, that these ignorant men hesitated, became embarrassed, and fell into a contempt merited in the eyes of all.

The ancient edifice was crumbling under the load of superstition and ignorance; the new one was rising on the foundations of faith and learning. New elements entered deep into the lives of the people. Torpor and dulness were in all parts succeeded by a spirit of inquiry and a thirst for instruction. An active, enlightened, and living faith took the place of superstitious devotion and ascetic meditations. Works of piety succeeded bigoted observances and penances. The pulpit prevailed over the ceremonies of the altar; and the ancient and sovereign authority of God's Word was at length restored in the Church.

The printing-press, that powerful machine discovered in the fifteenth century, came to the support of all these exertions, and its terrible missiles were continually battering the walls of the enemy.

The impulse which the Reformation gave to popular literature in Germany was immense. Whilst in the year 1513 only thirty-five publications had appeared, and thirty-seven in 1517, the number of books increased with astonishing rapidity after the appearance of Luther's theses. In 1518 we find seventy-one different works; in 1519, one hundred and eleven; in 1520, two hundred and eight; in 1521, two hundred and eleven; in 1522, three hundred and forty-seven; and in 1523, four hundred and ninety-eight..... And where were all these published? For the most part at Wittemberg. And who were their authors? Generally Luther and his friends. In 1522 one hundred and thirty of the reformer's writings were published; and in the year following, one hundred and eighty-three. In this same year only twenty Roman-catholic publications appeared.³ The literature of Germany thus saw the light in the midst of struggles, contemporaneously with her religion. Already it appeared, as later times have seen it, learned, profound, full of boldness and activity. The national

spirit showed itself for the first time alloy, and at the very moment of received the baptism of fire from enthusiasm.

What Luther and his friends and others circulated. Monks, convinced unlawfulness of monastic obligation desirous of exchanging a long life fullness for one of active exertion, ignorant to proclaim the Word of welled through the provinces, visit lets and cottages, where they sold t of Luther and his friends. Germs swarmed with these bold colporteurs and booksellers eagerly welcom writing in defence of the Reformat they rejected the books of the opposi as generally full of ignorance and ba If any one of them ventured to sel in favour of the papacy, and offer sale in the fairs at Frankfort or el merchants, purchasers, and men o overwhelmed him with ridicule and s It was in vain that the emperor and had published severe edicts against ings of the reformers. As soon as a sitorial visit was to be paid, the deal had received secret intimation, conc books that it was intended to prosce the multitude, ever eager for what bited, immediately bought them up; them with the greater avidity. It only in Germany that such scen passing; Luther's writings were tr into French, Spanish, English, and and circulated among these nations.

CHAPTER XII.

Luther at Ewikan—The Castle of Freyberg—Frankfort—Universal Movement—Wittemberg of the Reformation—Luther's Sentiments.

If the most puny instruments inflict terrible blows on Rome, what was the voice of the monk of Wittemb heard? Shortly after the discomfitu new prophets, Luther, in a layman traversed the territories of Duke Ge waggon. His gown was hidden, reformer seemed to be a plain coun tleman. If he had been recognis had fallen into the hands of the exa duke, perhaps his fate would ha sealed. He was going to preach at 2

¹ Apostatarum, monasteriis relicta, infinitu numerus, in speciem bibliopolarum. Cochleus.

² We have ventured to employ the words *colportage* to express the title and trade of these booksellers. Besides the inadequacy of our English, these words appear to be making their vocabulary. (Translator.)

³ Catholicorum, velut indocta et veteris barba scripta, contemnebant. Cochleus, p. 54.

⁴ In publicis mercatibus Francofordiæ et alibi tar so ridebantur. Ibid.

¹ Totam vero juventutem, eloquentie litteris, linguarumque studio didicim....in partem suam traxit. Cochleus, p. 54.

² Veteris barba.

³ Panzer's Annalen der Deutsch. Litt.; Ranke's Deutsch. Gesch. II. 77.

place of the pretended prophets. It was known at Schneeberg, Anna, the surrounding places, than the crowd around him. Fourteen thousands flocked into the city, and as no church that could contain such Luther went into the balcony of hall, and preached before an audience of twenty-five thousand persons who the market-place, some of whom stood on heaps of cut stones piled up building.¹ The servant of God was with fervour on the election of grace, loudly cries were heard from the audience. An old woman of Witten, who had taken her station on stones, stretched out her emaciated hand as though she would reach her fleshless hands the crowd that it to fall prostrate at the feet of Her wild yells interrupted the "It was the devil," said Seckenberg who had taken the form of an old man in order to excite a disturbance."² All in vain; the reformer's words he wicked spirit, enthusiasm seized among thousands; glances of admiration exchanged; hands were warmly and ere long the monks, confounded to avert the storm, found it necessary to leave Zwickau.

castle of Freyberg dwelt Henry, Duke George. His wife, a princess of Mecklenburg, had the preceding year a son who had been named Maurice with a fondness for the table and for Duke Henry combined the rude-coarse manners of a soldier. In respects, he was pious after the fashion of the times, had gone to the Holy Land, and pilgrimage to St. Iago of Compostela would often say: "At Compostela a hundred golden florins on the of the saint, and said to him: O to please thee I came hither; I have a present of this money; but if the monks (the priests) take it from cannot help it; so be on your

ciscan and a Dominican, both disciples of Luther, had been for some time; the Gospel at Freyberg. The whose piety had inspired her with a heresy, listened to their sermons in content to find that this gentle messenger of the Saviour was the object she had ght to fear. Gradually her eyes opened, and she found peace in Christ. No sooner had Duke George learnt the Gospel was preached at Freyberg, he treated his brother to oppose these. Chancellor Strehlin and the seconded his prayer with their fan-

aticism. A violent explosion took place in the court of Freyberg. Duke Henry harshly reprimanded and reproached his wife, and more than once the pious duchess watered her child's cradle with her tears. Yet by degrees her prayers and gentleness won the heart of her husband; the rough man was softened; harmony was restored between the married pair, and they were enabled to join in prayer beside their sleeping babe. Great destinies were hovering over that child; and from that cradle, where a christian mother had so often poured forth her sorrows, God was one day to bring forth the liberator of the Reformation.

Luther's intrepidity had excited the inhabitants of Worms. The imperial decree terrified the magistrates; all the churches were closed; but in a public place, filled by an immense crowd, a preacher ascended a rudely constructed pulpit, and proclaimed the Gospel with persuasive accents. If the authorities showed a disposition to interfere, the hearers dispersed in a moment, and stealthily carried away the pulpit; but the storm was no sooner passed, than it was immediately set up in some more secluded spot, to which the crowd again flocked to hear the Word of Christ. This temporary pulpit was every day carried from one place to another, and served to encourage the people, who were still agitated by the emotions of the great drama lately performed in their city.¹

At Frankfurt on the Maine, one of the principal free cities of the empire, all was in commotion. A courageous evangelist, Ibach, preached salvation by Jesus Christ. The clergy, among whom was Cochleus, so notorious by his writings and his opposition, were irritated against this audacious colleague, and denounced him to the Archbishop of Mentz. The council undertook his defence, although with timidity, but to no purpose, for the clergy discharged the evangelical minister, and compelled him to leave the town. Rome triumphed; every thing seemed lost; the poor believers fancied themselves for ever deprived of the Word; but at the very moment when the citizens appeared inclined to yield to these tyrannical priests, many nobles declared for the Gospel. Max of Molnheim, Harnuth of Cronberg, George of Stockheim, and Emeric of Reiffenstein, whose estates lay near Frankfurt, wrote to the council: "We are constrained to rise up against these spiritual wolves." And addressing the clergy, they said: "Embrace the evangelical doctrine, recall Ibach, or else we will refuse to pay our tithes!"

The people, who listened gladly to the Reformation, being encouraged by the language of the nobles, began to put themselves in motion; and one day, just as Peter Mayer, the persecutor of Ibach and the most determined enemy of the reform, was going to

¹ Rathhaus unter einem Zulauf von 25,000 Menschen, p. 628.

² Indem er sich in Gestalt eines alten Weibes.

³ Sie die Dämonen nahmen....Ibid. p. 430.

¹ So Hessen sie eine Canzel machen, die man von einem Ort zum andern....Seck. p. 634.

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

preach against the heretics, a great uproar was heard. Mayer was alarmed, and hastily quitted the church. This movement decided the council. All the preachers were enjoined by proclamation to preach the pure Word of God, or to leave the city.

The light which proceeded from Wittenberg, as from the heart of the nation, was thus shedding its rays through the whole empire. In the west,—Berg, Cleves, Lippstadt, Munster, Wesel, Miltenberg, Meutz, Deux Ponts, and Strasburg, listened to the Gospel; on the south,—Hoff, Schlessstadt, Bamberg, Esslingen, Halle in Swabia, Heilbrunn, Augsburg, Ulm, and many other places, received it with joy. In the east,—Pomerania, Prussia, and the duchy of Liegnitz, opened their gates to it; and in the north,—Brunswick, Halberstadt, Gosslar, Zell, Friesland, Bremen, Hamburg, Holstein, and even Denmark, with other neighbouring countries, were moved at the sounds of this new doctrine.

The Elector Frederick had declared that he would allow the bishops to preach freely in his states, but that he would deliver no one into their hands. Accordingly, the evangelical teachers, persecuted in other countries, soon took refuge in Saxony. Ibach of Frankfort, Eberlin of Ulm, Kauxdorf of Magdeburg, Valentine Musteus, whom the canons of Halberstadt had horribly mutilated,¹ and other faithful ministers, coming from all parts of Germany, fled to Wittenberg, as the only asylum in which they could be secure. Here they conversed with the reformers; at their feet they strengthened themselves in the faith; and communicated to them their own experience and the knowledge they had acquired. It is thus the waters of the rivers return by the clouds from the vast expanse of the ocean, to feed the glaciers whence they first descended to the plains.

The work which was evolving at Wittenberg, and formed in this manner of many different elements, became more and more the work of the nation, of Europe, and of Christendom. This school, founded by Frederick, and quickened by Luther, was the centre of an immense revolution which regenerated the Church, and impressed on it a real and living unity far superior to the apparent unity of Rome. The Bible reigned at Wittenberg, and its oracles were heard on all sides. This academy, the most recent of all, had acquired that rank and influence in Christendom which had hitherto belonged to the ancient university of Paris. The crowds that flocked thither from every part of Europe made known the wants of the Church and of the nations; and as they quitted these walls, now become holy to them, they

carried back with them to tell the people the Word of Grace and to save the nations.

Luther, as he witnessed this, his confidence increased. He feeble undertaking, begun in so many fears and struggles, looked on the christian world, and was pleased at the result. He had found of the kind, when first he wrote the Tetzel. Prostrate before the adored, he confessed the weakness and exulted in the assurance that could not be torn from enemies threaten us with death. Harmuth of Cronberg; "if the wisdom as foolishness, they contrary, threaten us with absurdity and insult to presume death to Christ and Christians, selves lords and conquerors of It is as if I would seek to frighten saddling his horse and helping. Do they not know that Christ the dead? In their eyes he is the sepulchre; nay more—in know that He lives." He wrote the thought that he was really author of a work, in whose name he beheld the hand of God. "because of me," said he. "But truly believe, who would even should they hear (which that I had denied Jesus Christ believe not in Luther, Christ. As for myself, I do Luther." Whether he is a saint what matters it? It is not he but Christ. If the devil can him do so! But let Christ and we shall abide also."

And vainly, indeed, would men to explain this great movement human circumstances. Men true, sharpened their wits at their keen-pointed arrows against the monks; the shout of Germany had so often raised tyranny of the Italians, again the castles and provinces; they delighted with the song of "the of Wittenberg," a herald of time was every where bursting forth not a mere outward movement that effected by a longing for what was then accomplishing. assert that the Reformation about by bribing the princes of the convents,—the priests who to marry,—and the people with of freedom, are strangely miniature. No doubt a useful use the funds that had hitherto been sloth of the monks; no doubt

¹ Aliquot ministri canoniorum, captant D. Valentini Mustei et vinculum manibus pedibusque, injecto in eius os freno, deferunt per trabes in inferiores cenobii partes, ubique in cella corvularia eum coarctant. Hamelmann, *Historia renae* Ervange. II. p. 260.

¹ Herren und Selgmänner des Todes. 1

² Ich kenne auch selbst nicht den Luth

³ Wittenberger Nachtigall, a poem by

gifts that proceed direct from God, we favoured the development of the one; but the mainspring was not an interior revolution was then going depths of the human heart. Christianity again learning to love, to pardon, to suffer, and even to die for a truth and no repose save in heaven. The religion was passing through a state of transition. Christianity was bursting the shell which it had been so long confined,

and returning in life and vigour into a world that had forgotten its ancient power. The hand that made the world was turned towards it again; and the Gospel, reappearing in the midst of the nations, accelerated its course, notwithstanding the violent and repeated efforts of priests and kings; like the ocean which, when the hand of God presses on its surface, rises calm and majestic along its shores, so that no human power is able to resist its progress.

BOOK X.

AGITATION, REVERSES, AND PROGRESS. 1522—1526.

CHAPTER I.

Went—Want of Enthusiasm at Rome—Siege of—Courage of Ignatius—Transition—Luther—Visions—Two Principles.

Reformation, which at first had existed only in the hearts of a few pious men, had entered the life of the Church; and that it would take a new step, and enter into civil relationships and the world. Its progress was always from the interior to the exterior. We are about to witness a great revolution taking possession of the civil life of the world.

In the last centuries past, Europe had been a vast sacerdotal state. Emperors had been under the patronage of the Church; whenever any energetic resistance offered to her audacious pretensions, particularly in Germany and France, she eventually prevailed, and princes, by the force of her terrible decrees, had been fighting to secure her dominion over her disobedient believers obedient to their profusely shedding in her behalf of their people's children.

But such a state could be inflicted on this vast sacerdotal state, of which the pope was without affecting the political re-

cent ideas then agitated Germany. On the one hand, a desire for a revival of religion; on the other, a longing for a new government, in which the German people might be represented, and thus serve to disperse the power of the em-

peror Frederick had insisted on this at the election of Maximilian's; and the youthful Charles had

submitted. A national government had been framed in consequence, consisting of the imperial governor and representatives of the electors and circles.

Thus Luther reformed the Church, and Frederick of Saxony reformed the State.

But while, simultaneously with the religious reform, important political modifications were introduced by the leaders of the nation, it was to be feared that the commonwealth would also put itself in motion, and by its excesses, both in politics and religion, compromise both reforms.

This violent and fanatical intrusion of the people and of certain ringleaders, which seems inevitable where society is shaken and in a state of transition, did not fail to take place in Germany at the period of which we are now treating.

There were other circumstances also that contributed to give rise to such disorders.

The emperor and the pope had combined against the Reformation, and it seemed on the point of falling beneath the blows of two such powerful enemies. Policy, ambition, and interest compelled Charles V. and Leo X. to attempt its destruction. But these are poor champions to contend against the truth. Devotedness to a cause which is looked upon as sacred can only be conquered by a similar devotedness. But the Romans, yielding to the impulses of a Leo X., were enthusiastic about a sonnet or a melody, but insensible to the religion of Jesus Christ; and if any less futile thought came across their minds, instead of purifying and tempering their hearts anew in the Christianity of the apostles, they were busy with alliances, wars, conquests, and treaties, which gained new provinces, and with cold disdain left the Reformation to awaken on all sides a religious enthusiasm, and to march triumphantly

to more noble conquests. The enemy that had been doomed to destruction in the cathedral of Worms, reappeared full of confidence and strength; the contest must be severe; and blood must flow.

Yet some of the most imminent dangers that threatened the Reformation seemed at this time to be disappearing. It is true that shortly before the publication of the edict of Worms, the youthful Charles, standing one day at a window of his palace with his confessor, had said, laying his hand on his heart: "I swear to hang up at this very window the first man who shall declare himself a Lutheran after the publication of my edict."¹ But it was not long before his zeal abated considerably. His project for reviving the ancient glory of the holy empire, that is to say, of increasing his own power, had been coldly received.² Dissatisfied with Germany, he left the banks of the Rhine, repaired to the Netherlands, and availed himself of his residence there to afford the monks those gratifications that he found himself unable to give them in the empire. At Ghent Luther's works were burnt by the hangman with all possible solemnity. More than fifty thousand spectators were present at this auto-da-fé, the emperor himself looking on with an approving smile.³ He thence proceeded to Spain, where wars and internal dissensions compelled him, for a time at least, to leave Germany at peace. Since he has been refused in the empire the power to which he lays claim, others if they pleased, might hunt down the heretic of Wittenberg. More anxious thoughts engrossed his attention.

In effect, Francis I., impatient to try his strength with his rival, had thrown down the gauntlet. Under the pretence of restoring the children of Jean d'Albret, king of Navarre, to their patrimony, he had commenced a bloody struggle, destined to last all his life, by sending into that kingdom an army under the command of Lesparre, whose rapid conquests were only stopped before the fortress of Pampeluna.

On these strong walls was to be kindled an enthusiasm destined afterwards to oppose the enthusiasm of the reformer, and to breathe into the papacy a new spirit of energy, devotedness, and control. Pampeluna was destined to be the cradle, as it were, of the rival of the Wittenberg monk.

The chivalrous spirit that had so long animated the christian world survived in Spain alone. The wars against the Moors, scarcely terminated in the Peninsula, and continually breaking out in Africa, with distant and

venturous expeditions beyond the tattered in the Castilian youths that en and unaffected valour of which Amas the ideal model.

Among the defenders of Pampeluna young gentleman, Inigo Lopez of the youngest of a family of thirteen Recalda, better known as Ignatius had been brought up in the court and the Catholic. He was graceful son,¹ expert in handling the sword lance, and ardent in the pursuit of renown. To array himself in glitter to ride a noble steed,² to expose himself to the brilliant dangers of the tournaments engage in hazardous exploits, to shew unvenomed struggles of faction,³ a play as much devotion for Saint Peter his lady-love—such was the life of the chevalier.

The governor of Navarre, having Spain to procure succours, had le fence of Pampeluna to Inigo an nobles. The latter, perceiving the strength of the French troops, resolved to Inigo conjured them to make a stand Lesparre, but finding them resolute intention, he looked at them with tion, accused them of cowardice and then flung himself alone into the determined to hold it at the peril of

The French, who were enthusiastically received into Pampeluna, having as the commander of the fortress to a "Let us suffer every thing," said petuously to his companions, "rat surrender."⁴ Upon this the French to batter the walls with their powder, and soon attempted an assault go's courage and exhortations inspired Spaniards, who repelled the assault arrows, swords, and battle-axes. In at their head: standing on the ramp eyes glistening with rage, the youthful brandished his sword, and he fell beneath his blows. Suddenly struck the wall close by him; a from the stone wounded him severe right leg, and the ball recoiling with force of the blow, broke his left leg fell senseless.⁵ The garrison surrendered immediately; and the French, with courage of their youthful opponent, conveyed in a litter to his parent castle of Loyola. In this lonely from which he afterwards derived Inigo had been born, eight years later, of one of the most illustrious of that district.

¹ Cum esset in corporis ornatu elegantissimi Vita Loyola. 1596. p. 3.

² Equorumque et armorum usu præcelleret.

³ Partim in factionum risarumque periculis amatoria versans... tempus consumeret. Ibid.

⁴ Arduntibus oculis, detestatus Ignatium spectantibus omnibus, in aciem solus introit.

⁵ Tam acriter ac vehementer oratione commilito sit. Ibid.

⁶ Ut vestigio somniantis alienata mente cor

¹ Sancte Juro... eum ex hac fenestra meo jussu suspensum fuit. Pallav. 1. 130.

² Essendo tornato dalla Dieta che sua Maestà haveva fatta in Wormatia, escluso d'ogni conclusion buona d'aiuti e di favori che si fosse proposto d'ottenere in essa. Instructione to Cardinal Farnese. MS. in the Corsini library, published by Bask.

³ Ipso Cesare, ore subridenti, spectaculo plausit. Pallav. 1. 130.

ul operation had become necessary. e most acute sufferings, Inigo nched his hands, but did not utter roan.¹

d to a wearisome inactivity, he cessary to employ his active imagi- In the absence of the romances of which had hitherto been his only od, he took up the life of Jesus d the legends or *Flowers of the* This kind of reading, in his state of nd sickness, produced an extraordi- ession on his mind. The noisy nnaments and battles, which had xclusively occupied his thoughts, to recede, to fade and vanish from and at the same time a more glo- er seemed opening before his asto- es. The humble actions of the d their heroic sufferings appeared orthy of praise than all the high ms and chivalry. Stretched upon prey to fever, he indulged in the icting thoughts. The world that orsaking, the world whose holy ions lay before him, appeared to e one with its pleasures, the other usterities; and these two antago- ended in deadly struggle within u. "What if I were to act like St. r St. Dominick?" said he.² Then e of the lady to whom he had is heart rose before him: "She is ntess," exclaimed he with artless or a duchess; but her condition is ier than either."³ Such thoughts illed him with distress and *ennui*, plan of imitating the saints in- with peace and joy.

his period his choice was made. us his health was restored, he de- to bid adieu to the world. After ke Luther, partaken of one more h his old companions in arms, he alone, in great secrecy,⁴ for the wellings that the hermits of St. ad hewn out of the rocks of Mont- mpelled not by a sense of sin or his ivine grace, but by a desire to be- knight of the Virgin," and of ob- nown by mortifications and pious er the example of the whole army he confessed for three days to- ve his rich attire to a beggar, put th, and girt himself with a rope.⁵ nembering the celebrated armed Amadis of Gaul, he suspended his ore an image of Mary, passed the

night in watching in his new and strange costume, and sometimes on his knees, some- times upright, but always in prayer and with the pilgrim's staff in his hand, he repeated all the devout practices that the illustrious Amadis had observed before him. "It was thus," says his biographer, the Jesuit Maffei, "that while Satan was arming Luther against all laws human and divine, and while that infamous heresiarch was appearing at Worms, and impiously declaring war against the apostolic see, Christ, by a call of his heavenly providence, was awakening this new champion, and binding him, and those who were to follow in his steps, to the service of the Roman pontiff, and setting him up to oppose the licentiousness and fury of heretical depravity."¹

Loyola, although still lame in one of his legs, dragged himself by winding and lonely paths to Manresa, where he entered a Dominican convent, in order to devote himself in this secluded spot to the severest mortifications. Like Luther, he daily begged his bread from door to door.² He passed seven hours upon his knees, and scourged himself three times a-day; at midnight he rose to pray; he allowed his hair and nails to grow, and in the thin pale face of the monk of Manresa it would have been impossible to recognise the young and brilliant knight of Pampeluna.

Yet the hour had come when religious ideas, which hitherto had been to Inigo a mere chivalrous amusement, were to be evolved in him with greater depth, and make him sensible of a power to which he was as yet a stranger. Suddenly, without any thing to give him warning, the joy he had felt disappeared.³ In vain he had recourse to prayer and singing hymns; he could find no rest.⁴ His imagination had ceased to call up pleasing illusions; he was left alone with his conscience. A state so new to him was beyond his comprehension, and he fearfully asked himself whether God, after all the sacrifices he had made, was still angry with him. Night and day gloomy terrors agitated his soul; he shed bitter tears; with loud cries he called for the peace of mind which he had lost.....but all was in vain.⁵ He then recommenced the long confession he had made at Montserrat. "Perhaps," thought he, "I have forgotten something." But this confession only increased his anguish, for it reminded him of all his errors. He wandered about gloomy and dejected; his conscience accused him of having done nothing all his life but add sin to sin; and

Ad indicium dedit doloris, nisi ut costas in illos valde constringeret. Maffei Vita Loyolæ.

no hoc agerem quod fecit beatus Franciscus, und beatus Dominicus? Acta Sancti. lib. 634. confesio, ni duqueasa, mas era su estado mas

amicque ita salutatis, ut arcana consiliorum a accuratisime tegeret. Maffi. i. p. 16. vestimenta quibus erat ornatus, pannoso cul-

a, sacco sese alacer induit ac fure præcluxit.

¹ Furor ac libidini hereticæ pravitalis opponeret. Maffei, p. 21.

² Victim otestim precibus, infimis emendicare quotidie. Ibid. p. 23.

³ Tunc subito, nulla præcedente significatione, prorsus exni nularique se omni gaudio sentiret. Ibid. p. 27.

⁴ Nec jam in precibus, neque in psalms.....ullam invent- rei delectationem aut reglem. Ibid.

⁵ Vanis agitari terroribus, dies noctesque fletibus jungere. Ibid. p. 26.

the wretched man, a prey to overwhelming terrors, filled the cloister with his groans.

Strange thoughts then entered into his heart. Finding no consolation in confession or in the various ordinances of the Church,¹ he began, like Luther, to doubt their efficacy. But instead of forsaking the works of men, and seeking the all-sufficient work of Christ, he asked himself whether he should not again pursue the pleasures of time. His soul sprang eagerly towards the delights of the world he had renounced,² but immediately recoiled with affright.

Was there, at that time, any difference between the monk of Manresa and the monk of Erfurth? Unquestionably,—in secondary points: but the state of their souls was the same. Both were deeply sensible of the multitude of their sins. Both were seeking for reconciliation with God, and longed to have the assurance in their hearts. If a Staupitz with the Bible in his hand had appeared in the convent of Manresa, possibly Inigo might have become the Luther of the Peninsula. These two great men of the sixteenth century, these founders of two spiritual powers which for three centuries have been warring together, were at this moment brothers; and perhaps, if they had met, Luther and Loyola would have embraced, and mingled their tears and their prayers.

But from this hour the two monks were destined to follow entirely different paths.

Inigo, instead of feeling that his remorse was sent to drive him to the foot of the cross, persuaded himself that these inward reproaches proceeded not from God, but from the devil; and he resolved never more to think of his sins, to erase them from his memory, and bury them in eternal oblivion.³ Luther turned towards Christ; Loyola only fell back upon himself.

Visions came ere long to confirm Inigo in the conviction at which he had arrived. His own resolves had become a substitute for the grace of the Lord; his own imaginings supplied the place of God's Word. He had looked upon the voice of God in his conscience as the voice of the devil; and accordingly the remainder of his history represents him as given up to the inspirations of the spirit of darkness.

One day Loyola met an old woman, as Luther in the hour of his trial was visited by an old man. But the Spanish crone, instead of proclaiming remission of sins to the penitent of Manresa, predicted visitations from Jesus. Such was the Christianity to which Loyola, like the prophets of Zwickau, had

recourse. Inigo did not seek to Holy Scriptures; but imagined in immediate communication with the spirits. He soon lived entirely in and contemplation.

One day, as he was going to the St. Paul, outside the city, he was on the banks of the Llobregat, and absorbed in meditation. His eyes on the river, which rolled its d silently before him. He was lost i Suddenly he fell into an ecstasy with his bodily eyes what men ca faculty understand after much re vigils, and study.⁴ He rose, and on the brink of the river, he appea become another man; he then kn the foot of a cross which was clos ready to sacrifice his life in the ser cause whose mysteries had just bee to him.

From this time his visions bec frequent. Sitting one day on the Dominick's church at Manresa, he ing a hymn to the Holy Virgin, a sudden his soul was wrapt in e remained motionless, and absorb tomlation; the mystery of the Trinity was revealed to his sight t nificent symbols;⁵ he shed tears church with his sobs, and all da not but speak of this ineffable visi

These numerous apparitions ha all his doubts; he believed, not li because the things of faith were the Word of God, but because of t he had seen. "Even had there Bible," say his apologists, "even mysteries never been revealed in he would have believed them, fo appeared to him."⁶ Luther, on doctor's degree, had pledged his Holy Scripture,⁷ and the only inf thority of the Word of God had b fundamental principle of the Re Loyola, at this time, bound h dreams and visions; and chimeric tions became the principle of his l his faith.

Luther's sojourn in the convent and that of Loyola in the conven resa explain to us—the one, the Red the other, modern Popery. The i was to reanimate the exhausted Rome repaired to Jerusalem afte the cloister. We will not follow h pilgrimage, as we shall meet with in the course of this history.

¹ Ut nulla san-itas mitigare dolorem posse videretur. *Ibid.* p. 30.

² Et secuti commotis repetendis magno quodam impetu cogitaverit. *Ibid.* p. 30.

³ Sine ulla dubitatione constituit præteritis vite labores perpetuis oblivionis committere. *Ibid.* p. 31.

⁴ Quæ vix demum solent homines intelligi habere. *Ibid.* p. 32.

⁵ En figuras de tres celes.

⁶ Quod etiam nulla scriptura, mysteria illa Acta Sancti.

⁷ Quæ Deo sibi aperiente cognoverant. *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 72.

CHAPTER II.

Victory of the Pope—Death of Leo X.—The Oratory of Divine Love—Adrian VI.—Plan of Reform—Opposition.

WHILE these events were taking place in Spain, Rome herself appeared to be assuming a more serious character. The great patron of music, hunting, and festivities disappeared from the pontifical throne, and was succeeded by a pious and grave monk.

Leo X. had been greatly delighted at hearing of the edict of Worms and of Luther's captivity; and immediately, in testimony of his victory, he had consigned the effigy and writings of the reformer to the flames.¹ It was the second or third time that Rome had indulged in this innocent enjoyment. At the same time Leo X., wishing to testify his gratitude to Charles V., united his army with the emperor's. The French were compelled to evacuate Parma, Piacenza, and Milan; and Giulio de Medici, the pope's cousin, entered the latter city. The pope was thus approaching the summit of earthly power.

These events took place at the beginning of the winter of 1521. Leo X. was accustomed to spend the autumn in the country. At such times he would leave Rome without surplice, and, what was considered still more scandalous, wearing boots.² At Viterbo he amused himself with hawking; at Corneti in hunting the stag; the lake of Bolsena afforded him the pleasure of fishing; thence he passed to his favourite villa at Malliana, where he spent his time in the midst of festivities. Musicians, improvisatori, and all the artists whose talents could enliven this delightful abode, were gathered round the pontiff. He was residing there when he received intelligence of the capture of Milan. A great excitement immediately ensued in the villa. The courtiers and officers could not restrain their exultation, the Swiss discharged their carbines, and Leo, in excess of joy, walked up and down his room all night, from time to time looking out of the window at the rejoicings of the soldiers and of the people. He returned to Rome fatigued, but intoxicated with success. He had scarcely reached the Vatican when he felt suddenly indisposed. "Pray for me," said he to his attendants. He had not even time to receive the holy sacrament, and died in the prime of life, at the age of forty-five, in the hour of victory, and amid the noise of rejoicing.

The crowd followed the pontiff to the grave, loading him with abuse. They could

not forgive him for having died without the sacrament, and for leaving his debts unpaid, the result of his enormous expenses. "You gained your pontificate like a fox," said the Romans; "you held it like a lion, and left it like a dog."

Such was the funeral oration with which Rome honoured the pope who excommunicated the Reformation, and whose name serves to designate one of the great epochs in history.

Meantime a feeble reaction against the spirit of Leo and of Rome was already beginning in Rome itself. Some pious men had there established an oratory for their common edification,³ near the spot which tradition assigns as the place where the early Christians used to meet. Contarini, who had heard Luther at Worms, was the leader in these prayer-meetings. Thus a species of reformation was beginning at Rome almost at the same time as at Wittenberg. It has been said with truth, that wherever the seeds of piety exist, there also are the germs of reformation. But these good intentions were soon to be frustrated.

In other times, a Gregory VII. or an Innocent III. would have been chosen to succeed Leo X., could such men have been found; but the interest of the Empire was now superior to that of the Church, and Charles V. required a pope devoted to his service. The Cardinal de Medici, afterwards Clement VII., seeing that he had no chance at present of obtaining the tiara, exclaimed: "Elect the Cardinal of Tortosa, a man in years, and whom everyone regards as a saint." This prelate, who was a native of Utrecht, and sprung from the middle classes, was chosen, and reigned under the title of Adrian VI. He had been professor at Louvain, and afterwards tutor to Charles V., by whose influence he was invested with the Roman purple in 1517. Cardinal de Vio supported his nomination. "Adrian," said he, "had a great share in procuring Luther's condemnation by the Louvain doctors."⁴ The cardinals, tired out and taken by surprise, elected this foreigner; but as soon as they came to their senses (says a chronicler), they almost died of fright. The thought that the austere Netherlander would not accept the tiara, at first gave them some little consolation; but this hope was not of long duration. Pasquin represented the pontiff-elect under the character of a schoolmaster, and the cardinals as little boys under the rod. The citizens were so exasperated that the members of the conclave thought themselves fortunate to have escaped being thrown into the river.⁵ In Holland, on the contrary, the people testified by general rejoicings their

¹ *Comber* iussit alteram vultus in ejus statua, alteram ad ejus in libro. Pallav. l. 12.

² *Torre de Grassano*, his master of the ceremonies, has this entry in his diary. "Thursday, 10th Jan., after breakfast, the pope went to Toccanello and its neighbourhood. He went without his stole, and, worse than that, without his neck and surer than all, wore boots. *Diary*, inedit.

³ Si unirono in un oratorio, chiamato del divino amore, circa sessanta di loro. Caracciolo, *Vita* di Paolo IV. M. Ranke.

⁴ Doctores Lovanenses acceptas constituit a tam corrupto alumno. Pallav. p. 124.

⁵ Sleidan, *Hist. de la Réf.* l. 194.

delight at giving a pope to the Church. "Utrecht planted; Louvain watered; the Emperor gave the increase," was the inscription on the hangings suspended from the fronts of the houses. A wag wrote below these words: "And God had nothing to do with it."

Notwithstanding the dissatisfaction at first manifested by the people of Rome, Adrian VI. repaired to that city in the month of August 1522, and was well received. It was reported that he had more than five thousand benefices in his gift, and every man reckoned on having his share. For many years the papal throne had not been filled by such a pontiff. Just, active, learned, pious, sincere, and of irreproachable morals, he permitted himself to be blinded neither by favour nor passion.

He followed the middle course traced out by Erasmus, and in a book reprinted at Rome during his pontificate, he said, "It is certain that the pope may err in matters of faith, in defending heresy by his opinions or decretals."¹ This is indeed a remarkable assertion for a pope to make; and if the ultra-montanists reply that Adrian was mistaken on this point, by this very circumstance they affirm what they deny, viz. the fallibility of the popes.

Adrian arrived at the Vatican with his old housekeeper, whom he charged to continue providing frugally for his moderate wants in that magnificent palace which Leo X. had filled with luxury and dissipation. He had not a single taste in common with his predecessor. When he was shown the magnificent group of Laocoon, discovered a few years before, and purchased at an enormous price by Julius II., he turned coldly away, observing: "They are the idols of the heathen!" "I would rather serve God," said he, "in my deanery of Louvain, than be pope at Rome." Alarmed at the dangers with which the Reformation threatened the religion of the Middle Ages, and not, like the Italians, at those to which Rome and her hierarchy were exposed, it was his earnest desire to combat and check it; and he judged the best means to this end would be a reform of the Church carried out by the Church itself. "The Church needs a reform," said he; "but we must go step by step."² "The pope means," says Luther, "that a few centuries should intervene between each step." In truth, for ages the Church had been moving towards a reformation. But there was no longer room for temporizing: it was necessary to act.

Faithful to his plan, Adrian set about banishing from the city all perjurers, profane persons, and usurers; a task by no means easy, since they formed a considerable portion of the inhabitants.

At first the Romans ridiculed him; they began to hate him. The rule, the immense profits it brought, the power of Rome, the sports, festive luxury that filled it,—all would be vably lost, if there was a return to manners.

The restoration of discipline, in pmet with a strong opposition. "Tc in this," said the cardinal high-peni "we must first revive the zeal of Cl The remedy is more than the pap bear, and will cause his death. Be by wishing to preserve Germany, y lose Italy."³ In effect, Adrian : greater cause to fear Romanism than anism itself.

Exertions were made to bring l into the path he was desirous of. The old and crafty Cardinal Soderi terra, the familiar friend of Alexai Julius II., and Leo X.,² often let : well adapted to prepare the worth for that character, so strange to hi he was called upon to fill. "The remarked Soderini one day, "ha ages spoken of the corrupt manne court of Rome, and yet the popes h changed them."³ "It has never reform," said he on another occasi heresies have been put down, bu sades."⁴ "Alas," replied the pontil deep sigh, "how unhappy is the pope, since he has not even liberty t is right!"⁵

CHAPTER III.

Diet of Nuremberg—Soliman's Invasion—The l for Luther's Exalt—The Nuremberg Tractac of Reform—The Nuncio's Alarm—Grievancetion—Decree of the Diet—Fulminating Lettes—Luther's Advice.

On the 23d March 1522, before Ad reached Rome, the diet assembled a berg. Prior to this date the Bishops burg and Misnia had asked perm the Elector of Saxony to make a vis the convents and churches in h Frederick, thinking that truth v strong enough to resist error, ha favourable reply to this request, visitation took place. The bishops doctors preached violently against t mation, exhorting, threatening, an ing; but their arguments seemed and when, desirous of having re more effectual weapons, they called secular authority to carry out thei

¹ Certum est quod (Pontifex) potuit errare in his que tangunt fidem, heresim per suam determinationem aut decretalem asserendo. Comm. in lib. 4. Sententiarum Quest. de Sac. Confirm. Romæ, 1522, folio.

² Sarpi. Hist. Council of Trent, p. 20.

³ Per lunga esperienza delle cose del mondo, dente e accorto. Nardi. Hist. Fior. lib. vii.

⁴ Sarpi. Hist. Council of Trent, p. 21.

ministers replied, that the business that required to be examined was the Bible, and that the elector and age could not begin to study these efforts of the bishops did soul back to the fold of Rome; who passed through these days after, and preached in his usual vein, erased the feeble impressions in here and there produced.

He feared that the emperor's brother-hereduke Ferdinand, would do rich had refused. This young presided during part of the diet, gradually acquiring more light in his zeal rashly draw the his more prudent and political left in the scabbard. In fact, dy begun a cruel persecution of the of the Reformation in his heresy of Austria. But God on several the use of the same instrument of reviving Christianity employed in the destruction of stianity. The crescent appeared ed provinces of Hungary. On agust, after a six weeks' siege, e bulwark of this kingdom and re, fell before Soliman's attacks of Mahomet, after having pain, seemed bent on entering he East. The Diet of Nurem- the monk of Worms, to think Sultan of Constantinople. But ept both these adversaries n the 31st of October, he wrote from Valladolid: "We must urks, and punish the abettors poisonous doctrines with the

n which seemed to be passing he Reformation, and turning to- st, soon gathered anew over the reformer. His return to Wittem- e zeal he had there displayed, re- nity. "Now that we know tch him," said Duke George, te the decree of Worms!" It sorted in Germany that Charles n would meet at Nuremberg to plans.² "Satan feels the wound a inflicted on him," says Luther; is why he is so furious. But already stretched out his hand, a trample him under foot in spite of hell."³

nth of December 1522, the diet bled at Nuremberg. Every 1 to indicate, that if Soliman had at enemy that had engaged its the spring session, Luther would e winter meeting. Adrian V I.,

in consequence of his German descent, flattered himself with the hope of a more favourable reception from his nation than any pope of Italian origin could expect.¹ He therefore commissioned Chieregati, whom he had known in Spain, to repair to Nuremberg.

As soon as the diet had opened, several princes spoke strongly against Luther. The Cardinal-archbishop of Salzburg, who enjoyed the full confidence of the emperor, desired that prompt and decisive measures should be taken before the arrival of the Elector of Saxony. The Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, always inflexible in his proceedings, and the Chancellor of Treves, alike pressed for the execution of the edict of Worms. The other princes were in a great measure undecided and divided in opinion. The state of confusion in which the Church was placed filled its most faithful servants with anguish. The Bishop of Strasburg exclaimed, in a full meeting of the diet, "I would give one of my fingers not to be a priest."⁴

Chieregati, jointly with the Cardinal of Salzburg, called for Luther's death. "We must," said he in the pope's name, and holding the pontiff's brief in his hands, "we must cut off this gangrened member from the body."⁵ Your fathers put John Huss and Jerome of Prague to death at Constance; but they live again in Luther. Follow the glorious example of your ancestors, and, with the aid of God and St. Peter, gain a signal victory over the infernal dragon."

On hearing the brief of the pious and moderate Adrian, most of the princes were awestricken.⁶ Many were beginning to understand Luther more clearly, and had hoped better things of the pope. Thus then Rome, under an Adrian, will not acknowledge her faults; she still hurls her thunderbolts, and the provinces of Germany are about to be laid waste and drowned in blood. While the princes remained sad and silent, the prelates and members of the diet in the interest of Rome became tumultuous. "Let him be put to death,"⁷ cried they, according to the report of the Saxon envoy, who was present at the sitting.

Very different language was heard in the churches of Nuremberg. The people crowded into the chapel attached to the hospital, and to the churches of the Augustines, of St. Sebaldus, and St. Lawrence, to listen to the preaching of the Gospel. Andrew Osiander was preaching powerfully in the latter temple. Several princes, and especially Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, who, in his quality of grand-master of the Teutonic Order,

¹ Quod ex ea regione venirent, unde nobis secundum carnem origo est. Papal Brief. L. Opp. Lat. II. 328.

² Er wollte einen Finger drum geben....Seck. p. 269.

³ Resecandos uti membra Jani putrida a sano corpore. Pallavicini, I. 15.

⁴ Einen grossen Schrecken eingejagt. Seck. p. 268.

⁵ Nicht anders geschrien denn: Crucifige! crucifige! (they cried out, Crucify him! crucify him!) L. Opp. xviii. 367.

Nachfolger derselben vergiften Lehre, mit allen mag. L. Opp. xvii. 35.
¹ Floris et Cesarum et papam Nurembergam
 Opp. II. 214.
 qui ex ea regione sunt. Ibid. 211

took rank immediately after the archbishops, frequently attended these. Monks, abandoning the convents in the city, were learning trades in order to gain a livelihood by their labour.

Chioregati could not endure such audacity. He insisted that the priests and rebellious monks should be thrown into prison. The diet, notwithstanding the resolute opposition of the envoys of the Elector of Saxony and of the Margrave Casimir, determined on seizing the monks, but consented to make a previous communication of the nuncio's complaint to Osiander and his colleagues. This duty was in committee, of which the fanatical Cardinal of Salzburg was president. The danger was threatening; the struggle was about to begin, and it was the council of the nation that provoked it.

The people, however, anticipated them. While the diet was deliberating what should be done with these ministers, the town-council of Nuremberg were considering how they should proceed with regard to the decision of the diet. They resolved, without exceeding their jurisdiction, that if attempts were made to lay violent hands on the city preachers, they should be set at liberty by main force. Such a determination was very significant. The astonished diet replied to the nuncio, that it was not lawful to arrest the preachers of the free city of Nuremberg, unless previously convicted of heresy.

Chioregati was deeply moved at this new insult to the omnipotence of the papacy. "Well then," said he haughtily to Ferdinand, "do nothing, but let me act. I will have these preachers seized in the pope's name."¹ As soon as the Cardinal-archbishop Albert of Mentz and the Margrave Casimir were informed of this extravagant design, they hastened to the legate, entreating him to renounce his intentions. The nuncio was immovable, affirming that in the bosom of Christendom obedience to the pope was of the first importance. The two princes quitted the legate, saying: "If you persist in your design, we desire that you will give us warning; for we will leave the city before you venture to lay hands on these preachers."² The legate abandoned his project.

Despairing of success by measures of authority, he resolved to have recourse to other expedients, and with this view, he made the diet acquainted with the intentions and mandates of the pontiff, which he had hitherto kept secret.

But the worthy Adrian, a stranger to the ways of the world, injured by his very frankness the cause he so heartily desired to serve. "We are well aware," said he in the resolutions intrusted to his legate, "that for many years certain abuses and abominations have

crept into the holy city.¹ The contagion has spread from the head to the members; it has descended from the popes to the ecclesiastics. It is our desire to reform the Roman court, whence proceed so many evils; the whole world is craving after it, an effect this we submitted to ascend the papal chair."

The partisans of Rome blushed for shame as they heard this extraordinary language. They thought, with Pallavicini, that their avowals were too sincere.² The friends of the Reformation, on the contrary, were delighted at seeing Rome proclaim her corruption. They no longer doubted Luther was right, since the pope himself declared it.

The reply of the diet showed how much the authority of the sovereign pontiff had fallen in the empire. Luther's spirit seemed to have entered into the hearts of the representatives of the nation. The moment favourable: Adrian's ear seemed open; the emperor was absent; the diet resolved to collect into one body all the grievances for ages Germany had endured from Rome, and forward them to the pope.

The legate was frightened at this diminution. He entreated and threatened. He insinuated that under a pious religious exterior, the reformer concealed great political dangers; he asserted, Adrian, that these children of iniquity had no other end in view than to destroy obedience, and lead every man to do as pleased. "Will those men keep your commandments?" said he, "who not only despise the canons of the Father, but still further tear them in pieces and burn them in their literal fury? Will they spare your lives, do not fear to insult, to strike, to kill the appointed of the Lord? It is your property, your goods, your houses, your wives, children, your domains, your states, temples, and all that you adore, thus threatened by this frightful calamity."³

All these declamations proved of no avail. The diet, although commending the promptness of the pope, required for their speedy fulfilment that a free and christian council should be assembled as soon as possible at Nuremberg, Mentz, Cologne, or Metz, in which laymen should be present. Laymen in council! Laymen regulating the affairs of the Church in concert with priests! More than we can see even now in our protestant states. The diet added, every man should have liberty to speak freely for the glory of God, the salvation of souls, and the good of the christian community.

¹ In eam sedem aliquot jam annos quendam vitia misce, abusus in rebus sacris, in legibus violationes, in his denique perversionem. Pallav. l. 100. See also Sa 25; l. Opp. xviii. 329, &c.

² Liberioris tamen, quam par erat, sinceritatis visum est, ea conventui patefacere. Ibid. 102.

³ In eam, in vestras res, domos, uxores, liberos, cum dominatibus, templis que collitis. L. Opp. Lat. II. 338.

¹ See auctoritate pontificis curaturum ut isti caperentur. Corp. Ref. I. 308.

² Primum illi caperentur, de urbe censurus esset. Ibid.

; then proceeded to draw up a grievances, which amounted to of eighty. The abuses and popes and the Roman court to from Germany; the scandals of the clergy; the disorders of the ecclesiastical tribunals; ments on the secular power for of consciences; were all set as much frankness as energy. ave the pope to understand that s of men were the source of all ion, and concluded by saying: evances are not redressed within ie, we shall seek other means of from so many oppressions and Chieregati, foreseeing the for- as (report) that the diet would astily left Nuremberg, that he e the bearer of this sad and inso-

was it not to be feared that the ek to make amends for its bold- ifying Luther? People thought ut a spirit of justice and truth led on this assembly. It de- Luther had done, the convocation uicil in the empire, and added, neanwhile the pure Gospel alone eached, and nothing should be ut the approbation of a certain ous and learned men.³ These urnish us with the means of cal- immense progress the Reforma- de subsequently to the Diet of l yet the knight of Feilitzsch, the ; solemnly protested against this moderate as it was, which the ed. This decree was regarded triumph of the Reformation, to by other more decisive victories. themselves, in the midst of their thrilled with delight. "The tiff is vanquished in Germany," s. "We have nothing more to ive him of his weapons. This e we have now to fight, and a it will be. But Christ is the he conflict."⁴ Luther said pub- od himself had inspired the raw up this edict.⁵ nation at the Vatican among the ters was very great. What! is h to have a pope who disappoints tations of the Romans, and in e there is neither singing nor t, more than this, secular princes to hold a language that Rome refuse to put the Wittenberg ath!

consilio eis qui interesse debent rei eccle-
sialis ordinis libere licet loqui. Geldart,
I. 466.
Ber Beschreibung und Drangaal catiden
I. xviii. 354.
Idemque purum Evangelium predicaretur.
das. I. 126.
so ferme prodigatus e Germania Romanus
Opp. 313.—11th October 1523.
Nobis E. G. singeben. L. Opp. xviii. 478.

Adrian himself was filled with indignation at the events in Germany, and it was on the head of the Elector of Saxony that he discharged his anger. Never had the Roman pontiffs uttered a cry of alarm more energetic, more sincere, and perhaps more affecting.

"We have waited long—and perhaps too long," said the pious Adrian in the brief he addressed to the elector; "we were anxious to see whether God would visit thy soul, and if thou wouldst not at last escape from the snares of Satan. But where we looked to gather grapes, we found nothing but sour grapes. The blower hath blown in vain; thy wickedness is not melted. Open, then, thine eyes to see the greatness of thy fall!....."

"If the unity of the Church is broken; if the simple have been turned aside from that faith which they had imbibed at their mothers' breasts; if the churches are deserted; if the people are without priests; if the priests receive not the honour that is due to them; if Christians are without Christ: to whom is it owing, but to thee?.....If Christian pence has vanished from the earth; if the world is full of discord, rebellion, robbery, murder, and conflagration; if the cry of war is heard from east to west; if a universal conflict is at hand: it is thou—thou who art the author of these things!

"Seest thou not this sacrilegious man (Luther) rending with his wicked hands and trampling under his impure feet the images of the saints and even the holy cross of Christ?.....Dost thou not behold him, in his ungodly wrath, instigating laymen to imbrue their hands in the blood of the priests, and overturning the churches of our Lord?

"And what matters it, if the priests be assailed as wicked priests? Has not the Lord said: *Whatever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works*; thus showing the honour that belongs to them, even when their lives are blame-worthy."

"Rebellious apostate! he is not ashamed to defile the vessels consecrated to God; he drags from their sanctuaries the holy virgins dedicated to Christ, and gives them over to the devil; he takes the priests of the Lord, and delivers them up to infamous harlots...Awful profanation! which even the heathen would have condemned with horror in the priests of their idols!

"What punishment, what torments dost thou think we judge thee to deserve?.....Have pity on thyself; have pity on thy wretched Saxons; for if you do not all return into the fold, God will pour out his vengeance upon you.

"In the name of the Almighty God, and

¹ Dass die Kirchen ohne Volk sind, dass die Völker ohne Priester sind, dass die Priester ohne Ehre sind, und dass die Christen ohne Christo sind. L. Opp. xviii. 371.

² Wenn sie gleich eines verdammten Lebens sind. Ibid. 372.

of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose representative I am upon earth, I declare that thou shalt be punished in this world, and plunged into everlasting fire in that which is to come. Repent and be converted!... Both swords are suspended over thy head,—the sword of the Empire and the sword of the Church."

The pious Frederick shuddered as he read this threatening brief. He had written to the emperor shortly before, to the effect that old age and sickness rendered him incapable of taking any part in these affairs; and he had been answered by the most insolent letter that a sovereign prince had ever received. Although bowed down by age, he cast his eyes on that sword which he had worn at the holy sepulchre in the days of his manly strength. He began to think that he would have to unsheathe it in defence of the conscience of his subjects, and that, already on the brink of the tomb, he would not be allowed to go down to it in peace. He immediately wrote to Wittenberg to hear the opinion of the fathers of the Reformation.

There also troubles and persecutions were apprehended. "What shall I say?" exclaimed the gentle Melancthon; "whither shall I turn? Hatred overwhelms us, and the world is transported with fury against us."¹ Luther, Linck, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, and Amsdorff consulted together on the reply they should make to the elector. Their answer was almost entirely to the same purport, and the advice they gave him is very remarkable.

"No prince," said they, "can undertake a war without the consent of the people, from whose hands he has received his authority.² Now, the people have no desire to fight for the Gospel, for they do not believe. Let not princes, therefore, take up arms; they are rulers of the nations, that is to say, of unbelievers." Thus, it was the impetuous Luther who counselled the discreet Frederick to restore his sword to its sheath. He could not have returned a better answer to the reproach of the pope, that he excited the laity to imbrue their hands in the blood of the clergy. Few characters have been more misunderstood than his. This advice was dated the 8th of February. Frederick restrained himself.

The pope's wrath soon bore fruit. The princes who had set forth their grievances against Rome, alarmed at their own daring, were now desirous of making amends by their compliance. Many, besides, thought that the victory would remain with the Roman pontiff, as he appeared to be the stronger party. "In our days," said Luther, "princes are content to say three times three make nine; or else, twice seven make

fourteen: The reckoning is correct, the affair will succeed. Then our Lord arises and says: How many do you name?.....For a cipher perhaps?.....He turns their calculations topsy-turvy, their reckonings prove false."³

CHAPTER IV.

Persecution—Exertions of Duke George—The Count of Antwerp—Militen—The Three Monks of Antwerp—The Martyrs of Brussels.

THE torrent of fire poured forth by the ble and meek Adrian kindled a conflagration and his emotion caused an immense agitation in the whole of Christendom. Persecution which had been for some time relaxed, out afresh. Luther trembled for Germany and endeavoured to avert the storm. "the princes," said he, "oppose the true result will be a confusion that will deprive princes and magistrates, priests and people of all fear to see all Germany deluged with blood."⁴ Let us rise up as a wall to preserve our people from the wrath of God. Nations are not such now as they hitherto been.⁵ The sword of civil war impending over the heads of kings, are resolved to destroy Luther; but I am bent on saving them. Christ lives and reigns; and I shall live and reign with him."⁶

These words produced no effect; Rome hastening onward to scaffolds and to blood. The Reformation, like Jesus Christ, did not come to bring peace, but a persecution was necessary in God's purpose. As certain substances are hardened by fire, to protect them from the influence of the atmosphere, so the fiery trial was intended to protect the evangelical truth from the influence of the world. But the fire did more than this: it served, as in the primitive times of Christianity, to kindle in the hearts a universal enthusiasm for a universally persecuted. There is in man when he begins to know the truth, a indignation against injustice and violence heaven-descended instinct impels him to the side of the oppressed; and at the same time the faith of the martyrs exalts, wins leads him to that saving doctrine which parts such courage and tranquillity.

Duke George took the lead in the persecution. But it was a little thing to carry in his own states only; he desired, above

¹ So kehrt er ihnen auch die Rechnung gar um. XIII. 1631.

² Ut videar mihi videre Germaniam in sanguine.

L. Epp. II. 158.

³ Corripit populos non esse tales modo, quales habuerunt. Ibid. 157.

⁴ Christus meus vivit et regnat, et ego vivam et regnem. Ibid. 156.

¹ Quid dicam? quo me vertam? Corp. Ref. i. 627.

² Principi nullum licet accipere bellum, nisi consentiente populo, a quo accipit imperium. Ibid. 601.

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devastate electoral Saxony, resy, and he spared no labour lector Frederick and Duke n merchants from Saxony," n from Nuremberg, " relate about that country, and such o the honour of God and of e sacrament of the Lord's received in the hand !..... wine are consecrated in the eople; Christ's blood is put ssels; and at Eulenburg, a e priest entered the church s !.....Accordingly, what is e ? The mines with which d Saxony have become less ; the innovating sermons of d to God that those who ; uplifted the Gospel in the ither carried it to Constanti- strain is sweet and pleasing, oned tail, that stings like a us now prepare for the con- prison these apostate monks ients; and that too without air is turning gray as well and shows us that we have st for action."¹

Duke George to the elector. d firmly but mildly, that any tted a crime in his states t due punishment; but that ience must be left to God.² e to persuade Frederick, has- te the followers of the work ; imprisoned the monks and wed Luther; he recalled the ing to his states from the icht the Reformation had dered that all the copies of nent in the vulgar tongue up to the magistrates. The were enforced in Austria, d the duchy of Brunswick.

the Low Countries, under thorty of Charles V., that the e out with greatest violence. convent at Antwerp was ks who had welcomed the pel. Many of the brethren e time at Wittenberg, and vation by grace had been church with great energy. as Probst, a man of ardent ad Melchior Mirisch, who on the other hand, for his dence, were arrested and s about the close of the year e brought before Aleander, real other prelates. Taken nded, and alarmed, Probst hior Mirisch found means to ; he escaped both from re- demnation.

ations did not alarm the

monks who remained in the convent at Antwerp. They continued to preach the Gospel with power. The people crowded to hear them, and the church of the Augus- tines in that city was found too small, as had been the case at Wittenberg. In Octo- ber 1522, the storm that was muttering over their heads burst forth; the convent was closed, and the monks thrown into prison and condemned to death.¹ A few of them managed to escape. Some women, forget- ting the timidity of their sex, dragged one of them (Henry Zuphten) from the hands of the executioners.² Three young monks, Henry Voet, John Esch, and Lambert Thorn, escaped for a time the search of the inquisi- tors. All the sacred vessels of the convent were sold; the gates were barricaded; the holy sacrament was removed, as if from a polluted spot; Margaret, the governor of the Low Countries, solemnly received it into the church of the Holy Virgin;³ orders were given that not one stone should be left upon another of that heretical monastery; and many citizens and women who had joy- fully listened to the Gospel were thrown into prison.⁴

Luther was filled with sorrow on hearing this news. "The cause that we defend," said he, "is no longer a mere game; it will have blood, it calls for our lives."⁵

Mirisch and Probst were to meet with very different fates. The prudent Mirisch soon became the docile instrument of Rome, and the agent of the imperial decrees against the partisans of the Reformation.⁶ Probst, on the contrary, having escaped from the hands of the inquisitors, wept over his back- sliding; he retracted his recantation, and boldly preached at Bruges in Flanders the doctrines he had abjured. Being again ar- rested and thrown into prison at Brussels, his death seemed inevitable.⁷ A Franciscan took pity on him, and assisted his escape; and Probst, "preserved by a miracle of God," says Luther, reached Wittenberg, where his twofold deliverance filled the hearts of the friends to the Reformation with joy.⁸

On all sides the Roman priests were under arms. The city of Miltenberg on the Maine, which belonged to the Archbishop of Mentz, was one of the German towns that had re-

¹ *Sum Tode verurtheilet. Seck. p. 44.*

² *Quomodo mulieres vi Henricum liberarint. L. Epp. II.*

³ *262. Susceptum honorifice a domina Margareta. Ibid.*

⁴ *Cives aliquos, et mulieres vexatos et punitos. Ibid.*

⁵ *Et vitam exigit et sanguinem. Ibid. 181.*

⁶ *Est executor Cesaris contra nostrum. Ibid. 207.*

⁷ *Domo captum, exultum credimus. Ibid. 214.*

⁸ *Jacobus, Dei miraculo liberatus, qui nunc agit nobis- cum. L. Epp. II. 184.* This letter, placed in M. de Wette's collection, under the date of April 14, must be posterior to the month of June; since on the 26th of June Luther writes that Probst has been taken a second time and is going to be burnt. We cannot admit that Probst visited Wittenberg between his two imprisonments, for Luther would not have said of a Christian, who had saved his life by a recantation, that he had been delivered by a miracle of God. Perhaps we should read in the date of the letter in *die 8. Julij*, instead of in *die 8. Februarii*, which would bring it down to the 14th of July, — a far more probable date in my opinion.

Haare ausweisen. Seckend. p. 42.
Dinge Gut überlassen. Ibid. p. 408.

ceived the Word of God with the greatest eagerness. The inhabitants were much attached to their pastor John Draco, one of the most enlightened men of his times. He was compelled to leave the city; but the Roman ecclesiastics were frightened, and withdrew at the same time, fearing the vengeance of the people. An evangelical deacon alone remained to comfort their hearts. At the same time troops from Mentz marched into the city and spread through the streets, uttering blasphemies, brandishing their swords, and giving themselves up to debauchery.¹

Some evangelical Christians fell beneath their blows;² others were seized and thrown into dungeons; the Romish rites were restored; the reading of the Bible was prohibited; and the inhabitants were forbidden to speak of the Gospel, even in the most private meetings. On the entrance of the troops, the deacon had taken refuge in the house of a poor widow. He was denounced to their commanders, who sent a soldier to apprehend him. The humble deacon, hearing the hasty steps of the soldier who sought his life, quietly waited for him, and just as the door of the chamber was abruptly opened, he went forward meekly, and cordially embracing him, said; "I welcome thee, brother; here I am; plunge thy sword into my bosom."³ The fierce soldier, in astonishment, let his sword fall from his hand, and protected the pious evangelist from any further harm.

Meantime, the inquisitors of the Low Countries, thirsting for blood, scoured the country, searching every where for the young Augustines who had escaped from the Antwerp persecution. Esch, Voes, and Lambert were at last discovered, put in chains, and led to Brussels. Egmondanus, Hochstraten, and several other inquisitors, summoned them into their presence. "Do you retract your assertion," asked Hochstraten, "that the priest has not power to forgive sins, and that it belongs to God alone?" He then proceeded to enumerate other evangelical doctrines which they were called upon to abjure. "No! we will retract nothing," exclaimed Esch and Voes firmly; "we will not deny the Word of God; we will rather die for the faith."

THE INQUISITOR.—"Confess that you have been led astray by Luther."

THE YOUNG AUGUSTINES.—"As the apostles were led astray by Jesus Christ."

THE INQUISITORS.—"We declare you to be heretics, worthy of being burnt alive, and we give you over to the secular arm."

Lambert kept silence; the prospect of death terrified him; distress and doubt tormented his soul. "I beg four days' respite,"

said he with a stifled voice. He was taken back to prison. As soon as he expired, Esch and Voes were deprived of their sacerdotal character, given over to the council of the the Low Countries. The council then, fettered, to the execution straten and three other inquisitors, panicked them to the stake.⁴

When they came near the youthful martyrs looked at it with firmness, their piety, their yet tears even from the inquisitors. They were bound, the confessors approached. "Once more we ask you if you the christian faith."

THE MARTYRS.—"We believe in the Christian Church, but not in your Church."

Half an hour elapsed: the martyrs hesitated, and hoped that the terrible a death would intimidate the youths. But alone tranquil in the turbulent crowd in the square, psalms, stopping from time to time, declared boldly: "We will die for Jesus Christ."

"He converted—be converted, inquisitors, "or you will die in the devil."—"No," replied the martyrs, "we will die like Christians, and for the Gospel."

The pile was lighted. While the martyrs were ascending slowly, a heap of fire filled their hearts, and one of them far as to say: "I seem to be lying in roses."⁵ The solemn hour was near: the two martyrs cried out in voice: "O Domine Jesu! miserere nostri! O Lord Jesus, have mercy on us!" They then solemnly to repeat the Apostle's words, last the flames reached them, and cords that fastened them to the stake, their breath was gone. (One of the advantage of this liberty, fell in the midst of the fire,⁶ and clapping his Master, exclaimed, "My hands: "Lord Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on us!" The flames now consumed their bodies: they sang the Te Deum, their voices were stifled, and their ashes remained.

This execution had lasted for two days. It was on the 1st of July 1523 that the martyrs of the Reformation took their lives for the Gospel.

All good men shuddered when they thought of it. The future filled them with the keenest apprehension. "The hour has begun," said Erasmus.⁷

¹ Facta est hæc res Brzellis in publico 1561.

² Nondum triginta annorum. Ibid.

³ Dit schijnen mij als roosen te zijn. I. Reformation. i. 79.

⁴ Admote igne, canere cæperunt azyab Erasmus. Epp. i. 127.

⁵ Da ist der eine im Feuer auf die Knie gekniet, 461.

⁶ Cupia est carnificina Epp. i. 142.

¹ So sie doch schändlicher leben denn Huren und Buben. I. Epp. ii. 282.

² Ichling eiliche Todt. Sec. p. 304.

³ Hey gebricht, mein Bruder. Beulstet. Ann. i. 172.

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er, "Christ is gathering some teaching, and is creating new

7 Luther felt at the conference two young Christians was a thought of Lambert. The most learned of the three; he to Probst's station as preacher Agitated in his dungeon, and prospect of death, he was still by his conscience, which re-erith cowardice, and urged him Gospel. He was soon des fears, and after boldly pro-uth, died like his brethren.¹

est sprang from the blood of Brussels turned towards the Wherever Aleandar raises a mus, "there he seems to have retics."² ls are mine," said Luther; is and your burning piles are Ve are all with you, and the head!" He then commemo- of these young monks in a , and soon, in Germany and lands, in city and country, ere heard communicating in an enthusiasm for the faith s.

their ashes shall not die:
one to every land,
their sainted dust shall fall
ings a holy band.

Satan by his might may kill,
op their powerfr voice,
imph o'er him in their death,
ill in Christ rejoice.

CHAPTER V.

ent VII.—The Legate Campeggio—Diet mand of the Legate—Reply of the Diet di projected—Alarm and Exertions of a—League of Ratisbon—Campeggio's ity and Reforms—Political Schism—ua of Rome—Decree of Burgos—Rup-

doubtless have persisted in measures; the inutility of his est the reform, his orthodoxy, sterity, and even his conscientd have made him a cruel perhis Providence did not permit. 14th of September 1523, and verjoyed at being delivered foreigner, crowned his phy-

atus est tertius frater Lambertus. L.

s fecit Lutheranos. Er. Epp. p. 302:
civitas favere Luthero. Ibid. p. 1076.
orge; Ea civitas antea purissima. Ibid.

os excitavit nuntius, ibi diceret fulsae mentem. Ibid.

mea sunt, vestri carceres et ignes mei

sician's door with flowers, and set this inscription over it: "To the saviour of his country."

Giulio de Medici, cousin to Leo X., succeeded Adrian VI., under the name of Clement VII. From the day of his election there was no more question of religious reform. The new pope, like many of his predecessors, thought only of upholding the privileges of the papacy, and of employing its resources for his own aggrandizement.

Anxious to repair Adrian's blunders, Clement sent to Nuremberg a legate of his own character, one of the most skilful prelates of his court, a man of great experience in public business, and acquainted with almost all the princes of Germany. Cardinal Campeggio, for such was his name, after a magnificent reception in the Italian cities on his road, soon perceived the change that had taken place in the empire. When he entered Augsburg, he desired, as was usual, to give his benediction to the people, but they burst into laughter. This was enough: he entered Nuremberg privately, without going to the church of St. Sebaldus, where the clergy awaited him. No priests in sacerdotal ornaments came out to meet him; no cross was solemnly borne before him;¹ one would have thought him some private individual passing through the streets of the city. Every thing betokened that the reign of the papacy was drawing to an end.

The Diet of Nuremberg resumed its sittings in the month of January 1524. A storm threatened the national government, which the country owed to the firmness of Frederick. The Swabian league, the wealthiest cities of the empire, and particularly Charles V., had sworn his destruction. He was accused of favouring the new heresy. Accordingly it was resolved to remodify this administration without retaining one of its former members. Frederick, overwhelmed with grief, immediately quitted Nuremberg.

The festival of Easter was approaching. Osiander and the evangelical preachers redoubled their zeal. The former openly declared in his sermons that Antichrist entered Rome the very day when Constantine left it to fix his residence at Constantinople. The consecration of the palm-branches and many other ceremonies of this feast were omitted: four thousand persons received the sacrament in both kinds, and the Queen of Denmark, the emperor's sister, received it publicly, in like manner, at the castle. "Ah!" exclaimed the Archduke Frederick, losing his temper, "would that you were not my sister!"—"The same womb bore us," replied the queen, "and I will sacrifice every thing to please you, except the Word of God."²

¹ Communi habitu, quod per sylvas et campos leras per mediam urbem....sine clero, sine pravia croce. Cochli. p. 302.

² Wollte sich des Wortes Gottes halten. Beckand. p. 313.

Campeggio shuddered as he witnessed such audacity; but affecting to despise the laughter of the populace and the discourses of the preachers, and resting on the authority of the emperor and of the pope, he reminded the diet of the edict of Worms, and called upon them to put down the Reformation by force. At this language many of the princes and deputies gave vent to their indignation: "What has become of the list of grievances presented to the pope by the German nation?" said they to Campeggio. The legate, following his instructions, assumed an air of candour and surprise, and answered, "Three copies of that list reached Rome; but we have received no official communication of it,¹ and neither the pope nor the college of cardinals could believe that such a paper could have emanated from your lordships. We thought that it came from some private individuals who had published it out of hatred to the court of Rome. In consequence of this I have no instructions on the matter."

The diet was incensed at this reply. If it is thus the pope receives their representations, they will also know how to listen to those he addresses to them. "The people," said many deputies, "are thirsting for the Word of God; and to take it away, as the edict of Worms enjoins, would cause torrents of blood to flow."

The diet immediately made preparations for replying to the pope. As they could not repeal the edict of Worms, a clause was added to it rendering it ineffectual. They said, "The people must conform with it *as far as possible*."² Now many states had declared it impossible to enforce it. At the same time, raising up the importunate shade of the councils of Constance and of Basle, the diet demanded the convocation of a general council of Christendom to be held in Germany.

The friends of the Reformation did not confine themselves to this. What could they expect from a council which perhaps would never be convoked, and which, under all circumstances, would be composed of bishops from every nation? Will Germany submit her anti-Romish inclinations to prelates from France, Spain, Italy, and England? The government of the nation had already been abolished; for it a national assembly should be substituted to protect the interests of the people.

In vain did Hannaart, the Spanish envoy from Charles V., and all the partisans of Rome and the emperor, endeavour to oppose this suggestion; the majority of the diet was immovable. It was agreed that a diet, a secular assembly, should meet at Spiers, in the month of November, to regulate all religious questions, and that the states should immediately instruct their theologians to

draw up a list of the controverted points to be laid before that august assembly.

They forthwith applied to the province drew up its memorial: had Rome been threatened with a similar explosion. Franconia, Henneburg, Windsheim, Wert remberg, declared in favour of and against the seven sacral abuses of the mass, the adoration and the papal supremacy. "I the right stamp," said Luther the questions that were agitated in mind was to be passed over in council. The majority would carrying general measures. Dependence, and reformation would be saved.

On being apprized of this, he not restrain his wrath. He set up a secular tribunal to decide religious questions in direct opposition to authority!³ If this extraordinary measure should be carried out, Germany doubtless be saved, but Rome? A consistory was hastily called from the alarm of the senate have thought the Germans were against the Capitol. "We resign our electoral hat from Frederick Alexander." The kings of Spain must threaten to break commercial intercourse with the first another cardinal. The congress decided that the only means of being in moving heaven and earth at the meeting at Spiers.

The pope immediately wrote to the emperor: "If I am the first to make the storm, it is not because I am the tempest threatens; but because the helm. The rights of the emperor more invaded than the dignity of Rome."

While the pope was sending Castile, he was endeavouring to win allies in Germany. He soon one of the most powerful houses, that of the dukes of Bavaria of Worms had not been more forced there than elsewhere, a galical doctrine had made ground. But about the close of the year princes of that country, put Doctor Eck, chancellor in the Ingolstadt, had drawn nearer had published a decree enjoining subjects to remain faithful to their ancestors.⁴

The Bavarian bishops were a encroachment of the secular power out for Rome to solicit the permission of authority in behalf of

¹ *Trium solium exemplaria fuisse perita Romam, ad quodam privatum, ex his unum sibi contigisse. Seldan. lib. iv.*
² *Quantum vis possibile sit. Cochleus, p. 24.*

³ *Pontifex agerrime tulit....Intelligence tribunal eo pacto excitari ultra ipsi Pallav. i. 122.*

⁴ *Erstes bayerisches Religions-Mandat der Evang. Lehre in Bayern, i. 310.*

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ed every thing, and even con-
takes a fifth of the ecclesiasti-
their country.

time when the Reformation
organization, Roman-catholi-
id recourse to powerful insti-
upport; and catholic princes,
ope, laid their hands on the
Church, long before the Re-
ured to touch them. What
of the reproaches the Roman-
so often made in this re-

might reckon upon Bavaria
rmidable assembly at Spire.
duke Ferdinand, the Bishop
d other princes, were gained

gio desired to go still further:
be divided into two hostile
as must be opposed to Ger-

fore, during his residence at
legate had concerted with
plan of a league against the
"There is every thing to be
sembly where the voice of the
d," said he. "The Diet of
troy Rome and save Wittem-
close our ranks; let us come
iding for the day of battle."¹
fixed upon as the place of

ling the jealousy between the
ria and Austria, Campeggio
ing the Dukes of Bavaria
ike Ferdinand to this city, at
1524. They were joined by
of Salzburg and the Bishops
Ratisbon. The Bishops of
erg, Augsburg, Strasburg,
ice, Freisingen, Passau, and
resent by deputy.
pened the sittings, describing
guage the dangers threatened
nation both to princes and
us extirpate heresy and save
xclaimed he.

nce lasted fifteen days in the
atisbon. A grand ball, that
daylight, served to enliven
olic assembly held by the
the dawning Reformation.²
asures were resolved upon for
of the heretics.

hought that, according to the
n of the Council of Constance,
be kept with heretics,³ and
me be carried out this great
small scale. During the sit-
et at Nuremberg, Campeggio
lobe and a book from a poor
onomical instruments: these

he kept, and refused to make any compensa-
tion, because the man was a Lutheran. Our
authority for this incident is the celebrated
Pirekheimer, one of the chief magistrates of
Nuremberg.¹

The princes and bishops bound themselves
to enforce the edicts of Worms and Nurem-
berg; to permit no change in public wor-
ship; to tolerate no married priest in their
states; to recall all their subjects who might
be studying at Wittemberg; and to employ
every means in their power for the extirpa-
tion of heresy. They enjoined the preachers,
in the interpretation of difficult passages, to
rely on the fathers of the Latin Church, Am-
brose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory.
Not venturing, in the face of the Reforma-
tion, to appeal to the authority of the school-
men, they were content to lay the first founda-
tions of Roman orthodoxy.

But, on the other hand, as they could not
close their eyes against the scandals and cor-
rupt morals of the priests,² they agreed on a
project of reform, in which they endeavoured
to embrace those German grievances which
least concerned the court of Rome. The
priests were forbidden to trade, to haunt the
taverns, "to frequent dances," and to dis-
pute over their cups about articles of faith.

Such was the result of the confederation of
Ratisbon.³ Even while taking up arms
against the Reformation, Rome conceded
something; and in these decrees we may ob-
serve the first influence of the Reformation
of the sixteenth century to effect an inward
renovation of catholicism. The Gospel can-
not display its strength without its enemies
endeavouring to imitate it in some way or
another. Emser had published a transla-
tion of the Bible in opposition to Luther's;
Eck his *Commun-place*, by way of counter-
poise to Melancthon's;⁴ and now Rome was
opposing to the Reformation those partial
essays of reform to which modern Romanism
is owing. But all these works were in
reality subtle expellents to escape from im-
pending danger; branches plucked indeed
from the tree of the Reformation, but
planted in a soil which killed them; there
was no vitality, and never will there be any
vitality in such attempts.

Another fact here occurs to us. The Ro-
man party formed at Ratisbon the first
league that infringed the unity of Germany.
The signal for battle was given from the
pope's camp. Ratisbon was the cradle of
this division, this political rending of their
native land, which so many Germans deplore
to this hour. The national assembly of
Spire, by sanctioning and generalizing the
reform of the Church, would have secured

¹ Strobel's *Verm. Beyträge zur Gesch. der Litt. Nürnberg*. 1774, p. 86.

² *Improbis clericorum abusibus et perditis moribus*. Coch-
leus, p. 91.

³ *Ut Lutherane factioni efficacius resistere possint, ul-
tronea confederatione sece constringerunt*. Ibid.

⁴ *Enchiridion, seu loci communes contra hereticos*. 1526.

See *Evang. Lehre in Bayern*, I. 186.

⁵ *Gespch.* II. 126.

re fidem in eo, qui Deo fidem frangit.
gan. 19. September 23, 1416.

the unity of the empire. The conventicle of separatists at Ratisbon for ever divided the nation into two parties.¹

Yet Campeggio's plans did not at first succeed as had been expected. Few princes answered this appeal. Luther's most decided adversaries, Duke George of Saxony, the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, the ecclesiastical electors, and the imperial cities, took no part in it. It was felt that the pope's legate was forming a Romish party in Germany against the nation itself. Popular sympathies counterbalanced religious antipathies, and in a short time the *Ratisbon reformation* became the laughing-stock of the people. But the first step had been taken, the example given. It was imagined that it would be no difficult task eventually to strengthen and enlarge this Roman league. Those who still hesitated would necessarily be drawn into it by the progress of events. To the legate Campeggio belongs the glory of having dug the mine which was most seriously to endanger the liberties of Germany, the existence of the empire, and of the Reformation. Henceforward Luther's cause ceased to be a mere religious affair; the dispute with the monk of Wittenberg ranked among the political events of Europe. Luther is about to be eclipsed; and Charles V., the pope, and the princes, will be the principal actors on the stage where the grand drama of the sixteenth century is to be performed.

Yet the assembly at Spire was still kept in view; it might repair the mischief that Campeggio had effected at Ratisbon. Rome made every exertion to prevent it. "What!" said the papal deputies, not only to Charles V. but also to Henry VIII. and other princes of Christendom, "What! do these insolent Germans pretend to decide points of faith in a national assembly? It would seem that kings, the imperial authority, all Christendom, and the whole world, ought to submit to their decrees!"

The moment was well chosen to act upon the emperor. The war between this prince and Francis I. was at its height. Pescara and the Constable of Bourbon had quitted Italy, and entering France in the month of May, had laid siege to Marseilles. The pope, who looked with an evil eye on this attack, might make a powerful diversion in the rear of the imperial army. Charles, who must have feared to displease him, did not hesitate, and immediately sacrificed the independence of the empire to the favour of Rome and the success of his struggle with France.

On the 15th of July, Charles issued an edict from Burgos in Castile, wherein he declared, with an imperious and angry tone, "that the pope alone had the right of convoking a council, and the emperor of demanding one; that the meeting appointed to take

place at Spire could not, and could not be tolerated; that it was strange that a nation should undertake a task which the other nations in the universe, without the pope's guidance, would not have done; and that no time should be lost in enforcing the decree of Worms against the new Mahomet."

Thus came from Spain and Italy that arrested the development of the Reformation in Germany. Charles was not idle. In 1519, he had proposed to unite the Archduchess Catherine, the daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, with the elector of Saxony, the elector and heir to the electorate. But this Saxon house that supported those principles of religious independence which Charles hated, decided on breaking off entirely from the emperor. Frederick, who in 1517 had been elected king of the Romans, was able in 1524 to resist the overtures of Spain, was able to resist the indignation he felt at the emperor, but Duke John haughtily int this proceeding had wounded very deeply.

Thus the two hostile camps destined to rend the empire for a period became daily more distinct.

CHAPTER VI.

Persecution—Gaspard Tauber—A Rockwell Wurtemberg, Salzburg, and Bavaria—Pope of Zephthas.

THE Roman party was not satisfied with this. The alliance of Ratisbon was a mere form; it must be sealed by Ferdinand and Campeggio des Danube together from Ratisbon and during their journey bound by cruel promises. A persecution broke out in the Austrian

One Gaspar Tauber, a citizen had circulated Luther's writing even written against the invocation of purgatory, and transubstantiation thrown into prison, he was summoned judges, both theologians and laymen, to retract his errors. It was thought that he had consented, and every preparation made in Vienna to gratify the people at this solemn spectacle. On the feast of Mary's nativity, two pulpits were erected in St. Stephen's cemetery, one for the orthodox, one for the heretic; the choir, who was to extol by the repentance of the heretic; and

¹ Hanka, Deutsche Gesch. II. 162.

¹ Atque etiam proprios ipse tractatus Cochleus, p. 52, verso.

r himself. The formula of recantation placed in his hands;¹ the people stood waited in silence. Either before had made no promise, or that ment of abjuration his faith sud- ded with fresh energy, he exclaimed, it convinced, and I appeal to the an empire!" Clergy, choristers, e were seized with astonishment. But Tauber continued to call rather than that he should deny d. He was decapitated, and his t;² and his courage made an in- pression on the inhabitants of

la in Hungary, an evangelical r, named John, had circulated Lu- Testament and other of his writ- oughout that country. He was stake; his persecutors then piled around him, enclosing him as if , and set fire to them. John mani- shaken courage, exclaiming from of the flames, that he was delighted a the cause of the Lord.³ "Blood od," cried Luther, when informed rtyrdom, "but that generous blood, ne loves to shed, will at last suf- pope with his kings and their

ism grew fiercer every day; evan- inists were expelled from their magistrates were banished; and he most horrible punishments were

In Wurtemberg, an inquisitor ichler caused the Lutherans, and the preachers, to be hanged upon rbarous ruffians were found who y nailed the pastors to a post by ues; so that these unhappy victims, emselves violently from the wood ey were fastened, were horribly in attempting to recover their id thus deprived of that gift which ong used to proclaim the Gospel.⁵ persecutions took place in the other the catholic league. An evangeli- r in the neighbourhood of Salzburg rison, where he was to pass the s days; whilst the police who had arge were drinking at an alehouse ad, two young peasants, moved passion, eluded their vigilance, and the pastor. The anger of the arch- as inflamed against these poor d without any form of trial ordered e beheaded. They were secretly e the town early in the morning; e they arrived on the plain where

they were to die, the executioner himself hesitated, "for (said he) they have not been tried."—"Do what I command you," harshly replied the archbishop's emissary, "and leave the responsibility to the prince!" and the heads of these youthful liberators im- mediately fell beneath the sword.¹

The persecution was most violent in the states of the Duke of Bavaria: priests were deprived of their office; nobles driven from their castles; spies filled the whole country; and in every heart reigned mistrust and alarm. As Bernard Fichtel, a magistrate, was going to Nuremberg on the duke's busi- ness, on the high-road he fell in with Francis Burkhardt, professor at Ingolstadt, and one of Dr. Eck's friends. Burkhardt accosted him, and they travelled together. After supper the professor began to talk of reli- gion; Fichtel, who was no stranger to his fellow-traveller, reminded him that the new edict prohibited such conversations. "Be- tween us," replied Burkhardt, "there is nothing to fear."—Upon this Fichtel re- marked: "I do not think this edict can ever be enforced." He then proceeded to express himself in an ambiguous manner on purga- tory, and said it was a horrible thing to pun- ish religious differences with death. At these words Burkhardt could not contain himself: "What is more just," said he, "than to cut off the heads of all these Lutheran rascals!" He took a friendly leave of Fichtel, but im- mediately denounced him. Fichtel was thrown into prison, and the wretched man, who had never thought of becoming a martyr, and whose religious convictions were not very deep, only escaped death by a shameful retraction. There was no secu- rity in any place, not even in the bosom of a friend.

But others met with that death from which Fichtel escaped. In vain was the Gospel preached in secret;² the dukes tracked it in its obscurity and mystery.— beneath the domestic roof and in the lonely fields.

"The cross and persecution reign in Ba- varia," said Luther; "these wild beasts are lashing themselves into madness."³

Even the north of Germany was not free from these cruelties. Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania, being dead, his son, who had been brought up at Duke George's court, per- secuted the Gospel; Suaven and Knipstrow were compelled to flee.

But it was in Holstein that one of the most extraordinary instances of fanaticism occurred.

Henry von Zuphten, who had escaped, as we have seen, from the convent at Antwerp, was preaching the Gospel at Bremen; Nicho- las Boye, pastor of Mehlendorf in the Ditt- marsh, and several pious men of that dis-

L. 164d. Cum igitur ego Casparus Tauber, etc. vidisse Casparum Tauber historiam martiris quem cum capite scribunt et sine exultum L. Luther to Haumann, 12th November 1521.

164d. Bude in Ungaria bibliopole eisdem Jo- annis libris circa eum positus exuato, fortis- se pro Domino. Luther to Haumann, II. 563. sanguinem tangit, qui suffocabit papam cum suis sub. 164d.utsche Gesch. II. 174.

1 Zanner, Salzburger Chronik. IV. 261.

2 Verbi non palam seminati. L. Epp. II. 269.

3 In Bavaria multum regnat crux et persecutio. 164d.

prior, invited him to come and proclaim Jesus Christ among them. He complied with their wishes. Immediately the prior of the Dominicans and the vicar of the official of Hamburg consulted together. "If he preaches and the people listen to him," said they, "all is lost!" The prior, after passing an agitated night, rose early and repaired to the barren and uncultivated heath where the forty-eight regents of the country were wont to hold their meetings. "The monk of Bremen is come to ruin all the Dittmarshers," said he to them. These forty-eight simple-minded and ignorant men, being persuaded that they would acquire great renown by delivering the world from the heretical monk, resolved on putting him to death, without having either seen or heard him.

This was on Saturday, and the prior wished to prevent Henry from preaching on the following day. He arrived at the pastor Boye's dwelling in the middle of the night with the letter of the forty-eight regents. "If it be God's will that I should die among the Dittmarshers," said Henry von Zuphten, "heaven is as near me there as elsewhere; I will preach."

He went up into the pulpit and preached with great energy. His hearers, moved and excited by his christian eloquence, had scarcely left the church when the prior handed them the letter of the forty-eight regents, forbidding the monk to preach. They immediately sent their representatives to the heath; and, after a long discussion, the Dittmarshers agreed that, considering their great ignorance, they would wait until Easter. But the incensed prior went up to some of the regents and inflamed their zeal afresh. "We will write to him," said they.—"Mind what you are about," replied the prior; "if he begins to speak, we shall be able to do nothing with him. We must seize him during the night, and burn him before he can open his mouth."

They determined to adopt this course. At nightfall on the day after the Festival of the Conception, the *Ave Maria* bell was rung. At this signal, all the neighbouring villagers assembled, to the number of five hundred, and their leaders having broached three butts of Hamburg beer, by this means inspired them with great courage. It was striking midnight when they reached Mehlendorf;—the peasants were armed;—the monks carried torches; all marched in disorder, exchanging shouts of fury. As they entered the village, they kept deep silence for fear Henry should escape.

On a sudden the gates of the parsonage were burst open; the drunken peasants rushed in, striking every thing they saw; dishes, kettles, flagons, clothing, were tossed about pell-mell; they seized on all the gold and silver they could find, and falling on the poor

pastor, beat him, with loud cries: "him! kill him!" and then flung him the mad. But it was Henry they were after; they pulled him out of bed, hands behind his back, and drag after them, without clothing, and in the cold night. "Why did you ever said they. And as Henry answered they cried out, "Down with him with him! if we listen to him we come heretics also!" They had dragged through the ice and snow; were bleeding; he entreated to be horseback. "Yes, indeed," replied, mocking him, "we will find horses ties!.....March!"—And they continuing him towards the heath. A standing at the door of her cottage servant of God was passing, began "My good woman," said Henry, weep for me." The bailiff pronounced condemnation. Upon this one of the men who had dragged him thither stood preacher of Jesus Christ on the heath sword; another gave him a blow club; after which they brought him monk to receive his confession. "I said Henry, "have I ever done wrong?"—"None," replied the monk that case I have nothing to confess resumed Henry, "and you have not forgive me." The monk retired in cell. Several ineffectual attempts were kindle the pile; the logs would not fire. For two hours the martyr thus before the furious peasantry,—raising his eyes to heaven. While thus binding him to throw him into the fire began the confession of his faith. "first," said a peasant, striking him mouth with his fist, "and then you speak!" They tried to fling him on but he fell on one side. John Holme a club, struck him upon the breast, was laid dead on the burning heap. is the true history of the suffering holy martyr, Henry von Zuphten."¹

CHAPTER VII.

Divisions—The Lord's Supper—Two Extremes—Covetry—Wessel on the Lord's Supper—Carlists—Mysticism of the Anabaptists—Carlstadt at Luther's Minion—Interview at Table—The of Orlamund—Carlstadt banished.

While the Roman party was even drawing the sword against the Reformation this work underwent new developments is not at Zurich or at Geneva, but in Mehlberg, the focus of the Lutheran revival.

¹ Der Himmel ware da so nahe als anderswo. L. Opp. xix. 330.

¹ Das ist die wahre Historie, &c. L. Opp. I.

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ld look for the commencement of that Church, of which Calvin became doctor. These two great families in the same cradle. Union ought rather to have crowned their matured when the question of the Lord's was once started, Luther violently and his Church in an exclusive Lu- a. The vexation he felt at this trine caused him to lose much of his indness of disposition, and aroused a mistrust, an habitual discontent, to which he had hitherto been

controvery broke out between the riends, the two champions who had de by side at Leipsic against Rome, a Carlstadt and Luther. In each their attachment to contrary doc- ginated in a turn of mind that r esteem. In fact, there are two in questions of religion; the one es, the other spiritualizes every he former of these two extremes is Rome; the latter, of the Mystics. like man himself, is compounded nd soul; the pure idealists as well terialists, in religious views no less philosophical systems, are equally

s the great question hidden under ssion about the Lord's Supper. a superficial glance we see nothing rial dispute about words, a deeper on discloses to us one of the most t controversies that can occupy the ind.

he reformers divide into two par- each carries away with it a portion th. Luther and his followers op- aggerated spiritualism; Carlstadt reformed attack a hateful material- ch of them arraigns the error which w appears the most fatal, and, in it, possibly goes beyond the truth. s of no importance; each of them his general tendency, and although ; to two different hosts, these two s teachers both take their stand a common banner,—that of Jesus ho alone is Truth in its infinite

it thought that nothing could be rious to real piety than confidence d ceremonies and in a certain ma- sence of the sacraments. The out- icipation in the Lord's Supper, ac- o Rome, was sufficient for salvation, rinciple had materialized religion. saw no better way of restoring its y than by denying all presence s body; and he taught that this ; was to believers simply a pledge mption.

distadt arrive at these opinions un- No: all things are bound together

in the Church; and the historical filiation of the reformed doctrine, so long overlooked, now appears clearly established. Unques- tionably we cannot fail to see in this doctrine the sentiments of several of the Fathers; but if we search in the long chain of ages for the link which more immediately con- nects that of Carlstadt and the Swiss refor- mers, we shall find it in John Wessel, the most illustrious doctor of the fifteenth cen- tury.¹

A christian lawyer of Holland, Cornelius Hoen (Honius), a friend of Erasmus, and who had been thrown into prison in 1523 for his attachment to the Gospel, found among the papers of James Hoek, dean of Naeld- wik, and a great friend of Wessel, several treatises by this illustrious doctor, touching the Lord's Supper.² Hoen, convinced of the truth of the spiritual sense ascribed by Wes- sel to this sacrament, thought it his duty to communicate to the reformers these papers written by his fellow-countryman. He therefore transmitted them to two of his friends, John Rhodius, president of the brethren of the Common-life at Utrecht, and George Sagarus or Saganus, together with a letter on the same subject, and desired them to lay all of them before Luther.

About the close of the year 1520, the two Dutchmen arrived at Wittenberg, where they seem to have been favourably received by Carlstadt from the first moment; while Luther, as was his custom, invited these foreign friends to meet some of his colleagues at dinner. The conversation naturally fell on the treasure these Netherlanders had brought with them, and particularly on the writings of Wessel concerning the Lord's Supper.

Rhodius invited Luther to receive the doc- trine that the great doctor of the fifteenth century had so clearly set forth, and Carl- stadt entreated his friend to acknowledge the spiritual signification of the Eucharist, and even to write against the carnal eating of Christ's body. Luther shook his head and refused, upon which Carlstadt exclaimed warmly: "Well, then, if you will not do it, I will, although far less fitted than your- self." Such was the beginning of the divi- sion that afterwards occurred between these two colleagues.³ The two Netherlanders, being rejected in Saxony, resolved to turn their steps towards Switzerland, where we shall meet with them again.

Luther henceforward took a diametrically opposite direction. At first, he had ap- parently contended in favour of the opinion we have just pointed out. In his treatise on the

¹ See vol. I. p. 33.

² See Hardenberg *Vita Wesseli*; Gerdes, *Blak. Boomp. reves*, 1. 228-230; Gieseler, *Kirchen G. III.* 190; Utman *Joh. Wessel* (3d edit.), p. 564.

³ Hardenberg, *Vita Wesseli*; W. Opp. Amsterdam, p. 13. Hardenberg refers to Rhodius, Goevin, Melancthon, and Th. Blaurot, from whom he says that he received his ac- count, and adds: *Interim velim illis credi, ut vicia venia, mihi saltem, ut idoli refector.*

mass, which appeared in 1520, he said: "I can every day partake of the sacraments, if I only call to mind the words and promises of Christ, and if I nourish and strengthen my faith with them." Neither Carlstadt, Zwingle, nor Calvin, have ever used stronger language than this. It would even appear that the idea frequently occurred to him at this period, that a symbolical explanation of the Lord's Supper would be the most powerful weapon to overturn the papal system from top to bottom; for he said in 1525, that five years previously he had undergone many severe temptations for this doctrine,¹ and that the man who could have proved to him that there was only bread and wine in the eucharist, would have done him the greatest of services.

But new circumstances threw him into an opposition, at times not unmingled with violence, against those very opinions to which he had made so near an approach. The fanaticism of the Anabaptists explains the direction Luther now took. These enthusiasts were not content with undervaluing what they called the external Word, that is, the Bible, and with pretending to special revelations from the Holy Ghost; they went so far as to despise the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as something outward, and to speak of an inward communion as being the only true communion. From that time, in every attempt made to explain the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in a symbolical manner, Luther saw only the danger of weakening the authority of the Holy Scriptures; of substituting arbitrary allegories for their real meaning; of spiritualizing every thing in religion; of making it consist, not in the gifts of God, but in the impressions of men: and of substituting by this means for the true Christianity a mysticism, a theosophy, a fanaticism, that would infallibly become its grave. We must acknowledge that, had it not been for Luther's violent opposition, the mystical, enthusiastic, and subjective tendency would then perhaps have made rapid progress, and would have turned back the tide of blessings that the Reformation was to spread over the world.

Carlstadt, impatient at being prevented from explaining his doctrine freely in Wittenberg, and urged by his conscience to combat a system which in his "opinion lowered Christ's death and destroyed his righteousness," resolved "to give a public testimony for the love of poor and cruelly deceived Christendom." He left Wittenberg at the beginning of 1524, without informing either the university or the chapter of his intentions, and repaired to the small town of Orlamund, the church of which was placed under his superintendence. He had the incumbent dismissed, got himself nominated pastor in his stead, and in despite of

the chapter, the university, and the established himself in this new post.

He soon began to propagate his "It is impossible," said he, "to find real presence any advantage that proceed from faith; it is therefore in explaining Christ's words at the institution of the Lord's Supper, he had received an interpretation which is not ad the reformed Churches. Luther, in reputation at Leipsic, had explained words: *Thou art Peter, and on this: build my Church*, by separating the positions, and applying the latter Saviour's person. "In like manner Carlstadt, "the words, *take, eat, re-bread; but this is my body* relates Christ, who then pointed to him intimated by the symbol of bread, that his body was soon to be

Carlstadt did not stop here. scarcely emancipated from the gulf of Luther, before he felt his zeal against the images. It was easy for prudent discourses and his enthusiasm to inflame men's minds in excited times. The people, imagining they heard a second Elijah, broke the idols. The excitement soon spread to the neighbouring villages. The elector would have interfered; but the peasants replied that they ought to obey God rather than man; this, the prince determined to send Orlamund to restore peace. Luther regarded Carlstadt as a man eaten up by notoriety,²—a fanatic who might be carried away as to make war on himself. Frederick might perhaps have made a wiser choice. Luther departed, and Carlstadt was fated to see this troubles some more come and disturb his plan, and check his soaring flight.

Jena was on the road to Orlamund, when he reached this city on the 23d of April, and on the 24th went into the pulpit in the morning; he spoke for an hour and a half in the presence of a numerous assembly against fanaticism, rebellion, the breaking of images, and the contempt of the sacraments, inveighing most energetically against the innovations of Orlamund. He mentioned Carlstadt by name, but could see whom he had in view.

Carlstadt, either by accident or design, came to Jena, and among the number of hearers. He did not hesitate to explain the position of his sermon. Luther with the prior of Wittenberg, the town-master, the town-clerk, the pastor, and several officers of the emperor's margrave, when he received a Carlstadt demanding an interview, handed it to his neighbours, and the bearer: "If Doctor Carlstadt come to me, let him come; if not,

¹ Ich habe wohl so harte Anfechtungen da erlitten. L. App. B. 27.

² Huc perpulsi cum inanis glorie et laudi App. B. 24.

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him." Carlstadt came. His visit d a lively sensation in the whole. The majority, eager to see the two tling, suspended their repast and n, while the more timid turned pale arm.

adt, on Luther's invitation, took a front of him and said: "Doctor, in mon of this morning you classed me se who inculcate rebellion and assas- . Such a charge I declare to be false."

ER.—"I did not name you; but since fits, you may wear it."

a brief pause Carlstadt resumed: ill undertake to prove that on the of the sacrament you have contra- yourself, and that no one, since the the apostles, has taught it so purely if."

ER.—"Write! combat my opinions!"

STADT.—"I challenge you to a public ion at Wittemberg or at Erfurth, if l procure me a safe-conduct."

ER.—"Fear nothing, doctor."

STADT.—"You bind me hand and d when you have rendered me unable d myself, you strike me."¹

o was another brief silence, when resumed:—

ite against me,—but openly and not t."

STADT.—"I would do so, if I knew a were speaking sincerely."

ER.—"Do so, and I will give you a

STADT.—"Give it me; I accept the ge."

ese words Luther took a gold florin out ocket, and giving it to Carlstadt, said: is the money: now strike boldly."

tadt holding the florin in his hand, towards the assembly and said: brethren, this is my earnest-money, ant that I have authority to write Doctor Luther; be you all witnesses "

bending the florin that it might be again, he put it in his purse and hands with Luther, who drank his to which Carlstadt responded. "The igrorous your attack, the better I shall resumed Luther.

I miss you," replied Carlstadt, "it through no fault of mine."

once more shook hands, and Carl- turned to his dwelling.

says an historian, as from a single often proceeds the conflagration of a forest, so from this small beginning a ivision arose in the Church.²

er set out for Orlamund, and arrived ery ill prepared by the scene at Jena.

endet mir Hände und Füße, darnach schlägt Er . Opp. xix. 160.

una scintilla expe totam sylvam comburit. M. la Carlst. p. 83. Our narrative is mostly taken any of Reinkens, pastor of Jena, an eye-witness, ed of Carlstadt, and whom Luther charged with y.

He assembled the council and the church, and said: "Neither the elector nor the uni- versity will acknowledge Carlstadt as your pastor."

"If Carlstadt is not our pastor," replied the treasurer of the town-council, "St. Paul is a false teacher, and your books are full of falsehoods, for we have elected him."

As he said this, Carlstadt entered the room. Some of those who were near Luther beckoned him to sit down, but Carlstadt, going straight up to Luther, said: "Dear doctor, if you will allow me, I will entertain you."

LUTHER.—"You are my opponent. I gave you a gold florin for that purpose."

CARLSTADT.—"I will be your opponent so long as you remain the enemy of God and of his truth."

LUTHER.—"Leave the room: I cannot allow you to be present here."

CARLSTADT.—"This is a public meeting. If your cause is good, why should you fear me?"

LUTHER to his servant.—"Go and put the horses to; I have nothing to do with Carl- stadt, and since he will not leave, I must."³

At the same time Luther rose from his seat, upon which Carlstadt quitted the room.

After a short pause, Luther resumed:—

"Prove by Scripture that we ought to de- stroy the images."

A COUNCILLOR, opening a Bible.—"Doctor, you will grant me, however, that Moses knew God's commandments? Well, then, here are his words: *Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness.*"

LUTHER.—"This passage refers only to idolatrous images. If I have a crucifix hung up in my chamber, and do not worship it, what harm can it do me?"

A SHOEMAKER.—"I have frequently taken off my hat before an image that I have seen in a room or in the streets. It is an idola- trous act that deprives God of the glory that is due to him alone."

LUTHER.—"Must we then, because of their abuse, put our women to death, and throw our wine into the streets?"⁴

ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE CHURCH.—"No! these are God's creatures, which we are not commanded to destroy."

After the conference had lasted some time longer, Luther and his friends returned to their carriage, astonished at what they had seen, and without having succeeded in con- vincing the inhabitants, who claimed for themselves the right of freely interpreting and explaining the Scriptures. The excite- ment was very great in Orlamund; the people insulted Luther, and some of them shouted out: "Begone, in the name of all the devils! May you break your neck before you get out of our city!"⁵ Never had the reformer undergone such humiliation.

¹ Spann an, spann an. L. Opp. xix. 164.

² So much in dem Hiebtranchen halber auch. Told 160.

³ Two of the most distinguished contemporary historians.

He proceeded thence to Kale, where the pastor had also embraced the doctrines of Carlstadt, and resolved to preach there. But when he entered the pulpit, he found in it the fragments of a crucifix. At first his emotion was very great; but recovering himself, he gathered up the pieces into a corner, and delivered a sermon without a single allusion to this circumstance. He said at a later period: "I determined to revenge myself on the devil by contempt."

The nearer the elector approached the end of his days, the more he feared lest men should go too far in the Reformation. He gave orders that Carlstadt should be deprived of his offices, and that he should not only leave Orlamund, but the electoral states also. In vain did the church of this place intercede in his favour; in vain did they ask that he might be allowed to remain among them as a private citizen, with permission to preach occasionally; in vain did they represent that they valued God's truth more than the whole world, or even a thousand worlds,¹ if God had created as many: Frederick was inflexible, and he even went so far as to refuse Carlstadt the funds necessary for his journey. Luther had nothing to do with these severe measures of the prince; they were far from his disposition, as he showed at a later period. But Carlstadt looked upon him as the author of all his misfortunes, and filled Germany with his complaints and lamentations. He wrote a farewell address to his friends at Orlamund. The people were called together by the ringing of the bells; and the letter, which was read to the assembled church, drew tears from every eye.² It was signed, "Andrew Bodenstein, expelled by Luther, unheard and unconvicted."

We cannot but feel pain at seeing the contest between these two men, who once were friends, and who were both so excellent. A feeling of sadness took possession of all the disciples of the Reformation. What would become of it, now that its most illustrious defenders thus opposed each other? Luther noticed these fears, and endeavoured to allay them. "Let us fight," said he, "as if fighting for another. The cause is God's, the care is God's, the work is God's, the victory is God's, and to God belongs the glory!"³ He will contend and conquer without us. Let that fall which ought to fall; let that stand which ought to stand. It is not our own cause that is at stake, nor our own glory that we seek."

Carlstadt took refuge at Strasburg, where

he published several works in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and Luther acknowledged his superior erudition. Endowed with a noble mind, he sacrificed his rest to his home, his very breath to his teaching: his independence of air in which Zwingle breathed. His doctrine was most as much attention as Luther's first theses. So to be won; Bucer and Co. carried away by it.

Luther's indignation was kindled, and he published one of his polemics, but at the same time one of his controversial works—his *Celestial Prophets*."

Thus the Reformation was beginning to tear its own that it must fall under the evils; and assuredly it was it been a work of man. At the very brink of destruction, it renewed energy.

CHAPTER

Progress—Resistance against the League between Philip of Hesse and the Emperor—The Grand-Master of Holstein—The Grand-Master

The Catholic League of persecutions that followed the Reformation, a full reaction among the Germans did not feel disposed to be deprived of that Word which had been restored to them by the orders of Charles V., to the threats and the menaces and burning of the heretics, and the other Romanists they replied: "We will not be won."

No sooner had the men of the Reformation quitted Ratisbon, than the towns, whose bishops had been in alliance, in surprise and indignation, and declared that despite of the prohibitions they should preach the Gospel of the Gospel, conformably to the prophets and apostles, and proceeded to draw up a more consistent language, to the national assembly.

The imperial letter from Rome came to disturb their minds about the close of the year 1546. These cities, with many others, and swore to assist one another in the attack.

of Germany (Dr. Markelneke, *Ref. Gesch.* II. 139, and Fred. von Raumer, *Gesch. Europ.* I. 371), add, that the people of Orlamund hung mud and stones at Luther; but he asserts the very contrary: "Dass ich froh ward, dass ich nit mit Steinen und Dreck ausgeworfen ward." I was glad to escape without being pelted with stones and mud. *L. Epp.* II. 579.

¹ Höher als tausend Welten. *Seck.* p. 628.

² Que publice vocatis per campanas lecte sunt omnibus simul sententibus. *L. Epp.* II. 528.

³ Causa Dei est, cura Dei est, opus Dei est, victoria Dei est, gloria Dei est! *Ibid.* 526.

Thus to the camp formed by Austria, Bavaria, and the bishops, the free cities immediately opposed another in which they planted the standard of the Gospel and of the national liberties.

While the cities were thus placing themselves in the van of the Reformation, many princes were gained over to its cause. In the beginning of the month of June 1524, as Melancthon was returning on horseback from a visit to his mother, accompanied by Camerarius and some other friends, he met a brilliant train near Frankfort. It was Philip, landgrave of Hesse, who three years before had called on Luther at Worms, and who was then on his road to the tournament at Heidelberg, where all the princes of Germany would be present.

Thus did Providence bring Philip successively into contact with the two reformers. As it was known that the celebrated doctor had gone to his native place, one of the landgrave's attendants said: "It is Philip Melancthon, I think." The young prince, immediately clapped spurs to his horse, and coming near the doctor said: "Is your name Philip?"—"It is," replied the scholar a little intimidated, and respectfully preparing to alight.¹ "Keep your seat," said the prince; "turn round, and come and pass the night with me; there are some matters on which I desire to have a little talk with you; fear nothing."—"What can I fear from such a prince as you?" replied the doctor.—"Ah! ah!" said the landgrave with a laugh, "if I were to carry you off and give you up to Campeggio, he would not be offended, I think." The two Philips rode on together, side by side, the prince asking questions and the doctor replying. The landgrave was delighted with the clear and impressive views set before him by Melancthon. The latter at length begged permission to continue his journey, and Philip of Hesse parted from him with reluctance. "On one condition," said he, "that on your return home you will carefully examine the questions we have been discussing, and send me the result in writing."² Melancthon gave his promise. "Go, then," said Philip, "and pass through my states."

Melancthon drew up with his usual talent an *Abridgment of the Revived Doctrine of Christianity*;³ a forcible and concise treatise, that made a decided impression on the landgrave's mind. Shortly after his return from the tournament at Heidelberg, this prince, without joining the free cities, published an edict by which, in opposition to the league of Ratisbon, he ordered the Gospel to be preached in all its purity. He embraced it himself with the energy peculiar to his character. "Rather would I give up my body

and life, my subjects, and my states," said he, "than the Word of God." A Minorite friar, named Ferber, perceiving this prince's leaning towards the Reformation, wrote him a letter full of reproach, in which he conjured him to remain faithful to Rome. "I will remain faithful to the old doctrine," replied Philip, "but such as it is contained in Scripture." He then proved very forcibly that man is justified solely by faith. Astonishment kept the monk silent.⁴ The landgrave was commonly styled "Melancthon's disciple."⁵

Other princes followed in the same direction. The elector-palatine refused to lend himself to any persecution; the Duke of Luneburg, nephew to the Elector of Saxony, began to reform his own states; and the King of Denmark gave orders that in Sleswick and Holstein every one should be free to serve God as his conscience suggested.

The Reformation gained a still more important victory. A prince, whose conversion to the Gospel was destined to exert the greatest influence, even in our days, began about this time to turn aside from Rome. One day about the end of June, shortly after Melancthon's return to Wittenberg, Albert, margrave of Brandenburg and grand-master of the Teutonic order, entered Luther's chamber. This chief of the military monks of Germany, who then possessed Prussia, had gone to the Diet of Nuremberg to invoke the aid of the empire against Poland. He returned in the deepest distress. On the one hand, the preaching of Osiander and the reading of the Bible had convinced him that his monastic profession was contrary to the Word of God; and on the other the fall of the national government in Germany had deprived him of all hope of obtaining the succour he had gone to solicit. What can he do then?.....The Saxon councillor Von Planitz, with whom he had quitted Nuremberg, advised him to see the reformer. "What do you think of the regulations of my order?" said the restless and agitated prince. Luther felt no hesitation: he saw that a line of conduct in conformity with the Gospel was the only thing that could save Prussia. "Invoke the aid of God," said he to the grand-master; "throw off the senseless and confused rules of your order; put an end to that abominable principality, a veritable hermaphrodite, which is neither religious nor secular;⁶ relinquish that false chastity, and seek the true one; take a wife, and instead of that nameless monster, found a legitimate sovereignty."⁷ These words placed distinctly before the mind of the grand-master a state of things that he had

¹ Seckendorf, p. 738.

² Princeps ille discipulus Philippi fuit a quibusdam appellatus. Camer. p. 95.

³ Ut loco illius abominabilis principatus, qui hermaphroditus quidem. L. Epp. ii. 527.

⁴ Ut contempta ista stultis confusaque regula, uxorem duceret. Ibid.

⁵ Honoris causa de equo descendens. Camerarius, p. 94.
⁶ Ut de questionibus quas audisset moveri, aliquid dilucide conciperetur. Ibid. p. 94.
⁷ Epitome renovata ecclesiasticæ doctrinæ.

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as, yet conceived but vaguely. A smile lit up his features; but as he had too much prudence to declare himself, he remained silent.¹ Melancthon, who was present, spoke to the same effect as Luther, and the prince returned to his states, leaving the reformers under the conviction that the seed they had sown in his heart would one day bear fruit.

Thus Charles V. and the pope had opposed the national assembly at Spires for fear the Word of God should gain over all who might be present; but the Word of God cannot be bound; they refused to let it be heard in one of the halls of a town in the Lower Palatinate; it avenged itself by spreading over all the provinces; it stirred the hearts of the people, enlightened the princes, and manifested in every part of the empire that Divine power which neither bulls nor edicts can ever take away.

CHAPTER IX.

Reforms—All Saints Church—Fall of the Mass—Learning—Christian Schools—Learning extended to the Laity—The Arts—Moral Religion—Esthetical Religion—Music—Poetry—Painting.

WHILE the nations and their rulers were thus hastening forward to the light, the reformers were endeavouring to regenerate every thing, to interpenetrate every thing with the principles of Christianity. The state of public worship first engaged their attention. The time fixed by the reformer, on his return from the Wartburg, had arrived. "Now," said he, "that men's hearts have been strengthened by Divine grace, we must put an end to the scandals that pollute the kingdom of the Lord, and dare something in the name of Jesus." He required that men should communicate in both kinds (the bread and wine); that every thing should be retrenched from the ceremony of the eucharist that tended to make it a sacrifice;² that Christians should never assemble together without having the Gospel preached;³ that believers, or at least the priests and scholars, should meet every morning at five or six o'clock to read the Old Testament; and at a corresponding hour in the evening to read the New Testament; that every Sunday, the whole Church should assemble in the morning and afternoon, and that the great object of their worship should be to sound abroad the Word of God.⁴

The church of All Saints at Wittesheim especially excited Luther's indignation. It resembled those ancient sanctuaries where the masses were celebrated yearly, and 35,570 of wax annually burnt. Luther called it a "sacred Tophet." "There are three or four lazy-bellies," said he, "still worship this shameful mammon, I had not restrained the people, this of All Saints, or rather of all devils, have made such a noise in the world never before been heard."

The struggle began around this church. It resembled those ancient sanctuaries of paganism in Egypt, Gaul, and Greece, which were destined to fall that Christ might be established.

Luther, desiring that the mass should be abolished in this cathedral, addressed a petition to the chapter to this effect on the 1st of March 1523, and a second on the 1st of July.¹ The canons having pleaded the emperor's orders, Luther replied, "What prince's order to us in this case? If a secular prince; the sword, and not the preaching of the Gospel, belongs to him. Here Luther clearly marks the distinction between the State and the Church. "It is but one sacrifice that taketh away sin," said he again, "Christ, who offered himself up once for all; and in this we are parted not by works or by sacrifices, but solely by faith in the Word of God."

The elector, who felt his end drawing near, was opposed to new reforms.

But fresh entreaties were addressed to the elector. "It is time to act," said Luther, provost of the cathedral, to the elector a manifestation of the Gospel, so striking that which we now have, does not endure longer than a sunbeam. Let us hasten then."²

As the letter of Jonas did not change the elector's views, Luther lost all patience. He thought the moment had come for a decisive blow, and addressed a threatening letter to the chapter: "I entreat you verbally, and urge you seriously, to put an end to all this sectarian worship. If you will receive (with God's help) the Word that you have deserved. I am at this for your guidance, and require a prompt and immediate answer,—yes or no,—Sunday next, that I may know what to do. May God give you grace to his light."

"Thursday, 8th December 1524.

"MARTIN LUTHER,

"Preacher at Wittenberg"

At the same time the rector, two masters, and ten councillors, waited the dean, and entreated him in the name of the university, the council, and the towns-

¹ Ille tum arripit, sed nihil respondit. L. Epp. II. 527.

² Weise christliche Messe zu halten. L. Opp. (L.) xxii.

³ Die christliche Gemeinde nimmer soll zusammen kommen, es werde denn daselbst Gottes Wort gepredigt. Ibid.

⁴ Dass das Wort im Schwange gehe (to ring out the Word as full peal.) Ibid. 227.

¹ L. Epp. II. pp. 308, 354.

² Welchem geführt das Schwerdt, nicht das Kreuz zu versorgen. L. Opp. xviii. p. 427.

³ Corp. Ref. I. 626.

⁴ L. Epp. II. 565.

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ie period which we have
te to the councillors of all
many, calling upon them to

found christian schools. "Dear sirs," said
he, "we annually expend so much money on
arquebuses, roads, and dikes, why should we
not spend a little to give one or two school-
masters to our poor children? God stands
at the door and knocks; blessed are we if we
open to him! Now the Word of God abounds.
O my dear Germans, buy, buy, while the
market is open before your houses. The
Word of God and his grace are like a shower
that falls and passes away. It was among
the Jews; but it passed away, and now they
have it no longer. Paul carried it into
Greece; but in that country also it has
passed away, and the Turk reigns there
now. It came to Rome and the Latin em-
pire; but there also it has passed away, and
Rome now has the pope.¹ O Germans, do
not expect to have this Word for ever. The
contempt that is shown to it will drive it
away. For this reason, let him who desires
to possess it lay hold of it and keep it!"

"Busy yourselves with the children," con-
tinues Luther, still addressing the magis-
trates; "for many parents are like ostriches,
they are hardened towards their little ones,
and, satisfied with having laid the egg, they
care nothing for it afterwards. The prosper-
ity of a city does not consist merely in heap-
ing up great treasures, in building strong
walls, in erecting splendid mansions, in pos-
sessing glittering arms. If madmen fall upon
it, its ruin will only be the greater. The
true wealth of a city, its safety, and its
strength, is to have many learned, serious,
worthy, well educated citizens. And whom
must we blame, because there are so few at
present, except your magistrates, who have
allowed our youth to grow up like trees in a
forest?"

Luther particularly insisted on the neces-
sity of studying literature and languages:
"What use is there, it may be asked, in
learning Latin, Greek, and Hebrew? We
can read the Bible very well in German.
Without languages," replies he,—"we could
not have received the Gospel.....Languages
are the scabbard that contains the sword of
the Spirit;² they are the casket that guards
the jewels: they are the vessel that holds the
wine; and, as the Gospel says, they are the
baskets in which the loaves and fishes are
kept to feed the multitude. If we neglect
the languages, we shall not only eventually
lose the Gospel, but be unable to speak or
write in Latin or in German. No sooner did
men cease to cultivate them than Christen-
dom declined, even until it fell under the
power of the pope. But now that languages
are again honoured, they shed such light
that all the world is astonished, and every
one is forced to acknowledge that our Gospel
is almost as pure as that of the apostles

des heiligen göttlichen Wortes....L.

¹ Aber hin ist hin (but lost is lost); also haben nun den
Pabst. L. Opp. W. i. 335.

² Die Sprachen sind die Scheide, darinnen das Messer des
Geistes steckt. Ibid.

themselves. In former times the holy Fathers were frequently mistaken, because they were ignorant of languages; and in our days there are some who, like the Waldenses, do not think the languages to be of any use; but although their doctrine be good, they have often erred in the real meaning of the sacred text; they are without arms against error, and I fear very much that their faith will not remain pure.¹ If the languages had not made me positive as to the meaning of the Word, I might have been a pious monk, and quietly preached the truth in the obscurity of a cloister; but I should have left the pope, the sophists, and their anti-christian empire still unshaken."²

Luther did not concern himself about the education of the clergy only; it was his desire that knowledge should not be confined to the Church; he proposed extending it to the laity, who hitherto had been deprived of it. He called for the establishment of libraries, which should comprise not only editions and commentaries of the schoolmen and of the fathers of the Church, but also the works of orators and poets, even were they heathens, as well as writings devoted to the fine arts, law, medicine, and history. "These productions," said he, "serve to make known the works and the wonders of God."

This effort on the part of Luther is one of the most important produced by the Reformation. He emancipated learning from the hands of the priests, who had monopolized it, like those of Egypt in times of old, and put it within the reach of all. From this impulse given by the Reformation have proceeded the greatest developments of modern times. Those laymen, whether men of letters or scholars, who now revile the Reformation, forget that they themselves are its offspring, and that, without it, they would still be, like ignorant children, under the rod of the clergy. The Reformation perceived the close tie that connected all the sciences: it saw that, as all knowledge is derived from God, it leads man back to God. It desired that all men should learn, and that they should learn every thing. "Those who despise profane literature," said Melancthon, "hold theology in no greater estimation. Their contempt is a mere pretext, with which they seek to conceal their idleness."³

The Reformation was not satisfied with merely giving a strong impulse to letters; it gave also a fresh impulse to the arts. Protestantism has often been reproached as their enemy, and many Protestants willingly accept this reproach. We will not inquire whether the Reformation ought to glory in it or not; we shall be content to observe that impartial history does not confirm the

fact on which this accusation is founded. Let Roman-catholicism pride itself in being more favourable to the arts than Protestantism; be it so: paganism was still more favourable, and Protestantism places its glory elsewhere. There are some religions in which the esthetic tendencies of man hold a more important place than his moral nature. Christianity is distinct from these religions, inasmuch as the moral element is its essence. The christian sentiment is manifested not by the productions of the fine arts, but by the works of a christian life. Every sect that should abandon this moral tendency of Christianity, would by that very circumstance forfeit its claims to the name of christian. Rome has not entirely abandoned it, but Protestantism cherishes this essential characteristic with much greater purity. It places its glory in examining into all that concerns the moral being, in judging of religious actions, not by their external beauty and the manner in which they strike the imagination, but according to their internal worth, and the connexion they have with the conscience; so that if the papacy is above all an esthetic religion, as a celebrated writer has proved it to be,⁴ Protestantism is above all a moral religion.

And yet, although the Reformation at first addressed man as a moral being, it addressed the whole man. We have just seen how it spoke to his understanding and what it did for literature; it also spoke to his sensibility, to his imagination, and contributed to the development of the arts. The Church was no longer composed exclusively of monks and priests; it was the assembly of the faithful. All were to take part in its public worship; and the chanting of the clergy was to be succeeded by the singing of the people. Accordingly Luther, in translating the Psalms, thought of adapting them to congregational singing. Thus a taste for music was spread among the nation.

"Next to theology," said Luther, "I give the first place and the highest honour to music."⁵ A schoolmaster should know how to sing," said he at another time, "or else I would not so much as look at him."

One day, as certain of his friends were singing some beautiful hymns at his house, he exclaimed with enthusiasm: "If our Lord God has scattered such admirable gifts on this earth, which is but a dark corner, what will it not be in the life eternal, in which all will be perfection!".....Since Luther's time, the people have sung; the Bible inspired their songs, and the impulse given at the epoch of the Reformation produced in later years those noble oratorios which seem to be the summit of this art.

Poetry shared in the general movement. In singing the praises of God, men could not

¹ Es sey oder werde nicht lauter bleiben. L. Opp. W. x. 555.

² Ich hätte wohl auch können fromm seyn und in der Stille recht predigen. *Ibid.*

³ Hunc titulum ignavia sum pretextum. Corp. Ref. i. 613.

⁴ Chateaubriand, *Génie du Christianisme*.

⁵ Ich gebe nach der Theologie, der Musica den nächsten Locum und höchste Ehre. L. Opp. W. xiii. p. 323.

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themselves to mere translations of ancient hymns. The souls of Luther and many of his contemporaries, elevated by the sublimest ideas, excited to enthusiasm by the conflicts and dangers that confronted the infant Church, and led by the poetic genius of the Old Testament, and by the faith of the New, poured forth their feelings in religious hymns in which poetry and music united and lent their most heavenly features. Thus in the sixteenth century the canticle was re-created which in the first century had consoled the pangs of the martyrs. In 1523, as we have already seen, consecrated the memory of the Brussels martyrs, the children of the Reformation imitate this example. These hymns increased in number, and were circulated rapidly among the people, and contributed powerfully to awaken them from their slumbers. In the same year that Hans Sachs edited *The Nightingale of Wittemberg*, declared that for the last four centuries darkness had reigned in the Church was as the night, during which men had lost their way in the wilderness. Now the nightingale proclaimed the dawn, and, soaring above the mists of the morning, celebrates the dawning of the coming day. The last lyric poetry thus owed its birth to the great inspirations of the Reformation, and verses and dramas from the pen of Luther and Manuel attacked the most crying abuses.

to the Reformation that the greatest of England, Germany, and perhaps France, are indebted for their highest

In the arts, painting is that on which the Reformation had the least influence. Nevertheless, it was renovated, and as it sanctified, by the universal movement at that time agitated all the powers.

Lucas Cranach, the great master of the age, settled at Wittemberg, lived on the same terms with Luther, and became the champion of the Reformation. We have seen how he represented the contrast between the old and the new, and Antichrist (the pope),¹ and thus among the most influential organs of the Reformation that was transforming the world. As soon as he had received new notions, he consecrated his chaste pencil to paintings in harmony with his sentiments, and spread over groups of men, blessed by our Saviour, those graces which he had previously adorned the faces of the saints. Albert Dürer also was inspired by the Word of the Gospel, and thus received a fresh impulse. His best pieces date from this period. We see in his touches with which he henceforth depicted the evangelists and apostles, the Bible was restored to the people,

and that the painter thence derived a depth, power, life, and sublimity, which he could never have found in himself.¹

And yet we must confess that of all the arts painting is that whose religious influence is most exposed to well-founded and strong objections. Poetry and music come from heaven, and will be found again in heaven; but we continually see painting connected with serious immoralities or mournful errors. After a man has studied history or visited Italy, he expects nothing beneficial to humanity from this art. Whatever may be the value of this exception which we think it our duty to make, our general remark still holds good.

The Reformation of Germany, while it primarily addressed man's moral nature, gave an impulse to the arts that they had not yet received from Roman-catholicism.

Thus every thing advanced: arts, literature, spirituality of worship, and the minds of princes and of people. But this noble harmony which the Gospel at its revival every where called forth, was about to be disturbed. The songs of the Wittemberg nightingale were to be interrupted by the howling of the tempest and the roaring of lions. In a moment a cloud overspread all Germany, and a glorious day was followed by the deepest darkness.

CHAPTER X.

Political Ferment—Luther against Rebellion—Thomas Munzer—Agitation—The Black Forest—The Twelve Articles—Luther's Opinion—Helfenstein—March of the Peasants—March of the Imperial Army—Defeat of the Peasants—Cruelty of the Princes.

A POLITICAL ferment, very different from that produced by the Gospel, had long been at work in the empire. The people, bowed down by civil and ecclesiastical oppression, bound in many countries to the seigniorial estates, and transferred from hand to hand along with them, threatened to rise with fury and to break their chains. This agitation had shown itself long before the Reformation by many symptoms, and even then the religious element was blended with the political; in the sixteenth century it was impossible to separate these two principles, which were so closely associated in the existence of nations. In Holland, at the close of the preceding century, the peasants had revolted, placing on their banners, by way of arms, a loaf and a cheese, the two great blessings of these poor people. "The Alliance of the Shoes" had shown itself in the neighbourhood of Spire in 1502.² In 1513,

¹ See vol. II. p. 226.

² Hanka, Deutsche Geschichte, II. 55.

³ See vol. I. p. 25.

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It appeared again in Brisgau, being encouraged by the priests. In 1514, Wurtemberg had seen the "League of Poor Conrad," whose aim was to maintain by rebellion "the right of God." In 1515, Carinthia and Hungary had been the theatre of terrible agitations. These seditions had been quenched in torrents of blood; but no relief had been accorded to the people. A political reform, therefore, was not less necessary than a religious reform. The people were entitled to this; but we must acknowledge that they were not ripe for its enjoyment.

Since the commencement of the Reformation, these popular disturbances had not been renewed; men's minds were occupied by other thoughts. Luther, whose piercing glance had discerned the condition of the people, had already from the summit of the Wartburg addressed them in serious exhortations calculated to restrain their agitated minds:—

"Rebellion," he had said, "never produces the amelioration we desire, and God condemns it. What is it to rebel, if it be not to avenge oneself? The devil is striving to excite to revolt those who embrace the Gospel, in order to cover it with opprobrium; but those who have rightly understood my doctrine do not revolt."¹

Every thing gave cause to fear that the popular agitation could not be restrained much longer. The government that Frederick of Saxony had taken such pains to form, and which possessed the confidence of the nation, was dissolved. The emperor, whose energy might have been an efficient substitute for the influence of this national administration, was absent; the princes whose union had always constituted the strength of Germany were divided; and the new declarations of Charles V. against Luther, by removing every hope of future harmony, deprived the reformer of part of the moral influence by which in 1522 he had succeeded in calming the storm. The chief barriers that hitherto had confined the torrent being broken, nothing could any longer restrain its fury.

It was not the religious movement that gave birth to political agitations; but in many places it was carried away by their impetuous waves. Perhaps we might even go further, and acknowledge that the movement communicated to the people by the Reformation gave fresh strength to the discontent fermenting in the nation. The violence of Luther's writings, the intrepidity of his actions and language, the harsh truths that he spoke, not only to the pope and prelates, but also to the princes themselves, must all have contributed to inflame minds that were already in a state of excitement. Accordingly, Erasmus did not fail to tell him: "We are now reaping the fruits that you have

sown."¹ And further, the cheering truths of the Gospel at last brought to light, stirred all hearts, and filled them with anticipation and hope. But many unregenerated souls were not prepared by repentance for the faith and liberty of Christians. They were very willing to throw off the papal yoke, but they would not take up the yoke of Christ. And hence, when princes devoted to the cause of Rome endeavoured in their wrath to stifle the Reformation, real Christians patiently endured these cruel persecutions; but the multitude resisted and broke out, and seeing their desires checked in one direction, gave vent to them in another. "Why," said they, "should slavery be perpetuated in the state, while the Church invites all men to a glorious liberty? Why should governments rule only by force, when the Gospel preaches nothing but gentleness?" Unhappily at a time when the religious reform was received with equal joy both by princes and people, the political reform, on the contrary, had the most powerful part of the nation against it; and while the former had the Gospel for its rule and support, the latter had soon no other principles than violence and despotism. Accordingly, while the one was confined within the bounds of truth, the other rapidly, like an impetuous torrent, overstepped all limits of justice. But to shut one's eyes against the indirect influence of the Reformation on the troubles that broke out in the empire, would betoken partiality. A fire had been kindled in Germany by religious discussions, from which it was impossible to prevent the escape of a few sparks calculated to inflame the passions of the people.

The claims of a few fanatics to Divine inspiration increased the evil. While the Reformation had continually appealed from the pretended authority of the Church to the real authority of the Holy Scriptures, these enthusiasts not only rejected the authority of the Church, but of Scripture also; they spoke only of an inner Word, of an internal revelation from God; and overlooking the natural corruption of their hearts, gave way to all the intoxication of spiritual pride, and fancied they were saints.

"To them the Holy Scriptures were but a dead letter," said Luther, "and they all began to cry, *The Spirit! the Spirit!* But most assuredly I will not follow where their spirit leads them. May God of his mercy preserve me from a Church in which there are none but saints.² I desire to dwell with the humble, the feeble, the sick, who know and feel their sins, and who groan and cry continually to God from the bottom of their hearts to obtain his consolation and support." These words of Luther's have great depth of meaning, and point out the change that was taking

¹ Luther's treue Ermahnung an alle Christen sich vor Aufruhr und Empörung zu hüten. Opp. xviii. 288.

¹ Habemus fructum tui spiritus. Erasmi. Hyperasp. h. h. ² Der barmherzige Gott behüte mich ja für der christlichen Kirche, darin sitze Heilige sind. On John i. 2. h. Opp. (W.) vii. 1466.

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views as to the nature of the day indicate at the same time were the religious opinions of those of the Reformation.

Notorious of these enthusiasts was Zwingli; he was not devoid of zeal for his Bible, was zealous, and one good, if he had been able to control his thoughts and find peace as he did not know himself, living in true humility, he was with a desire of reforming the religion, as all enthusiasts do, that one should begin with himself, and his writings that he had read in the Bible given a false direction to his thought appeared at Zwickau, quitted after Luther's return, dissatisfied with the prior part he was playing, and the reform of the small town of Alstadt. He could not long remain among the reformers of founding, and hence to the letter, a new popery, of churches which were not pure

said he, "has delivered men from the yoke of the pope, but has put them in a carnal liberty, and not in the spirit towards God."¹ He regarded himself as called of God to great evil. The revelations of the Spirit in his eyes the means by which reform was to be effected. "He is this Spirit," said he, "possessing true faith, although he should be without Scriptures in his life. Heathens are better fitted to receive it than Christians who style us enthusiasts." For whom he here had in view. This Spirit we must mortify the flesh at another time, "wear tatters, let the beard grow, be of a simple life, keep silence,² retire into the wilderness and supplicate God to give us His favour." Then God will come to visit us, as formerly He spoke to Adam, Isaac, and Jacob. If He does so, He would not deserve our love, have received from God the promise to gather together his elect into an eternal alliance." The nation and ferment at work in the hearts of these enthusiastic ideas, he thought marvellous, and whatever he said. Munzer, having persuaded a flock to adopt his views, abolition of singing and all other things. He maintained that obedience without understanding, "was at the command of God and Belial." Then marched at the head of his parishioners to a

chapel in the vicinity of Alstadt, whither pilgrims from all quarters were accustomed to resort, he pulled it down. After this exploit, being compelled to leave that neighbourhood, he wandered about Germany, and went as far as Switzerland, carrying with him, and communicating to all who would listen to him, the plan of a general revolution. Every where he found men's minds prepared; he threw gunpowder on the burning coals, and the explosion forthwith took place.

Luther, who had rejected the warlike enterprises of the peasants, could not be led away by the tumultuous movements of the peasantry. Fortunately for social order, the Gospel preserved him; for what would have happened had he carried his extensive influence into their camp?.....He ever firmly maintained the distinction between secular and spiritual things; he continually repeated that it was immortal souls which Christ emancipated by his Word; and if, with one hand, he attacked the authority of the Church, with the other he upheld with equal power the authority of princes. "A Christian," said he, "should endure a hundred deaths, rather than meddle in the slightest degree with the revolt of the peasants." He wrote to the elector: "It causes me especial joy that these enthusiasts themselves boast, to all who are willing to listen to them, that they do not belong to us. The Spirit urges them on, say they; and I reply, it is an evil spirit, for he bears no other fruit than the pillage of convents and churches; the greatest highway robbers upon earth might do as much."

At the same time, Luther, who desired that others should enjoy the liberty he claimed for himself, dissuaded the prince, from all measures of severity: "Let them preach what they please, and against whom they please," said he; "for it is the Word of God that must march in front of the battle and fight against them. If their spirit be the true Spirit, he will not fear our severity; if ours is the true one, he will not fear their violence. Let us leave the spirits to struggle and contend with one another.³ Perhaps some persons may be led astray; there is no battle without wounds; but he who fighteth faithfully shall be crowned. Nevertheless, if they desire to take up the sword, let your highness forbid it, and order them to quit the country."

The insurrection began in the Black Forest, and near the sources of the Danube, so frequently the theatre of popular commotions. On the 19th of July 1524, some Thurgovian peasants rose against the Abbot of Reichenau, who would not accord them an evangelical preacher. Ere long thousands were collected round the small town of Tengen,

nicht weiter in Geist und zu Gott. L. Opp.

an Bart nicht abschneiden. Ibid.
usage is low and impious; Er will in Gott nicht mit ihm reden, wie mit Abraham.
of Melancthon. Ibid. 250.

¹ See vol. I. p. 47.

² Man lasse die Geister auf einander plätzen und treffen.
L. Opp. II. 347.

to liberate an ecclesiastic who was there imprisoned. The revolt spread with inconceivable rapidity from Swabia as far as the Rhonish provinces, Franconia, Thuringia, and Saxony. In the month of January 1525, all these countries were in a state of rebellion.

About the end of this month, the peasants published a declaration in twelve articles, in which they claimed the liberty of choosing their own pastors, the abolition of small tithes, of slavery, and of fines on inheritance, the right to hunt, fish, and cut wood, &c. Each demand was backed by a passage from Holy Writ, and they said in conclusion, "If we are deceived, let Luther correct us by Scripture."

The opinions of the Wittenberg divines were consulted. Luther and Melancthon delivered theirs separately, and they both gave evidence of the difference of their characters. Melancthon, who thought every kind of disturbance a crime, overstepped the limits of his usual gentleness, and could not find language strong enough to express his indignation. The peasants were criminals, against whom he invoked all laws human and Divine. If friendly negotiation was unavailing, the magistrates ought to hunt them down, as if they were robbers and assassins. "And yet," he added (and we require at least one feature to remind us of Melancthon), "let them take pity on the orphans when having recourse to the penalty of death!"

Luther's opinion of the revolt was the same as Melancthon's; but he had a heart that beat for the miseries of the people. On this occasion he manifested a dignified impartiality, and spoke the truth frankly to both parties. He first addressed the princes, and more especially the bishops:—

"It is you," said he, "who are the cause of this revolt; it is your clamours against the Gospel, your guilty oppressions of the poor, that have driven the people to despair. It is not the peasants, my dear Lords, that rise up against you,—it is God himself who opposes your madness.¹ The peasants are but the instruments he employs to humble you. Do not imagine you can escape the punishment he is preparing for you. Even should you have succeeded in destroying all these peasants, God is able from the very stones to raise up others to chastise your pride. If I desired revenge, I might laugh in my sleeve, and look on while the peasants were carrying on their work, or even increase their fury; but may God preserve me from such thoughts!.....My dear Lords, put away your indignation, treat these poor peasants as a man of sense treats people who are drunk or insane. Quiet these commotions by mildness, lest a conflagration should arise and burn all Germany. Among these twelve

articles there are certain demands w just and equitable."

This prologue was calculated to c the peasants' confidence in Luther make them listen patiently to the t had to tell them. He represented that most of their demands were w ed; but that to revolt was to act t hems; that the duty of a Christian patient, and not to fight; that if t sisted in revolting against the Gosp name of the Gospel, he should fo them as more dangerous enemies t pope. "The pope and the emper tinned he, "combined against me; more they blustered the more did th gain ground.....And why was th cause I never drew the sword or c vengeance; because I never had re tumult or insurrection: I relied who God, and placed every thing in His s hands. Christians fight not with s arquebuses, but with sufferings and cross. Christ, their Captain, handle sword.....he was hung upon a tree."

But to no purpose did Luther emj christian language. The people v much excited by the fanatical spe the leaders of the insurrection, to li of old, to the words of the reforme is playing the hypocrite," said the flatters the nobles. He has decla against the pope, and yet wishes u mit to our oppressors."

The revolt, instead of dying away, more formidable. At Weinsberg Louis of Helfenstein and the seve under his orders were condemned to the rebels. A body of peasants t with their pikes lowered, whilst othe the count and his soldiers against th steel.¹ The wife of the wretched stein, a natural daughter of the Maximilian, holding an infant two j in her arms, knelt before them, a loud cries begged for her husband's vainly endeavoured to avert this b murder. A boy who had been in the service, and had joined the rebels, gaily before him, and played the dea upon his fife, as if he had been les victims in a dance. All perished; t was wounded in its mother's arms; herself thrown upon a dung-cart, s conveyed to Heilbrunn.

At the news of these cruelties, horror was heard from the friends o formation, and Luther's feeling hea went a terrible conflict. On the c the peasants, ridiculing his advice, p to have received revelations from made an impious use of the threat the Old Testament, proclaimed an of ranks and a community of goods,

¹ Gott hat's selber der selbst sich wider euch. L. Opp. xix. 284.

¹ Und jechten ein Grafen durch die Spiesse, p. 44.

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with fire and sword, and indulged in atrocities. On the other hand, of the Reformation asked the result a malicious sneer, if he did not it was easier to kindle a fire than to quench it. Shocked at these excesses, Luther was at the thought that they might progress of the Gospel, Luther no longer, no longer temporized; he fought against the insurgents with all the force of his character, and perhaps the just bounds within which he contained himself.

"Peasants," said he, "commit three crimes: against God and man, and thus death of body and soul. First, against their magistrates to whom they have sworn fidelity; next, they destroy monasteries, convents and castles; and veil their crimes with the cloak of piety. If you do not put a mad dog to death, it will perish, and all the country it inhabits will be a true martyr, if he is killed by a good conscience." Luther gave a powerful description of the violence of the peasants who force peaceable men to join their ranks, and thus drag them to the same conclusion.

He then adds: "For this reason, O Lords, help, save, deliver, have mercy on these poor people. Let every one be killed, and kill, who is able. . . . If thou canst not meet a happier hour than this in the service of God, thy neighbour from hell."¹

Their ruthlessness nor violence could arouse a popular torrent. The church-bells no longer rung for divine service; their deep and prolonged sounds in the fields, it was the tocsin, the call to arms. The people of the district had rallied round John Mülgenbach. With an imposing procession up in a red cloak, and a red cap, this leader boldly advanced village to village followed by a mob. Behind him, on a waggon loaded with ribands and branches, were raised the tricolor flag, black, white, and red,—the signal of revolt. Armed in the same colours, read the letters, and invited the people to join the rebellion. Whoever refused was an enemy to the community.

His march, which at first was peaceful, became more disquieting. "We demand that the lords submit to our demands," he said. And to induce them, they plundered the granaries, the cellars, drew the seigniorial treasures, demolished the castles of the nobles, and burnt the convents. This had inflamed the passions of the people; equality no longer satisfied

them; they thirsted for blood, and swore to put to death every man who wore a spur.

At the approach of the peasants, the cities that were unable to resist them opened their gates and joined them. In whatever place they entered, they pulled down the images and broke the crucifixes; armed women paraded the streets and threatened the monks. If they were defeated in one quarter, they assembled again in another, and braved the most formidable forces. A committee of peasants was established at Heilbrunn. The Counts of Lowenstein were taken prisoners, dressed in a smock-frock, and a white staff having been placed in their hands, were compelled to swear to the twelve articles. "Brother George, and thou, brother Albert," said a tinker of Ohringen to the Counts of Hohenlohe, who had gone to their camp, "swear to conduct yourselves as our brethren; for you also are now peasants; you are no longer lords." Equality of rank, the dream of many democrats, was established in aristocratic Germany.

Many nobles, some through fear, others from ambition, then joined the insurgents. The famous Goetz von Berlichingen, finding his vassals refuse to obey him, desired to flee to the Elector of Saxony; but his wife, who was lying-in, wishing to keep him near her, concealed the elector's answer. Goetz, being closely pursued, was compelled to put himself at the head of the rebel army. On the 7th of May the peasants entered Wurtzburg, where the citizens received them with acclamations. The forces of the princes and knights of Swabia and Franconia, which had assembled in that city, evacuated it, and retired in confusion to the citadel, the last bulwark of the nobility.

But the movement had already extended to other parts of Germany. Spire, the Palatinate, Alsace, and Hesse, accepted the twelve articles, and the peasants threatened Bavaria, Westphalia, the Tyrol, Saxony, and Lorraine. The Margrave of Baden, having rejected the articles, was compelled to flee. The coadjutor of Fulda acceded to them with a smile. The smaller towns said, they had no lances with which to oppose the insurgents. Mentz, Treves, and Frankfort obtained the liberties which they had claimed.

An immense revolution was preparing in all the empire. The ecclesiastical and secular privileges, that bore so heavily on the peasants, were to be suppressed; the possessions of the clergy were to be secularized, to indemnify the princes and provide for the wants of the empire; taxes were to be abolished, with the exception of a tribute payable every ten years; the imperial power alone was to subsist, as being recognised by the New Testament; all the other princes were to cease to reign; sixty-four free tribunals were to be established, in which men of all classes should have a seat; all ranks were to return to their primitive condition; the clergy

¹ *Man sie retten aus der Hölle. L. Opp. xix.*

were to be henceforward merely the pastors of the churches; princes and knights were to be simply the defenders of the weak; uniformity in weights and measures was to be introduced; and only one kind of money was to be coined throughout the empire.

Meanwhile the princes had shaken off their first lethargy, and George von Truchsess, commander-in-chief of the imperial army, was advancing on the side of the Lake of Constance. On the 2d of May he defeated the peasants at Beblingen, marched on the town of Weinsberg, where the unhappy Count of Helfenstein had perished, burnt and razed it to the ground, giving orders that the ruins should be left as an eternal monument of the treason of its inhabitants. At Fürfeld he united with the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Treves, and all three moved towards Franconia.

The Frauenburg, the citadel of Wurtzburg, held out for the princes, and the main army of the peasants still lay before its walls. As soon as they heard of Truchsess' march, they resolved on an assault, and at nine o'clock at night on the 15th of May, the trumpets sounded, the tricolor flag was unfurled, and the peasants rushed to the attack with horrible shouts. Sebastian von Rotenham, one of the warmest partisans of the Reformation, was governor of the castle. He had put the fortress in a formidable state of defence, and having exhorted the garrison to repel the assault with courage, the soldiers, holding up three fingers, had all sworn to hold out till the last. A most terrible conflict then took place. To the vigour and despair of the insurgents the fortress replied from its walls and towers by petards, showers of sulphur and boiling pitch, and the discharges of artillery. The peasants, thus struck by their unseen enemies, were staggered for a moment; but in an instant their fury grew more violent. The struggle was prolonged as the night advanced. The fortress, lit up by a thousand battle-fires, appeared in the darkness like a towering giant, who, vomiting flames, struggled alone amidst the roar of thunder for the salvation of the empire against the ferocious valour of these furious hordes. Two hours after midnight the peasants withdrew, having failed in all their efforts.

They now tried to enter into negotiations, either with the garrison or with Truchsess, who was advancing at the head of his army. But this was going out of their line; violence and victory alone could save them. After some little hesitation, they resolved to march against the imperial forces, but the cavalry and artillery made terrible havoc in their ranks. At Königshofen, and afterwards at Engelstadt, these unfortunate creatures were totally defeated. The princes, nobles, and bishops, abusing their victory, indulged in most unprecedented cruelties. The prisoners were hung on the trees by the

wayside. The Bishop of Wurtzburg had run away, now returned, trampled underfoot, accompanied by executioners, watered it alike with the blood of the and of the peaceful friends of the God. Goetz von Berlichingen was to imprisonment for life. The Casimir of Anspach put out the eighty-five insurgents, who had their eyes should never look upon it again; and he cast this troop of individuals upon the world, who was and down, holding each other by groping along, and begging the The wretched boy, who had played march on his life at the murder of stein, was chained to a post; a kindled around him, and the knight on laughing at his horrible countenance.

Public worship was every where in its ancient forms. The most fertile and populous districts of the empire, to those who travelled through nothing but heaps of dead bodies in ruins. Fifty thousand men had and the people lost nearly every little liberty they had hitherto enjoyed was the horrible termination of this the south of Germany.

CHAPTER XI.

Munzer at Mulhausen—Appeal to the People—Princes—End of the Revolt—Influence of the Sufferings—Changes—Two Results.

But the evil was not confined to and west of Germany. Munzer, having traversed a part of Switzerland and Swabia, had again directed his wards Saxony. A few citizens of sen, in Thuringia, had invited him to city, and elected him their past town-council having resisted, Munzer it and nominated another, consisting friends, with himself at their head contempt for that Christ, "sweet whom Luther preached, and being to employ the most energetic measure claimed: "Like Joshua, we must pursue the Canaanites to the sword." He established a community of goods, and pillaged the convents.¹ "Munzer," wrote Luther in 1525, "I saw him on the 11th of April 1525, not only pastor, but king and emperor of Mulhausen." The poor no longer if any one needed corn or cloth, he demanded it of some rich man; if refused, the poor man took it by he resisted, he was hung. As he was an independent city, Munzer

¹ *Original sin and communism. L. Opp. 2d*

so his power for nearly a year with-
sition. The revolt in the south of Ger-
him to imagine that it was time to
is new kingdom. He had a number
guns cast in the Franciscan con-
endeavoured to raise the peasantry
ns of Mansfeldt. "How long will
p?" said he to them in a fanatical
tion. "Arise and fight the battle
ord! The time is come. France,
, and Italy are moving. On, on,
an, Dran, Dran!.....Heed not the
f the impious ones. They will im-
u like children; but be pitiless.—
an, Dran!.....The fire is burning:
sword be ever warm with blood."—
an, Dran!.....Work while it is yet
The letter was signed "MUNZER,
of God against the wicked."
ntry people, thirsting for plunder,
and his standard. Throughout all
cts of Mansfeldt, Stolberg, Schwartz-
esse, and the duchy of Brunswick,
ntry rose in insurrection. The con-
Michelstein, Ilsenburg, Walkenried,
a, and many others in the neigh-
of the Hartz, or in the plains of
a, were devastated. At Reinhardt,
which Luther had visited, the tombs
cient landgraves were profaned, and
y destroyed.

spread far and wide. Even at
erg some anxiety began to be felt.
ctors, who had feared neither the
nor the pope, trembled in the pre-
a madman. They were always on
a for news, and every step in the
of the rebels was counted. "We
in great danger," said Melancthon.
zer succeeds, it is all over with us,
hrist should rescue us. Munzer
with a worse than Scythian cruelty,¹
impossible to repeat the dreadful
e utters."

ous elector had long hesitated what
d do. Munzer had exhorted him
the princes to be converted, be-
id he) their hour was come; and he
ad these letters: "MUNZER, armed
sword of Gideon." Frederick would
red to reclaim these misguided men
measures. On the 14th of April,
was dangerously ill, he had written
ther John: "We may have given
stched people more than one cause
rection. Alas! the poor are oppres-
any ways by their spiritual and
lords." And when his attention
sted to the humiliation, the revolu-
l the dangers to which he would
imself, unless he promptly stifled
lion, he replied: "Hitherto I have
sighty elector, having chariots and

horses in abundance; if it be God's pleasure
to take them from me now, I will go on
foot."¹

The youthful Philip, landgrave of Hesse,
was the first of the princes who took up
arms. His knights and soldiers swore to
live and die with him. After pacifying his
own states, he directed his march towards
Saxony. On their side, Duke John, the
elector's brother, Duke George of Saxony,
and Duke Henry of Brunswick, advanced
and united their troops with those of Hesse.
The peasants, terrified at the sight of this
army, fled to a small hill, where, without
any discipline, without arms, and for the
most part without courage, they formed a
rampart with their waggons. Munzer had
not even prepared ammunition for his large
guns. No succours appeared; the rebels
were hemmed in by the army; they lost all
confidence. The princes,, taking pity on
them, proposed a capitulation, which they
appeared willing to accept. Upon this Mun-
zer had recourse to the most powerful lever
that enthusiasm can put in motion. "To-
day we shall behold the arm of the Lord,"
said he, "and all our enemies shall be de-
stroyed." At this moment a rainbow ap-
peared over their heads; the fanatical host,
who carried a rainbow on their flags, regarded
it as a sure prognostic of the Divine protec-
tion. Munzer took advantage of it: "Fear
nothing," said he to the citizens and peas-
ants; "I will catch all their balls in my
sleeve."² At the same time he cruelly put to
death a young gentleman, Maternus von
Geholfen, an envoy from the princes, in
order to deprive the insurgents of all hope of
pardon.

The landgrave, having assembled his horse-
men, said to them: "I well know that we
princes are often in fault, for we are but men;
but God commands all men to honour the
powers that be. Let us save our wives and
children from the fury of these murderers.
The Lord will give us the victory, for he has
said: *Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the
ordinance of God.*" Philip then gave the signal
of attack. It was the 15th of May 1525. The
army was put in motion; but the peasant
host stood immovable, singing the hymn,
"Come, Holy Ghost," and waiting for hea-
ven to declare in their favour. The artillery
soon broke down their rude rampart, carry-
ing dismay and death into the midst of the
insurgents. Their fanaticism and courage at
once forsook them; they were seized with a
panic-terror, and ran away in disorder. Five
thousand perished in the flight.

After the battle the princes and their vic-
torious troops entered Frankenhäusen. A
soldier, who had gone into a loft in the house
where he was quartered, found a man in bed.³

war Schwerts nicht kalt werden von Blut. L.
b. viii. quoniam Scythiarum crudelitatem prout se
Ref. l. 741.

¹ So wollte er hinkünftig zu Fuss gehen. Seeck. p. 287.
² Ihr sollt sehen dass ich alle Kugeln steine in meine
Ärmel will. L. Opp. xiz. 287.
³ So findet er einen am Bett.

"Who art thou?" asked he; "art thou one of the rebels?" Then observing a pocket-book, he took it up, and found several letters addressed to Thomas Munzer. "Art thou Munzer?" demanded the trooper. The sick man answered "No." But as the soldier uttered dreadful threats, Munzer, for it was really he, confessed who he was. "Thou art my prisoner," said the horseman. When Munzer was taken before Duke George and the landgrave, he persevered in saying that he was right to chastise the princes, since they opposed the Gospel. "Wretched man!" replied they, "think of all those of whose death you have been the cause." But he answered, smiling in the midst of his anguish: "They would have it so!" He took the sacrament under one kind, and was beheaded at the same time with Pfeiffer, his lieutenant. Mulhausen was taken, and the peasants were loaded with chains.

A nobleman having observed among the crowd of prisoners a peasant of favourable appearance, went up and said to him: "Well, my man, which government do you like best—that of the peasants or of the princes?" The poor fellow made answer with a deep sigh: "Ah, my lord, no knife cuts so deep as the rule of peasant over his fellows."¹

The remains of the insurrection were quenched in blood; Duke George, in particular, acted with the greatest severity. In the states of the elector, there were neither executions nor punishment.² The Word of God, preached in all its purity, had shown its power to restrain the tumultuous passions of the people.

From the very beginning, indeed, Luther had not ceased to struggle against the rebellion, which was, in his opinion, the forerunner of the judgment-day. Advice, prayers, and even irony, had not been spared. At the end of the articles drawn up at Erfurth by the rebels, he had subjoined, as a supplementary article: "*Item*, The following article has been omitted. Henceforward the honourable council shall have no power; it shall do nothing; it shall sit like an idol or a log of wood; the commonalty shall chew its food, and it shall govern with its hands and feet tied; henceforth the waggon shall guide the horses, the horses shall hold the reins, and we shall go on admirably, in conformity with the glorious system set forth in these articles."

Luther did not confine himself to writing. While the disturbance was still at its height, he quitted Wittenberg and went through some of the districts where the agitation was greatest. He preached, he laboured to soften his hearers' hearts, and his hand, to which God had given power, turned aside, calmed, and brought back the impetuous and overflowing torrents into their natural channels.

In every quarter the doctors of formation exerted a similar influence. Halle, Brentz had revived the drooping of the citizens by the promises of God and four thousand peasants had fled six hundred citizens.³ At Ichterh mob of peasants having assembled intent to demolish several castles their lords to death, Frederick I went out to them alone, and such power of his words, that they immediately abandoned their design.⁴

Such was the part taken by the and the Reformation in the midst of revolt; they contended against it with might, with the sword of the Word boldly maintained those principles alone, in every age, can preserve a subjection among the nations. According to Luther asserted that if the power doctrine had not checked the furious people, the revolt would have extended far more widely, and have thrown both Church and State. Even leads us to believe that these prognostics would have been realized.

If the reformers thus contended against sedition, it was not without receiving wounds. That moral agony which Luther had first suffered in his cell at became still more serious after the execution of the peasants. No great change place among men without suffering part of those who are its instruments of birth of Christianity was effected agony of the cross; but He who had that cross addressed these words to his disciples: *Are ye able to drink that I shall drink of, and to be baptized the same baptism that I am baptized in?*

On the side of the princes, it was ally repeated that Luther and his were the cause of the revolt, and, absurd this idea may be, the reformers not see it so generally entertained experiencing the deepest grief. On the side of the people, Munzer and all the leaders of the insurrection represented him hypocrite, and a flatterer of the great their calumnies easily obtained belief violence with which Luther had against the rebels had displeased even rate men. The friends of Rome (all were against him, and bore him the anger of his contemporaries his greatest affliction was to behold of heaven thus dragged in the ranks classed with the most fanatical. Here he felt was his Gethsemane the bitter cup that was presented and foreboding that he would be for

¹ Kein Meiser scherpfert schirft denn wann ein Bauer des andern Herr wird. Mathes. p. 48.

² His nulla carnificina, nullum supplicium. Corp. Ref. I. 222.

³ Eorum animos fractos et perturbatos verbis M. Adami Viti. Brentz. p. 44.

⁴ Agmen rusticorum qui convenerant ad locum, unica oratione sic compescuit. M. Adami Myconii, p. 178.

⁵ Quod adiutor principum vocat. L. Ep. II. 4. Gaudent papiste de nostro dissidio. Ibid. 4.

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ned: "Soon, perhaps, I also
say: *All ye shall be offended
his night.*"¹

midst of this deep bitterness,
is faith: "He who has given
ample the enemy under foot,"
he rose up against me like a
furious lion, will not per-
y to crush me, now that he
me with the treacherous
basilisk.² I groan as I con-
calamities. Often have I
whether it would not have
ave allowed the papacy to go
er than to witness the occur-
any troubles and seditions in
it not! it is better to have
souls from the jaws of the
ave left them all between his
s."³

ted the revolution in Luther's
begun at the period of his re-
Vartburg. The inner life no
him: the Church and her in-
came most important in his
ldness with which he had
every thing was checked at
more sweeping destructions;
uty to preserve, govern, and
from the midst of the blood-
with which the peasant war

Germany, the edifice of the
gan slowly to arise.

ances left a lasting and deep
men's minds. The nations
with dismay. The masses,
in the Reformation nothing
form, withdrew from it of
d, when they saw it offered
liberty only. Luther's oppo-
asants was his renunciation
al favour of the people. A
illity was soon established,
enthusiasm and sedition was
Germany by a silence in-
4

pular passions, the cause of
the interests of a radical
quelled in the empire; but
did not yield. These two
ich many have confounded
were clearly marked out by
their results. The insurrec-
slow; the Reformation from
orsemen and cannons were
down the one; but the other
rise in strength and vigour,
e reiterated assaults of the
Church.

Epp. II. 671.

scelus sub pedibus meis calcavit et
reconem, non sinet etiam basilicum
id.

aus dem Rachen des Teufels heraus-
id. ix. 961.

vulgo terrorem, ut nihil equam
I. 768.

CHAPTER XII.

Death of the Elector Frederick—The Prince and the Re-
former—Roman-catholic Alliance—Plans of Charles the
Fifth—Dangers.

MEANWHILE the cause of the Reformation
itself appeared as if it would perish in the
gulf that had swallowed up the liberties of
the people. A melancholy event seemed
destined to accelerate its fall. At the mo-
ment when the princes were marching against
Munzer, and ten days before his defeat, the
aged Elector of Saxony, that man whom God
had raised up to defend the Reformation
against all dangers from without, descended
to the tomb.

His strength diminished day by day; the
horrors that accompanied the peasant war
wrung his feeling heart. "Alas!" ex-
claimed he with a deep sigh, "if it were
God's will, I should die with joy. I see
neither love, nor truth, nor faith, nor any
good remaining upon earth."¹

Averting his eyes from the struggles then
prevailing throughout Germany, this pious
prince, who was at that time residing in the
castle of Lochau, tranquilly prepared to de-
part. On the 4th of May he called for his
chaplain, the faithful Spalatin: "You do
right to come and see me," said he mildly,
as the chaplain entered: "for it is good to visit
the sick." Then ordering his couch to be
wheeled towards the table near which Spala-
tin was sitting, he bade his attendants leave
the room, and then affectionately taking his
friend's hand, spoke with him familiarly
about Luther, the peasants, and his approach-
ing departure. Spalatin came again at eight
in the evening; the aged prince then un-
burdened his soul, and confessed his sins in
the presence of God. On the morrow (it
was the 5th of May), he received the com-
munion under both kinds. No member of
his family was near him; his brother and
his nephew were gone with the army; but
his domestics stood around him, according to
the ancient custom of those times. As they
gazed on that venerable prince, whom it had
been so sweet a task to serve, they all burst
into tears.² "My little children," said he
tenderly, "if I have offended any one of you,
forgive me for the love of God; for we princes
often give offence to the poor, and that is
wrong." Thus did Frederick obey the in-
junction of the apostle: *Let him that is rich
rejoice in that he is made low; because as the
flower of the grass he shall pass away.*³

Spalatin did not leave him again; he set
before him the rich promises of the Gospel,
and the pious elector drank in its powerful
consolations with indescribable peace. The
doctrine of the Gospel was no longer to him

1 Noch etwas gutes mehr in der Welt. Seckend. p. 768.

2 Dass alle Umstehende zum weinen bewegt. *Ibid.*

3 James, I. 10.

that sword which attacks error, following it up wherever it may be found, and after a vigorous contest triumphing over it at last; it fell upon his heart like the dew, or the gentle rain, filling it with hope and joy. Frederick had forgotten the present world: he saw nothing but God and eternity.

Feeling the rapid approach of death, he destroyed a will that he had made some years before, and in which he had commended his soul to "the mother of God;" and dictated another, in which he called upon the holy and the sole merits of Jesus Christ "for the forgiveness of his sins," and declared his firm assurance "that he was redeemed by the precious blood of his beloved Saviour."¹ He then added: "I am quite exhausted!" and that evening, at five o'clock, he quietly fell asleep. "He was a child of peace," exclaimed his physician, "and in peace he has departed."—"O bitter death to all whom he has left behind him!" said Luther.²

Luther, who was then travelling through Thuringia to allay the excitement, had never seen the elector, except at a distance, as at Worms by the side of Charles the Fifth. But these two men had met in spirit from the very moment the reformer appeared. Frederick laboured for nationality and independence, as Luther did for truth and reformation. Unquestionably the Reformation was above all things a spiritual work; but it was perhaps necessary for its early success that it should be linked with some national interest. Accordingly Luther had no sooner risen up against indulgences than the alliance between the prince and the monk was tacitly concluded:—an alliance that was purely moral, without contract or writing, or even words, and in which the strong man lent no aid to the weak, but only allowed him to act. But now that the vigorous oak was cut down under whose shelter the Reformation had gradually grown up,—now that the enemies of the Gospel were every where manifesting fresh force and hatred, and that its supporters were compelled to hide themselves or remain silent, nothing seemed able to defend them any longer against the sword of those who were pursuing it with such violence.

The confederates of Ratisbon, who had conquered the peasants in the south and west of the empire, were in all parts attacking the Reformation and the revolt alike. At Wurtzburg and at Bamberg they put to death many of the most peaceable citizens, and even some of those who had resisted the peasants. "What matters it?" said they openly; "these people were attached to the Gospel." This was enough to make their heads fall on the scaffold.³

Duke George hoped to impart his hatred and his antipathies to the landgrave and Duke John. "See," said he to them after

the defeat of the peasants, as he the field of battle, "see what nether has occasioned!" John appeared to give him hopes that adopt his ideas. "Duke George reformer," "imagines he shall tr that Frederick is dead; but Christ the midst of His enemies: in v gnash their teeth,.....their desirish."¹

George lost no time in forming ration in the north of Germany that of Ratisbon. The Elector and Brandenburg, Dukes Henry of Brunswick, and Duke George, sau and concluded a Romish alliance month of July.² George urged t tor and his son-in-law the landg it. And then, as if to intimate be expected of it, he beheaded tw Leipsic in whose houses some of tl writings had been found.

At the same time letters from dated from Toledo, arrived in G which another diet was convoked burg. Charles wished to give tl constitution that would enable pose of the forces of Germany pleasure. Religious differences the means; he had only to le Catholics against the followers o and when they had exhausted th he would easily triumph over b with the Lutherans! was there: of the emperor.³

Thus all things combined ags formation. Never had Luther's overwhelmed by so many fears nants of Munzer's party had sw his life; his sole protector wa Duke George, he was informed, have him arrested in Wittemb the princes who might have d bowed their heads, and seen forsaken the Gospel; it was ru the university, the number of wh was already diminished by the was about to be suppressed by t tor; and Charles, victorious at assembling a new diet with the giving a deathblow to the . What dangers must not Luthe boded!.....This anguish, these i gles, that had so often tortured h now wrung his soul. How can many enemies? In the midst tations, in the face of so many side the corpse of Frederick that cold, and the dead bodies of t that yet strewn the plains of G ther—none could certainly ha such a thing—Luther married.

¹ Dux Georgius, mortuo Frederico, putat L. Epp. III. 23.

² Habito conciliabulo conjuraverunt re omnia.ibid.

³ Gleichen. Hist. de la Réf. II. 214.

⁴ Kall, Luther's Leben, p. 122.

¹ Durch das theure Blut meines allerliebsten Heylandes

erlöset. Beck. p. 722.

² O men years I. Epp. II. 222.

³ Hamb. Deutsche Gesch. II. 222.

CHAPTER XIII.

of Nimptsch—Luther's Sentiments—The Convent
—Luther's Marriage—Domestic Happiness.

monastery of Nimptsch, near Grimma ny, dwelt in the year 1523 nine nuns, re diligent in reading the Word of id who had discovered the contrast sts between a christian and a cloister-

Their names were Magdalen Stau- liza Canitz, Ava Grossen, Ava and et Schonfeldt, Laneta Golis, Margaret herine Zeschau, and Catherine Bora. st impulse of these young women, ay were delivered from the supersti- the monastery, was to write to their

"The salvation of our souls," said ill not permit us to remain any in a cloister."¹ Their parents, fear- trouble likely to arise from such a on, harshly rejected their prayers. or nuns were dismayed. How can ve the monastery? Their timidity rmed at so desperate a step. At last, or caused by the papal services pre- and they promised not to leave one , but to repair in a body to some re- le place, with order and decency.² orthy and pious citizens of Torgau, l Koppe and Wolff Tomitzsch, offered ssistance,³ which was accepted as from God himself, and they left the : of Nimptsch without any opposition, if the hand of the Lord had opened rs to them.⁴ Koppe and Tomitzsch l them in their waggon; and on the pril 1523, the nine nuns, amazed at vn boldness, stopped in great emotion he gate of the old Augustine convent h Luther resided.

s is not my doing," said Luther, as ived them; "but would to God that thus rescue all captive consciences, pty all the cloisters!"⁵—the breach is

Many persons offered to receive uns into their houses, and Catherine und a welcome in the family of the aster of Wittemberg.

ther at that time thought of preparing solemn event, it was to ascend the , and not to approach the altar. Many after this, he still replied to those ke to him of marriage: "God may y heart, if it be his pleasure; but least I have no thought of taking a ot that I do not feel any attractions estate; I am neither a stock nor a but every day I expect the death and ishment of a heretic."⁶

Yet every thing in the Church was ad- vancing. The habits of a monastic life, the invention of man, were giving way in every quarter to those of domestic life, appointed by God. On Sunday the 9th of October 1524, Luther, having risen as usual, laid aside the frock of the Augustine monk, and put on the dress of a secular priest; he then made his appearance in the church, where this change caused a lively satisfaction. Renovated Christendom hailed with transport every thing that announced that the old things were passed away.

Shortly after this, the last monk quitted the convent; but Luther remained; his footsteps alone re-echoed through the long galleries; he sat silent and solitary in the refectory that had so lately resounded with the babbling of the monks. An eloquent silence, attesting the triumphs of the Word of God! The convent had ceased to exist. About the end of December 1524, Luther sent the keys of the monastery to the elector, informing him that he should see where it might please God to feed him.¹ The elector gave the convent to the university, and invited Luther to continue his residence in it. The abode of the monks was destined ere- long to be the sanctuary of a christian family.

Luther, whose heart was formed to taste the sweets of domestic life, honoured and loved the marriage state; it is even probable that he had some liking for Catherine Bora. For a long while his scruples and the thought of the calumnies which such a step would occasion had prevented his thinking of her; and he had offered the poor Catherine, first to Baumgartner of Nuremberg,² and then to Dr. Glatz of Orlamund. But when he saw Baumgartner refuse to take her, and when she had declined to accept Glatz, he asked himself seriously whether he ought not to think of marrying her himself.

His aged father, who had been so grieved when he embraced a monastic life, was urging him to enter the conjugal state.³ But one idea above all was daily present before Luther's conscience, and with greater energy: marriage is an institution of God,—celibacy an institution of man. He had a horror of every thing that emanated from Rome. He would say to his friends, "I desire to retain nothing of my papistical life."⁴ Day and night he prayed and entreated the Lord to deliver him from his uncertainty. At last a single thought broke the last links that still held him captive. To all the motives of propriety and personal obedience which led him to apply to himself this declaration of God, *It is not good that man should*

sein Seligkeit halber. L. Epp. II. 323.
der Recht und Ehre an redliche Städte und Orte

Ibid. 322.

mones cives Torgavienses adductis. Ibid. 319.

Stiter evanunt. Ibid.

die Kister ledig machen. Ibid. 322.

inquit quidam mortem et meritum hereticis

supplicium. L. Epp. II. 270. Letter to Spalatin, 30th November 1524.

² Kuss und will ich sehen wo mich Gott ernähret. L. Epp. II. 302.

³ Si vis Kotem tuam a Bora tenere. Ibid. 303.

⁴ Aus Begehren meines lieben Vaters. Ibid. III. 2.

⁵ Ibid. 1.

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be alone,¹ was added a motive of a higher and more powerful nature. He saw that if he was called to the marriage-state as a man, he was also called to it as a reformer; this decided him.

"If this monk should marry," said his friend Schurf the lawyer, "he will make all the world and the devil himself burst with laughter, and will destroy the work that he has begun."² This remark made a very different impression on Luther from what might have been supposed. To brave the world, the devil, and his enemies, and, by an action which they thought calculated to ruin the cause of the Reformation, prevent its success being in any measure ascribed to him—this was all he desired. Accordingly, boldly raising his head, he replied, "Well, then, I will do it; I will play the devil and the world this trick; I will content my father, and marry Catherine!" Luther, by his marriage, broke off still more completely from the institutions of the Papacy; he confirmed the doctrine he had preached, by his own example, and encouraged timid men to an entire renunciation of their errors.³ Rome appeared to be recovering here and there the ground she had lost; she flattered herself with the hope of victory; and now a loud explosion scattered terror and surprise through her ranks, and still more fully disclosed to her the courage of the enemy she fancied she had crushed. "I will bear witness to the Gospel," said Luther, "not by my words only, but also by my works. I am determined, in the face of my enemies who already exult and raise the shout of victory, to marry a nun, that they may see and know that they have not conquered me."⁴ I do not take a wife that I may live long with her; but seeing the nations and the princes letting loose their fury against me, foreseeing that my end is near, and that after my death they will again trample my doctrine under foot, I am resolved, for the edification of the weak, to bear a striking testimony to what I teach here below."⁵

On the 11th of June 1525, Luther went to the house of his friend and colleague Amadorff. He desired Pomeranus, whom he styled emphatically *The Pastor*, to bless his union. The celebrated painter Lucas Cranach and Doctor John Apella witnessed the marriage. Melancthon was not present.

No sooner was Luther married than all Europe was disturbed. He was overwhelmed with accusations and calumnies from every quarter. "It is incest," exclaimed Henry VIII. "A monk has married a vestal,"

said some.¹—"Antichrist will be the of such a union," said others; "f phcey announces that he will be monk and a nun." To this Erasmus with a sarcastic smile: "If the pre true, what thousands of antichrist exist in the world!"² But while was thus assailed, many wise and men, whom the Roman Church still among her members, undertook his "Luther," said Erasmus, "has tak from the noble family of Bora, bu no dowry."³ A more valuable t was now given in his favour. Th of Germany, Philip Melancthon, w bold step had at first alarmed, said grave voice to which even his en tened with respect: "It is false an ous to maintain that there is anythi coming in Luther's marriage."⁴ I t in marrying he must have done vi himself. A married life is one of but it is also a holy state, if the such in the world, and the Scriptu where represent it as honourable in of God."

Luther was troubled at first when such floods of anger and contemp out upon him; Melancthon beca earnest in friendship and kindness him;⁵ and it was not long befor former could see a mark of God's ap in this opposition of man. "If offend the world," said he, "I shc cause to fear that what I have do pleasing to God."⁶

Eight years had elapsed between when Luther had attacked the in and his marriage with Catherine would be difficult to ascribe, as is his zeal against the abuses of the (an "impatient desire" for wedlock. then forty-two years old, and Cathe had already been two years in Wit

Luther was happy in this union best gift of God," said he, "is a amiable wife, who fears God, love mily, with whom a man may live and in whom he may safely confide months after his marriage he info of his friends of Catherine's pregna a year after they came together birth to a son.⁷ The sweets of dor

¹ Genesis ii. 18.

² *Rinoros mundum univarsum et diabolum ipsum.* M. Adami Vita Luth. p. 136.

³ *Ut confitemur facto que deum, tam multos invenio pugnantes in tanta luce Evangelii.* L. Epp. iii. 13.

⁴ *Nonna ducta uxore in decore triumphantis et alamentum Joli Jo: hostium.* Ibid. 31.

⁵ *Non duxi uxorem ut alia vivissem, sed quod nunc propius sum alicui meum suspicetur.* Ibid. 32.

¹ *Monachus cum vestali copularetur.* M. A. p. 131.

² *Quot Antichristorum millia jam olim ha Er. Epp. p. 799.*

³ Erasmus adds, alluding to reports spread enemies that he had not been married more night when his wife was already brought to b "Partu maturo sponsæ vanus erat rumor."

⁴ *Ὅτι ψῦδος τοῦτο καὶ διαβολὴ ἐστίν.* 1. 753, ad Camerarius.

⁵ *Πάσα σπουδὴ καὶ σύνισι.* Ibid.

⁶ And he adds: *Offenditur etiam in carne ip tis et creatoris.* L. Epp. iii. 32.

⁷ This letter is dated October 31, 1525. Cate lat vel vere implet illud Genes. 3. *Tu dolore* Ibid. 35.

⁸ *Mir meine liebe Kethe einen Hansen Luth gästern um zwöl.* Ibid. 116. Jan 6 9, 1526.

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erased the storms that the exasperated enemies had at first gathered over s Ketha, as he styled her, man's tenderest affection towards him, him in his dejection by repeating from the Bible, exonerated him from hold cares, sat near him during his moments, worked his portrait in em-reminded him of the friends to had forgotten to write, and often him by the simplicity of her ques-certain dignity appears to have her character, for Luther would s call her, *My Lord Ketha*. One aid playfully, that if he were to gain, he would carve an obedient itself out of a block of stone, for, "it is impossible to find such a dity." His letters overflowed with s for Catherine; he called her "his gracious wife, his dear and amha." Luther's character became arful in Catherine's society, and this me of mind never deserted him s, even in the midst of his greatest

most universal corruption of the d brought the priesthood into general , from which the isolated virtues of hful servants of God had been un-extricate it. Domestic peace and fidelity, those surest foundations of here below, were continually dis- town and country by the gross of the priests and monks. No one re from those attempts at seduction. k advantage of the access allowed every family, and some times even fidence of the confessional, to instil poison into the souls of their peni- d to satisfy their guilty desires. rmation, by abolishing the celibacy desiaistics, restored the sanctity of gal state. The marriage of the it an end to an immense number of times. The reformers became the their flocks in the most intimate ortant relations of life; and the re not slow in rejoicing to see the of religion once more husbands rs.

CHAPTER XIV.

rave—The Elector—Prussia—Reformation—Se-
se—The Archbishop of Mentz—Conference at
—Diet—Alliance of Pörgau—Resistance of the
—Alliance of Magdeburg—The Catholics resist
Exercises—The Emperor's Marriage—Threat-
ers—The Two Parties.

irst glance, Luther's marriage had, seemed to add to the difficulties of mation. It was still suffering from

the blow inflicted on it by the revolt of the peasants; the sword of the emperor and of the princes was yet unsheathed against it; and its friends, the Landgrave Philip and the new Elector John, appeared discouraged and silenced.

This state of things did not, however, last long. The youthful landgrave in a short time boldly raised his head. Ardent and courageous as Luther, the noble character of the reformer had won his esteem. He threw himself into the Reformation with all the enthusiasm of a young man, and at the same time studied it with all the gravity of a superior mind.

In Saxony, Frederick's place could not be supplied either in discretion or in influence; but his brother, the Elector John, instead of confining himself to the passive part of a protector, interposed more directly and with greater courage in religious affairs. As he was leaving Weimar on the 16th of August 1525, he said to the assembled clergy, "I desire that you will in future preach the pure Word of God, without any additions of man." Some aged ecclesiastics, who were puzzled how to obey his directions, replied artlessly, "But we are not forbidden to say mass for the dead, or to bless the water and salt?"—"Every thing," said the elector, "ceremonies as well as sermons, must be conformed to God's Word."

Erelong the landgrave formed the extraordinary project of converting his father-in-law, Duke George. At one time he would establish the sufficiency of Scripture; at another, he would attack the mass, the papacy, and compulsory vows. Letter followed letter, and all the declarations of the Word of God were in turns opposed to the faith of the aged duke.¹

These efforts did not prove unavailing. The son of Duke George was won to the new doctrine. But Philip did not succeed with the father. "A hundred years hence we shall see who is right," said the latter. "A terrible saying," observed the Elector of Saxony; "what can that faith be which requires such long experience?" Poor duke!he will wait long enough. I fear God has hardened his heart, as he did Pharaoh's of old."

In Philip the evangelical party found a bold and intelligent leader, capable of making head against the terrible attacks the enemy were planning against them. But have we not cause to regret that the chief of the Reformation should have been from this moment a man of the sword, and not simply a disciple of the Word of God? The human element expanded in the Reformation, and the spiritual element declined. This was injurious to the work; for every work should develop itself in accordance with the laws of its own

¹ Rommel's Urkundenbuch, t. 2.

² Was das für ein Glaube sey, der eine solche Erfahrung erfordert. Sock. p. 729.

nature, and the Reformation was of a nature essentially spiritual.

God was adding to the number of its supporters. Prussia, that powerful state on the frontiers of Germany, had already taken its station with joy under the banner of the Gospel. The chivalrous and religious spirit which had founded the Teutonic order gradually faded away with the ages in which it had arisen. The knights, consulting their own interests alone, had dissatisfied the people under their rule. Poland had taken advantage of this in 1486 to compel the order to recognise her supremacy. The people, the knights, the grand-master, and the Polish domination, were so many contrary powers ever in collision and rendering the prosperity of the country impossible.

Then came the Reformation, and it was perceived that this was the only means of salvation remaining for the unhappy people. Brismann, Speratus, Poliander who had been Dr. Eck's secretary at the Leipsic dispute, and many others, preached the Gospel in Prussia.

One day a mendicant from the country under the rule of the Teutonic knights, arrived at Wittemberg, and stopping before Luther's house, sang with a solemn voice the beautiful hymn by Poliander:—

"To us at last salvation's come!"

The reformer, who had never heard this christian strain, listened in astonishment and rapture; the foreign accent of the singer added to his delight: "Again, again," said he when the mendicant had finished. He then asked where he had learned the hymn; and his tears began to flow when the poor man informed him that a cry of deliverance was sounding from the shores of the Baltic even to Wittemberg. Luther clasped his hands and thanked God.¹

In truth the tidings of salvation had gone thither.

"Have pity on our wretched state," said the people of Prussia to the grand-master, "and give us preachers who teach the pure doctrine of the Gospel." Albert at first made no reply; but entered into correspondence with Sigismund, king of Poland, his uncle and lord-suzerain.

The latter recognised him as hereditary duke of Prussia,² and the new prince made a public entry into his capital of Königsberg with the ringing of bells and the acclamations of the people; all the houses were splendidly decorated, and the streets strewn with flowers. "There is but one order," said Albert, "and that is Christianity." The monastic orders were disappearing, and this Divine order was re-established.

The bishops resigned their secular rights to the new duke; the convents were changed

into hospitals, the Gospel was preached in the meanest villages, and in the year Albert married Dorothea, daughter of the King of Denmark, whose "faith in one only Saviour" was not to be shaken.

The pope called upon the emperor severe measures against this "heretic monk, and Charles laid Albert under interdict.

Another prince of the family of Burgundy, the Cardinal-archbishop of Mainz, then on the point of following his example. The peasant-wars more threatened the ecclesiastical states, the elector, Luther, and all Germany they were on the eve of a great reformation. The archbishop, thinking the only preserving his principality would secularize it, secretly invited Luther to spare the people for this daring step the latter did by a letter addressed to the archbishop and intended to be read "God," said he, "has laid his hands upon the clergy; they must fall, or can save them."³ But the peasant-wars having come to an end more speed had been anticipated, the cardinal temporal possessions; his anxiety appeared, and he renounced his plans of secularization.

While John of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, and Albert of Prussia were taking part in the Reformation, and the prudent Frederick three princes found full of resolution and courage, holy work was advancing in the Church among the nations. Luther entered the elector to establish the evangelical instead of the Roman priesthood, direct a general visitation of the clergy. About the same time they were begging Wittemberg to exercise the episcopal functions and to ordain ministers. "Let the pope, the bishops, the monks, and the exclaim: 'We are the Church; we separate from us, separate from the world. There is no other Church than the Church of those who have the Word of God, are purified by it.'"⁴ Such was the language of Melancthon.

All this could not be said and done without occasioning a strong reaction. Luther had thought the Reformation existing in the blood of the rebellious peasants its flames burst forth again in every city with greater power and brightness resolved on making another effort. The pope and the emperor wrote threatening letters,—the one from Rome, the other from Spain. The imperial government to set matters on their old footing; the idea was seriously entertained of effecting

¹ Es ist das Heil uns kommen her.

² Danke Gott mei Fromden. Seeck. p. 602.

³ Siedman, Hist. Ref. p. 222.

⁴ Seeckend. p. 712.

⁵ Er muss herunter. L. Epp. II. 674.

⁶ L. Epp. III. 24, 38, 51, &c.

⁷ Dass Kirche sey allein diejenige, so Gottes Wort und damit gereinigt werden. Corp. Ref. I. 722.

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information in the approaching

of November, the electoral and the landgrave met in the diet of Friedewalt, and agreed that at the diet should act in the forest of Sullingen, the first elements of an evangelical opposition to the leagues of Dessau.

At Augsburg on the 11th the evangelical princes were present. From the very first Saxony and Hesse spoke out in favour of the peasants, "owing to an impolitic severer by fire nor sword that was torn from the heart. If we employ violent measures of repression, more terrible calamity than those from which we are now suffering, and so narrowly es-

t whatever resolution was taken would be of the greatest use. Every one desired to put off the diet, in order to increase his strength. They therefore determined to meet at Spire, in the month of June, and that in the meanwhile the emperor should continue to persecute. They said they, we will enter the subject "of the holy and of peace."

He persevered in his plan. He met with the elector at Gotha in February 1526. These two met at if they were attacked on the Word of God, they should resist their adversaries. A resolution was ratified at Torgau, and produced important results.

Torgau did not satisfy the emperor. Charles V. was forced to form a league "against the Word," he wrote letter to the elector, representing to him of combining with other princes. "I would renounce the Word of God if I were driven from my

at uncertainty at the election, a serious obstacle stood in the way of union between the evangelical and the emperor. This obstacle was Luther.

Luther desired that the diet should be defended by the emperor. He thought that the less men, the more striking would be the situation. It seemed to him that measures they desired to be ascribed to an unworthy emperor. Melancthon's alliance of the evangelical

princes would precipitate that very struggle which they were desirous of avoiding.

The landgrave was not to be checked by these considerations, and he endeavoured to bring the neighbouring states into the alliance; but his exertions were not crowned with success. Frankfurt refused to enter it. The Elector of Treves abandoned his opposition and accepted a pension from the emperor. Even the elector-palatine, whose evangelical disposition was well known, rejected Philip's proposals.

Thus the landgrave failed on the side of the Rhine; but the elector, notwithstanding the opinions of the theologians of the Reformation, entered into negotiations with the princes who had at all times rallied round the powerful house of Saxony. On the 12th of June, the elector and his son, the Dukes Philip, Ernest, Otho, and Francis of Brunswick and Luneburg, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, Prince Wolff of Anhalt, Counts Albert and Gebhard of Mansfeldt, assembled at Magdeburg; and there, under the presidency of the elector, formed an alliance similar to that of Torgau.

"Almighty God," said these princes, "having in his unspeakable mercy revived among men his holy and eternal Word, the food of our souls, and our greatest treasure here below; and great exertions having been made on the part of the clergy and their adherents to suppress and extirpate it, we, being firmly assured that He who hath sent it to glorify His name upon earth, will also know how to maintain it, bind ourselves to preserve that blessed Word for our people, and to that end to employ our goods, our lives, our states, our subjects, and all that we possess; putting our trust, not in our armies, but solely in the omnipotence of the Lord, whose instruments we desire to be."¹ Such was the language of the princes.

Two days after, the city of Magdeburg was received into the alliance, and the new duke of Prussia, Albert of Brandenburg, acceded to it by a separate treaty.

The evangelical alliance was thus formed; but the perils that it was intended to avert became every day more threatening. The clergy and the princes friendly to Rome had seen the Reformation, which they had thought stifled, suddenly growing up before them in a formidable shape. Already the partisans of the Reformation were almost as powerful as those of the pope. If they had a majority in the diet, the consequences to the ecclesiastical states might easily be imagined. Now or never! It is no longer a question of refuting a heresy; they have to contend against a powerful party. Other victories than those of Dr. Eck are required to save Christendom.

Effectual precautions had already been

¹ Allein auf Gott den Allmächtigen, als dessen Werkzeuge sie handeln. Hört lieber, Ursache des Deutschen Krieges. l. 1600.

taken. The metropolitan chapter of the collegiate church at Mentz had called a meeting of all its suffragans, and decided on sending a deputation to the emperor and the pope, calling on them to preserve the Church.

At the same time, Duke George of Saxony, Duke Henry of Brunswick, and the Cardinal-electors Albert, had met at Halle, and resolved to address a memorial to Charles V. "The detestable doctrine of Luther," said they, "is making rapid progress. Every day attempts are made to gain over even us; and as they cannot succeed by gentle measures, they are striving to compel us, by exciting our subjects to revolt. We implore the assistance of the emperor."¹ Immediately after this conference, Brunswick himself set out for Spain in order to influence Charles's determination.

He could not have arrived at a more favourable moment; the emperor had just concluded the famous treaty of Madrid with France; he seemed to have nothing more to fear in that quarter, and his eyes were now turned solely towards Germany. Francis I. had offered to defray a moiety of the expenses of a war, either against the heretics or against the Turks.

The emperor was at Seville, where he was about to marry a princess of Portugal, and the banks of the Guadalquivir re-echoed with the noise of his festivities. A glittering train of nobles and a vast concourse of people crowded that ancient capital of the Moors. Under the arched roof of its magnificent cathedral were displayed all the pompous ceremonies of the Church; a legate from the pope officiated, and never, even under the dominion of the Arabs, had Andalusia witnessed a spectacle of greater splendour and solemnity.

At this very moment Henry of Brunswick arrived from Germany, and besought Charles to rescue the empire and the Church from the attacks of the monk of Wittenberg. His request was immediately taken into consideration, and the emperor decided on adopting vigorous measures.

On the 23d of March 1526, he wrote to several of the princes and cities that had remained faithful to Rome. At the same time he gave Henry of Brunswick a special commission to inform them verbally that he had been seriously grieved to learn that the continual progress of the Lutheran heresy threatened to fill Germany with sacrilege, devastation, and bloodshed; that on the contrary he beheld with extreme pleasure the fidelity of the majority of the states; that, laying aside all other occupations, he was about to leave Spain and repair to Rome, to come to an understanding with the pope, and from thence proceed to Germany to fight against the abominable pest of Wittenberg;

that, on their parts, it was their duty here to their faith; and if the Lutherans sought to lead them into error by sin or force, they should form a close and boldly resist them; and that they soon arrive and support them with power.¹

When Brunswick returned to Germany the Romish party were transported and proudly lifted up their heads. The Electors of Brunswick and Pomerania, Albert of Brandenburg, John of Juliers, George of the Dukes of Bavaria, and all the princes of the Church, thought themselves victorious, as they read the menacing threats of the conqueror of Francis I. They went to attend the approaching diet, to the heretical princes, and if they did not submit, to compel them by the sword. George is reported to have said, "I will be Elector of Saxony whenever I like." He subsequently, however, endeavoured to give another meaning to these words. "Luther's cause will not last long," he said to him; "look to it!" said the duke's son one day at Torgau with an air of triumph.

Luther, indeed, was looking to it, as the chancellor understood the emperor. He was attentively watching the movements of the enemies of God's Word, and, like Job, imagined he saw thousands of angels unsheathed against the Gospel. He sought for other and higher strength than that of man. "Satan," wrote he to the monk of Myconius, "is putting forth his ungodly pontiffs are conspiring; and are threatened with war. Exhort the content valiantly before the throne of the Lord by faith and prayer, so that they may be vanquished by the Spirit of God, and be constrained to peace. Our chief labour is prayer; let the people know that they are now exposed to the sword and to the rage of Satan, and pray."²

Thus were all things tending to a decisive struggle. The Reformation was on its side the prayers of Christians, the faith of the people, and an increasing influence over men's minds that no power could resist. The papacy had in its favour the order of things, the strength of old institutions, the zeal and hatred of formidable princes, and the power of that mighty empire which reigned over two worlds, and which before given so rude a check to the progress of Francis the First.

Such was the state of affairs when the Diet of Spire was opened. Now let us see what Switzerland.

¹ Weimar State-papers. Seckendorff, p. 768.

² Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* ii. p. 249; *Römische Gesch.* p. 27.

³ Ut in medio gladii et furoris Satanæ positi erant. L. Epp. iii. 100.

¹ Schmidt, *Deutsche Gesch.* viii. 302.

BOOK XL

DIVISIONS.

SWITZERLAND—GERMANY. 1528—1527.

CHAPTER I.

unity—Primitive Fidelity and Liberty—For-
Bomish Unity—Leo Juda and the Monk-
hoses—The Disputation of January.

out to contemplate the diversities,
have been called, the *variations*
formation. These diversities are
most essential characteristics.

1 diversity and diversity in unity,
nature as well as of the Church.
s like the light of the sun: it de-
n heaven one and ever the same;
t assumes different colours upon
ording to the objects on which it
ike manner, formularies somewhat
ay sometimes express the same
idea considered under different

ll would creation be if this bound-
7 of forms and colours, which gives
were replaced by an absolute uni-
But how melancholy also would
arance, if all created beings did
magnificent unity!

unity has its rights, so also has
ersity. In religion we must super-
er God nor man. If you have not
r religion is not of God; if you
iversity, the religion is not of man;
it to be of both. Would you erase
ion one of the laws that God him-
posed on it,—that of infinite diver-
even things without life giving sound,
e or harp, except they give a distinc-
ounds, how shall it be known what is
*ped?*¹ But if there is a diversity
arising from the difference of indi-
and which consequently must sub-
in heaven, there is one that pro-
man's rebellion, and this is indeed
amity.

re two tendencies which equally
to error. The one exaggerates
he other exaggerates unity. The
doctrines of salvation are the limit
ese two courses. To require more
doctrines, is to infringe this diver-
quire less, is to infringe unity.
r excess is that of rash and rebel-
s, who look beyond Jesus Christ to
ns and doctrines of men.

The former exists in various exclusive
sects, and particularly in that of Rome.

The Church should reject error, and, un-
less this be done, Christianity cannot be
maintained. But if this idea were carried to
extremes, it would follow that the Church
should take arms against the least deviation,
and put herself in motion for mere verbal
disputes. Faith would thus be fettered, and
the feelings of Christians reduced to bondage.
Such was not the condition of the Church in
the times of real catholicity,—the catholicity
of the primitive ages. It rejected the sects
that attacked the fundamental truths of the
Gospel; but these truths once received, it
left full liberty to faith. Rome soon departed
from this wise course; and in proportion as
the dominion and teaching of men arose in
the Church, there sprung up by their side a
unity of man.

When a merely human system had been
once invented, coercion increased from age
to age. The christian liberty, respected by
the catholicism of the earlier ages, was at
first limited, then enslaved, and finally stifled.
Conviction, which according to the laws of
human nature and of the Word of God should
be freely formed in the heart and understand-
ing of man, was imposed from without, com-
pletely formed and symmetrically arranged
by the masters of mankind. Reflection, will,
feeling, all the faculties of the human being,
which, subjected to the Word and Spirit of
God, should work and bear fruit freely, were
deprived of their liberty, and constrained to
expand in shapes that had been determined
upon beforehand. The mind of man became
as a mirror on which extraneous objects are
reflected, but which possesses nothing by it-
self. Doubtless there still existed many
souls that had been taught direct of God.
But the great majority of Christians from
that time received the convictions of others
only; a faith peculiar to the individual was
rare; it was the Reformation alone that re-
stored this treasure to the Church.

And yet for some time there was a space
within which the human mind was permitted
to move; there were certain opinions that
might be received or rejected at will. But
as a hostile army day by day presses closer
to a besieged city, compels the garrison to
move only within the narrow boundary of
its ramparts, and at last forces it to surrender.

¹ 1 Corinthians xiv. 7.

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der; so the hierarchy, from age to age, and almost from year to year, contracted the space that it had temporarily granted to the human mind, until at last this space, from continual encroachments, had ceased to exist. All that man ought to love, believe, or do, was regulated and decreed in the offices of the Roman chancery. The faithful were relieved of the fatigue of examining, of reflecting, of contending; all that they had to do was to repeat the formularies they had been taught.

From that time, if there appeared in the bosom of Roman-catholicism any one who had inherited the catholicism of the apostolic ages, such a man feeling his inability to expand in the bonds in which he was confined, was compelled to snap them asunder, and display again to the astonished world the unfettered bearing of a Christian, who acknowledges no law save that of God.

The Reformation, by restoring liberty to the Church, was destined also to restore its original diversity, and to people it with families united by the great features of resemblance they derive from their common parent; but different in their secondary features, and reminding us of the varieties inherent in human nature. Perhaps it would have been desirable for this diversity to exist in the universal Church without leading to sectarian divisions. Nevertheless, we must not forget that these sects are but the expression of this diversity.

Switzerland and Germany, which had till this time developed themselves independently of each other, began to come in contact in the years whose history we are about to retrace, and realized the diversity of which we have been speaking, and which was to be one of the characteristics of Protestantism. We shall there behold men perfectly agreed on all the great doctrines of faith, and yet differing on certain secondary points. Passion, indeed, entered into these discussions; but while deploring such a melancholy intermixture, Protestantism, far from seeking to conceal her diversity, publishes and proclaims it. Its path to unity is long and difficult, but this unity is the real unity.

Zwingle was advancing in the christian life. While the Gospel had freed Luther from that profound melancholy to which he had formerly given way in the convent of Erfurth, and had developed in him a serenity which often amounted to gaiety, and of which the reformer afterwards gave so many proofs, even in the face of great dangers, Christianity had produced the very opposite effect on the joyous gild of the Tockenburg mountians. Tearing Zwingle from his thoughtless and worldly life, it had imprinted a seriousness on his character that was not natural to him. This seriousness was very necessary to him. We have seen how towards the close of the year 1522 numerous enemies appeared rising up against the Re-

formation.¹ Zwingle was overwhelmed reproaches from every quarter, and would often take place even in the c

Leo Juda, who (says an historian man of small stature,² but full of the poor, and zeal against false teach arrived at Zurich about the end of 1522 to occupy the station of past Peter's church. He had been ref Einsidlen by Oswald Myconius,³ a valuable acquisition for Zwingle the Reformation.

One day, not long after his arriv was in the church of which he had pointed pastor, he heard an Augusti asserting forcibly that man is able o to satisfy the righteousness of God. rend father prior," said Leo, "list for an instant; and you, my dear keep still; I will speak as becomes tian." He then proved to the p falseness of the doctrine to which just been listening.⁴ Upon this a turbance arose in the church; and ately several persons angrily fell u little priest" from Einsidlen. Zw appeared before the great council, permission to give an account of his in the presence of the deputies of th and the council, desirous of putting; these disturbances, convened a c for the 29th of January 1523. T spread rapidly through the whole of land. His adversaries exclaimed vexation: "A diet of vagabonds is at Zurich; all the beggars from 1 ways will be there."

Zwingle, desiring to prepare struggle, published sixty-seven the mountaineer of the Tockenburg t sailed the pope in the eyes of all land.

"All those (said he) who main the Gospel is nothing without the tion of the Church, blaspheme God.

"Jesus Christ is the only way of for all those who have been, who ar shall be.

"All Christians are Christ's bret brethren of one another, and they father upon earth: thus orders, s parties fall to the ground.

"We should not constrain those not acknowledge their error, und disturb the public peace by their behaviour."

Such were some of Zwingle's pro Early in the morning of Thur 29th of January, more than six h sons had collected in the hall of Council at Zurich. Citizens and s scholars, men of rank and the cl responded to the call of the council.

¹ See vol. II, book viii, near the end.

² Er war ein kurzer Mann. Füsslin Beyträge

³ Ut post abitum Leonis, monachis aliquid
Epp. 253.
J. J. Hottinger, *Helv. Kirch. Gesch.* III. 405.

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the end of all this?" asked they of her.¹ No one ventured to reply; attention, emotion, and agitation g in this assembly, clearly manifest they were expecting some extra-result.

Burgomaster Roust, who had fought man, presided at the conference. alier James d'Anwyl, grand-master piscopal court at Constance, the ernal Faber, and many other doctors, sent as the bishop's representatives. Hofmeister had been sent by Schaffnd he was the only deputy from the such was still the weakness of the ion in Switzerland. On a table in e of the hall lay a Bible; in front Zwingle: "I am agitated and torn every side," he had said, "and nd firm, relying not on my own but on Christ the rock, with whose n do all things."²

e stood up and said: "I have that salvation is found in Jesus one, and for this reason I am stighroughout Switzerland as a heretic, of the people, a rebel.....Now, he name of God, here I stand!"³ this all eyes were turned towards ho rose and made answer: "I was here to dispute, but merely to lishe assembly in surprise began to "The Diet of Nuremberg," conber, "has promised a council with; we must wait until it meets." t!" said Zwingle, "is not this vast ed meeting as good as any counhen turning to the presidents, he "My gracious lords, defend the God."

silence followed this appeal; it was ed by the burgomaster, who said: e is any one here who desires to t him do so." There was another "I call upon all those who have ac, and I know that there are several id Zwingle, "to come forward and ne for the love of truth." No one rd. Zwingle repeated his request a id a third time, but to no purpose. us closely pressed, dropped for an e reserve he had imposed on himclare that the pastor of Filispach, had convinced of his error, was now in prison; but immediately after reis character as a spectator. But as he urged to set forth the reasons he had convinced this pastor: he ly refused. This silence on the he Romish doctors exhausted the of the meeting. A voice was heard g from the farther part of the hall:

"Where are now these valiant fellows,⁴ who talk so loudly in the streets? Come along, step forward, there's your man!" No one moved. Upon this the burgomaster said with a smile: "It would appear that this famous sword with which you smote the pastor of Filispach will not come out of its sheath to-day;" and he then broke up the meeting.

When the assembly met again in the afternoon, the council declared that Master Ulrich Zwingle, not being reproved by any one, might continue to preach the holy Gospel, and that the rest of the clergy in the canton should teach nothing that they could not substantiate by Scripture.

"Praised be God, who will cause his holy Word to prevail in heaven and earth!" exclaimed Zwingle. Upon this Faber could not restrain his indignation. "The theses of Master Ulrich," said he, "are contrary to the honour of the Church and the doctrine of Christ; and I will prove it." "Do so," replied Zwingle. But Faber declined his challenge, except it should be at Paris, Cologne, or Friburg. "I will have no other judge than the Gospel," said Zwingle. "Sooner than you can shake one of its words, the earth will open before you."⁵ "The Gospel!" sneered Faber, "always the Gospel!.....Men might live in holiness, peace, and charity, though there were no Gospel."⁶

At these words the spectators rose indignantly from their seats, and thus terminated the disputation.

CHAPTER II.

Papal Temptations—Progress of the Reformation—The Idol at Stadelhofen—Sacrilage—The Ornaments of the Saints.

THE Reformation had gained the day; it was now to accelerate its conquests. After this battle of Zurich, in which the most skilful champions of the papacy were dumb, who would be bold enough to oppose the new doctrine? But weapons of a different kind were tried. Zwingle's firmness and republican bearing overawed his adversaries; accordingly they had recourse to peculiar measures to subdue him. While Rome was pursuing Luther with her anathemas, she endeavoured to win over the reformer of Zurich by gentleness. The dispute was scarcely ended when Zwingle received a visit from the captain of the pope's guard—the son of the burgomaster Roust. He was

aus Verwunderen, was doch aus der Sach werden
inger Chronik. i. 97.
tamen maneo, non meis nervis nixus, sed petra
no omnia possum Zw. Opp. p. 261.
ian in des Namen Gottes, his bin ich. Bul-
nik. p. 95.

¹ So the monks. We sind nun die grossen Hansen.....
Zw. Opp. i. 124.

² Es muss das Erdreich brechen. Ibid. 164.

³ Man möchte dennoch fröhlich, fröhlich und tugendlich
leben, wenn gleich kein Evangelium wäre. Bull. Chron. p.
107; Zw. Opp. i. 122.

accompanied by the legate Einsius, the bearer of a papal brief, in which Adrian VI. called Zwingle his beloved son, and assured him of "his special favour."¹ At the same time the pope urged Zink to gain over Zwingle. "And what has the pope commissioned you to offer him?" asked Oswald Myconius. "Every thing," replied Zink, "except the papal chair."²

There was no mitre, or crozier, or cardinal's hat, that the pope would not have given to bribe the reformer of Zurich. But Rome was strangely mistaken in this respect; all her proposals were unavailing. In Zwingle, the Romish Church had a still more pitiless enemy than Luther. He cared far less than the Saxon reformer for the ideas and ceremonies of former ages; it was enough for him that any custom, however innocent in itself, was connected with some abuse; he fell violently upon it. The Word of God (thought he) should stand alone.

But if Rome understood so imperfectly what was then taking place in Christendom, she found councillors who endeavoured to put her in the way.

Faber, exasperated at seeing the pope thus humble himself before his adversary, hastened to enlighten him. He was a courtier with a constant smile upon his lips, and honeyed words in his mouth; to judge from his own language, he was everybody's friend, even of those whom he accused of heresy. But his hatred was mortal. Accordingly, the reformer, playing on his name (Faber, a smith), used to say, "the Vicar of Constance is a lie-smith. Let him openly take up arms, and see how Christ defends us."³

These words were no mere idle boasting; for while the pope was complimenting Zwingle on his eminent virtues, and the special confidence he placed in him, the enemies of the reformer were increasing in number throughout Switzerland. The veteran soldiers, the great families, and the herdsmen of the mountains combined their hatred against this doctrine which thwarted their tastes. At Lucerne, the magnificent representation of Zwingle's passion was announced; in effect, the people dragged the reformer's effigy to the scaffold, shouting out that they were going to put the heretic to death; and laying hands on some Zurichers who happened to be at Lucerne, compelled them to be spectators of this mock execution. "They shall not trouble my repose," said Zwingle; "Christ will never be wanting to his followers."⁴ Even the diet recoiled with threats against him. "My dear confederates," said the councillor of Mullinen to the cantons, "make a timely resistance

to the Lutheran cause.....At Zurich is no longer master in his own house.

This agitation among the enemy was what was passing in Zurich more to any proclamations could have done. Victory was indeed bearing fruit; querors were gradually taking possession of the country, and every day the Gospel fresh progress. Twenty-four cantons great number of chaplains volunteered the council to reform their priests by pious and learned men, mission to give the Zurich youth a liberal education, and to establish place of their vespers and Latin daily explanation of a chapter according to the Hebrew and Greek first for the learned, and afterward people.

There are unfortunately in every number of those desperate heroes of their ranks and make unseasonable on points that ought still to be. A young priest, Louis Hetzer, had a treatise in German, entitled, *The of God against Images*, which pre- gress sensation, and the question wholly engrossed the thoughts of the people. It is only to the det those essentials that ought to oc mind, that man can fix his atte secondary matters. At a place call hofen, outside the city gates, stood elaborately carved and richly orn The most zealous partisans of the tion, shocked at the superstitious this image gave rise, could not pass out giving vent to their indign citizen named Claude Hottinger, "man," says Bullinger, "and well re Holy Scriptures," having fallen in miller of Stadelhofen, to whom th belonged, asked him when he in throw down his idols. "No one co to worship them," replied the mille do you not know," retorted Hotting the Word of God forbids us to gaven images?"—"Well, then," miller, "if you are authorized t them, I abandon them to you." thought himself empowered to shortly after, about the end of S he was seen passing the gates wi of citizens. On arriving at the cruc deliberately dug round it, until d yielding to their efforts, fell to the e a loud crash.

This daring action spread dismay side: one might have thought th itself had fallen with the crucifix hofen. "They are guilty of sacrileg deserve to be put to death!" excl friends of Rome. The council ca image-breakers to be apprehended.

"No!" cried Zwingle and his c from their pulpits: "Hottinger and I

¹ Cum de tua egregia virtute specialiter nobis sit cognitum. Zw. Epp. p. 361.

² Serie respondit: Omnia certe prout sedam papalem. Vnde Zwingle, per Osw. Myc.

³ Fecissent volo, palamque arma capiant. Zw. Epp. p. 367.

⁴ Christiani sibi nunquam debenturum. Ibid. p. 378.

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ty in the sight of God and worthy. But they may be punished for and with violence and without the the magistrates."²

acts of a similar nature were taking place. A curate of Saint day remarking in front of the number of poor people ill fed and and garments, said to one of his as he turned his eyes on the costs of the saints: "I should like se idols of wood to procure cloth- poor members of Jesus Christ." s later, at three o'clock in the re saints and all their ornaments. The council flung the curate notwithstanding he protested his of this proceeding. "What!" the people, "is it these logs of Jesus ordered us to clothe? Is it of these images that he will say eous: *I was naked, and ye clothed*

greater the resistance, the higher Reformation; and the more it was, the more energetically did it ward, and threaten to overthrow hstood it.

CHAPTER III.

n of October—Zwingli on the Church—The unenforcement of Presbyterianism—Discussion—Enthusiasts—The Language of Discretion—Characteristics of the Swiss Reformation—Oswald Myconius at Zurich—Revival of Lippman Platzer of the Valais.

excesses were destined to be new combat was needed to secure uph; for in the things of the the affairs of the world, there is without a struggle; and as the Rome stood motionless, the con- be brought on by the undisci- of the Reformation. In fact, the were embarrassed and agitated; e necessity of having their con- frightened, and with this view they appoint another public disputa- German language, in which the idols should be examined accord- ture.

pps of Coire, Constance, and Basle, ity of the latter city, and the ons, were accordingly requested uties to Zurich. But the bishops invitation, and calling to mind d figure their deputies had made

at the former disputation, they had little inclination to repeat such humiliating scenes. Let the evangelicals dispute if they please, but let them dispute alone. On the first occasion, the Romish party had kept silence; on the second they were resolved not to appear. Rome may possibly have imagined that the great combat would cease for want of combatants. The bishops were not alone in refusing to attend. The men of Unterwalden replied that they had no scholars among them, but only worthy and pious priests, who explained the Gospel as their fathers had done; that they would send no deputy to Zwingli "and his fellows;" but that, if he fell into their hands, they would treat him in such a manner as to deprive him of all wish to relapse into the same faults.¹ Schaffhausen and St. Gall alone sent representatives.

On the 26th of October, after the sermon, an assembly of more than nine hundred persons, composed of members of the Great Council and of three hundred and fifty priests, filled the large hall of the town-house. Zwingli and Leo Juda were seated at a table, on which lay the Old and New Testaments in the original languages. Zwingli spoke first, and overthrowing with a vigorous arm the authority of the hierarchy and of its councils, established the rights of every Christian Church, and claimed the liberty of the primitive ages—of those times when the Church knew neither general nor provincial councils. "The universal Church," said he, "is spread over the whole world, wherever there is faith in Christ, in India as well as at Zurich..... And as for particular churches, we have them at Berne, at Schaffhausen, and even here. But the popes, with their cardinals and their councils, form neither the universal Church nor a particular Church."² The assembly before which I now speak," continued he with energy, "is the Church of Zurich; it desires to hear the Word of God, and it has the right of ordering all that may appear to it conformable with the Holy Scriptures."

Thus did Zwingli rely on the Church, but on the true Church; not on the clergy alone, but on the assembly of Christians,—on the people. All that the Scriptures say of the Church in general, he applied to particular churches. He did not think that any church could err which listened with docility to the Word of God. In his eyes, the Church was represented politically and ecclesiastically by the Great Council.³ At first he explained every question from the pulpit; and when his hearers' minds were convinced of the truth, he carried the matter before the Great Council, who, in harmony with the ministers

on of the same principles may be seen in the de Broglie and Hoyer-Collard, at the period debates on the law of sacrilege in France, and in unser Herren kein rächt zu inen, sy Chron. p. 127.

¹ So wollten wir Ihm den Lohn geben, dass er's nimmer mehr thäte. Stimmliet Samml. 48. 12.

² Der Päbste, Cardinale und Bischöffe Concilia sind nicht die christliche Kirche. Fussl. Boyz. III. 20.

³ Discessit Senatus summa est potestas Ecclesie vica. Zw. Opp. III. 329.

of the Church, formed such decisions as the Church called for.¹

In the absence of the bishop's deputies, Conrad Hoffmann, the same aged canon who had procured Zwingle's election to Zurich, undertook the defence of the pope. He maintained that the Church, the flock, the "third estate," had no right to discuss such matters. "I was thirteen years at Heidelberg," said he, "living in the house of a very great scholar, whose name was Doctor Joss, a worthy and pious man, with whom I long ate and drank and led a merry life; but I always heard him say that it was not proper to discuss such matters; so you see....." All were ready to burst into laughter; but the burgo-master checked them. "Let us therefore wait for a council," continued Hoffmann. "For the present, I shall not dispute, but obey the bishop's orders, even should he be a knave!"

"Wait for a council!" replied Zwingle. "And who will attend a council? The pope with a pack of sluggish and ignorant bishops who will do nothing but what suits their fancy. No! the Church is not there! Hông and Küssnacht (these were two Zurich villages) are certainly more of a church than all the bishops and popes put together!"

Thus did Zwingle vindicate the rights of the christian people, whom Rome had deprived of their privileges. The assembly before which he was speaking was not, in his judgment, the Church of Zurich, but its first representative. This is the beginning of the Presbyterian system in the age of the Reformation. Zwingle was withdrawing Zurich from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constance, separating it from the Latin hierarchy, and founding on this idea of the flock, of the christian assembly, a new ecclesiastical constitution, to which other countries were afterwards to adhere.

The disputation continued. Many priests having risen to defend the images, but without having recourse to Holy Writ, Zwingle and the other reformers confuted them by the Bible. "If no one stands forward to defend the use of images by arguments derived from Scripture," said one of the presidents, "we shall call upon some of their advocates by name." As no one arose, the priest of Wädtschwil was called. "He is asleep," answered one of the spectators. The priest of Horgen was next called. "He has sent me in his place," replied his curate, "but I will not answer for him." Evidently the power of God's Word was making itself felt in this assembly. The partisans of the Reformation were full of energy, liberty, and joy; their adversaries appeared speechless, uneasy, and dejected. They summoned, one after another, the parish-priests of Laufen, Glattfel-

den, Wetzikon, the rector and Jäfikon, the dean of Elgg, the priest of Schwyl, with the Dominicans and notorious for their preaching of images, the virgin, the saints, and but all made answer that they were nothing in their favour, and that they would apply themselves to the truth. "Hitherto," said Zwingle, "I have put my trust in the pope, now, I will believe in the truth. I should believe not in us, but in the exclamation of Zwingle. 'It is so that can never err!'" The sitting long, and night was approaching. The president, Hofmeister of Schaffhausen said: "Blessed be the All-merciful Everlasting God for that in all things He has vouchsafed us the victory;" and exhorted the councillors of Zurich to down all the images.

On Tuesday the assembly met in order to discuss the doctrine of images. Vadian was in the chair. "My friends," said Zwingle, "far from thought that there is any deception in the body and blood of Christ, my only aim is to show that the sacrifice that one man can offer for another, unless any one should say that a man can eat and drink with his friend."

Vadian having twice demanded that there present desired to uphold the doctrine impugned, and no one replied, the canons of Zurich, the pope, and many other ecclesiastics, who they agreed with Zwingle.

But scarcely had the reformers quished the partisans of the old religion than they had to contend against impatient spirits who call for sudden innovations, and not for gradual reforms. The wretched Crotz rose and said: "It is not enough disputed about the mass, we must end to its abuses."—"The council has an edict on the subject," replied Zwingle. Upon this Simon Stumpf exclaimed: "The Spirit of God has already decided to the decision of the council?"

The commander Schmidt of Glattfeld arose gravely, and in language of command said, "Let us teach Christ in their hearts." Until then the plain have all gone after idols. The plain have run to the mountains, those of the mountains have run to the plain; the French to Germany, the Germans to France. Now ye know ye ought to go. God has combred in Christ. Ye noble citizens of Zurich, to the true source; and may Chr

¹ Ante omnia multitudinem de questionibus probe docere factum est, ut quicquid diaconi (the great council of two hundred), cum verbi ministris ordinarent, jamdudum in animis fidelium ordinatum esset. Zw. Opp. iii. 329.

² Dass einigerley Betrug oder Falschheit Blut und Fleisch Christi. Zw. Opp. i. 428.

³ Der Geist Gottes urtheilet. Ibid. 529.

⁴ Wie wir Christum in ired Herzen so machen. Ibid. 534.

ur territory, and there resume his
pire."

course made a deep impression,
stood up to reply to it. Zwingle
motion and said, "Gracious lords,
us.....He will defend his cause.
forward in the name of God."
igle's agitation became so great
uld not proceed. He wept, and
d their tears with his.¹

ded the disputation. The presi-
the burgmester thanked them;
ed warrior, turning to the coun-
avely, with that voice which had
en heard on the field of battle,
n,..... let us grasp the sword of
1, and may the Lord prosper his

pute, which took place in the
October 1523, was decisive. The
the priests, who had been present
ned full of zeal to the different
e canton, and the effect of these
was felt throughout Switzerland.
h of Zurich, that had always pre-
tain independence with respect
of Constance, was then entirely
d. Instead of resting on the pope
e bishop, it rested henceforward
e people on the Word of God.
overed the privileges that Rome
from her. Town and country
ach other in interest for the work
ormation, and the Great Council
ow the movements of the people.
ortant occasions the city and the
de known their opinions. Luther
d the Bible to the christian world;
rent farther, he restored their
his is a characteristic feature of
Reformation. The maintenance
ctrine was thus confided, under
people; and recent events have
a christian people can guard this
posit better than priests and pon-

did not allow himself to be elated
; on the contrary, the Reforming
to his wish, was carried on t
moderation. "God knows my
t he, when the council asked his
He knows that I am inclined to
and not to throw down. I am
there are timid souls who ought
ciliated; let the mass, therefore,
me longer be read on Sunday in
rches, and let us avoid insulting
who celebrate it."²
xcil drew up an edict to this pur-
tinger and Hochrutiner, one of his
re banished from the canton for

h selbst mit vil andren bewegt zu weiden.

celebrated pantheist and unbeliever, Strauss,
ominated professor of dogmatical theology in
of Zurich, the people of all the canton resisted
ut, and raised a new government into power.
Jemand sich unterstehen die Messpriester zu
Wirtz. H. K. G., v. 205.

two years, and forbidden to return without
permission.

The Reformation at Zurich followed a pru-
dent and christian course. Daily raising
this city more and more, it surrounded her
with glory in the eyes of all the friends of
the Word of God. Accordingly those in
Switzerland who had saluted the new light
that was dawning upon the Church felt
themselves powerfully attracted towards Zu-
rich. Oswald Myconius, expelled from
Lucerne, had been residing for six months
at Einsidlen, when, as he was returning one
day from a journey he had made to Glaris,¹
oppressed by fatigue and by the heat of the
sun, he saw his little boy Felix running to
meet him, and to tell him that he had been
invited to Zurich to superintend one of the
schools. Oswald could not believe such joy-
ful tidings: he hesitated between fear and
hope.² "I am thine," wrote he at last to
Zwingle. Geroldsek saw him depart with
regret; gloomy thoughts filled his mind.
"Alas!" said he to Oswald, "all those who
confess Christ are going to Zurich; I fear
that one day we shall all perish there to-
gether."³ A melancholy presentiment, which
by the death of Geroldsek himself and of so
many other friends of the Gospel, was but
too soon fulfilled on the plains of Cappel.

At Zurich, Myconius found at last a safe
retreat. His predecessor, who from his sta-
ture had been nicknamed at Paris "the
great devil," had neglected his duties; Os-
wald devoted all his heart and strength to
their fulfilment. He explained the Greek
and Latin classics, taught rhetoric and logic,
and the youth of the city listened to him
with delight.⁴ Myconius was destined to
become for the rising generation what
Zwingle was to those of riper years.

At first Myconius was alarmed at the ad-
vanced age of the scholars under his care;
but he had gradually resumed his courage,
and was not long in distinguishing among
his pupils a young man, twenty-four years
of age, from whose eyes beamed forth a love
of study. Thomas Plater, for such was his
name, was a native of the Valais. In that
beautiful valley, where the torrent of the
Viège rolls its noisy waters, after issuing
from the sea of ice and snow which encircles
Mount Rosa, between St. Nicholas and Stal-
den, on the lofty hill that rises on the right
bank of the river, may still be seen the vil-
lage of Grächen. This was Plater's birth-
place. From the neighbourhood of these
colossal Alps was to proceed one of the most
original of all the characters that appeared
in the great drama of the sixteenth century.
At the age of nine years, he had been placed
under the care of a priest who was his rela-
tion, by whom the little peasant was often

¹ Incorporato nuntio excepti me illius redemptum ex Glo-
reana. Zw. Epp. p. 323.

² Inter spem et metum. Ibid.

³ Ac deinde omnes simul perieramus. Ibid. p. 323.

⁴ Juvenatis illum lubens audit. Ibid. p. 323.

so cruelly beaten that he cried (as he tells us himself) like a kid under the knife. He was taken by one of his cousins to attend the German schools. But he had already attained the age of twenty years, and yet, through running from school to school, he scarcely knew how to read.¹ When he arrived at Zurich, he came to the determination of gaining knowledge; and having taken his place in Oswald's school, he said to himself, "There shalt thou learn or die." The light of the Gospel shone into his heart. One very cold morning, when he had no fuel for the school-room stove, which it was his duty to keep up, he thought to himself: "Why should you want wood, while there are many idols in the church!" There was no one as yet in the church, although Zwingli was to preach, and the bells were already summoning the congregation. Plater entered very softly, laid hold of an image of St. John that stood upon an altar, and thrust it into the stove, saying: "Down with you, for in you must go." Most assuredly neither Myconius nor Zwingli would have sanctioned such a proceeding.

It was in truth by better arms than these that incredulity and superstition were to be combated. Zwingli and his colleagues had given the hand of fellowship to Myconius; and the latter daily expounded the New Testament in the church of Our Lady before an eager and attentive crowd.² Another public disputation, held on the 13th and 14th of January 1524, had again proved fatal to Rome; and in vain did the canon Koch exclaim: "Popes, cardinals, bishops, councils—these are my church!"

Every thing was making progress in Zurich; men's minds were becoming more enlightened, their hearts more decided, and the Reformation was increasing in strength. Zurich was a fortress gained by the new doctrine, and from her walls it was about to spread over the whole confederation.

CHAPTER IV.

Diet of Lucerne—Hottinger arrested—His Death—Deputation from the Diet to Zurich—Abolition of Religious Processions—Abolition of Images—The Two Reformations—Appeal to the People.

THE adversaries were aware of what might be the consequences of these changes in Zurich. They felt that they must now decide upon striking a vigorous blow. They had been silent spectators long enough. The iron-clad warriors of Switzerland determined to rise at last; and whenever they

arose, the field of battle had been blood.

The diet had met at Lucerne; it were endeavouring to excite the chi of the nation in their favour. For the Forest Cantons proved their docments; Berne, Basle, Soleure, Gl Appenzel were undecided. Sch was inclining towards the Gos Zurich alone stood forward boldly fence. The partisans of Rome urg sibly to yield to their demands: dices. "Let the people be forbid they, "to preach or repeat any n theran doctrine in private or in pt to talk or dispute about such thin verns and over their wine."¹ Such ecclesiastical law they were desirot blishing in the confederation.

Nineteen articles were drawt u effect, approved of by all the state Zurich, on the 26th of January 1 sent to all the bailiffs with orders t they were strictly observed: "whi great joy among the priests," says l "and great sorrow among believ persecution, regularly organized b preme authority of the confederat about to begin.

One of the first who received the of the diet was Henry Flackenst cerne, bailiff of Baden. Hotting banished from Zurich for pulling crucifix of Stadelhofen, had retire bailiwick, where he had not conc opinions. One day, as he chanc dining at the Angel tavern in Zur had said that the priests wrongly in Holy Scripture, and that man shoul trust in God alone.² The landlord, continually going in and out to bri or wine, listened to what appear very extraordinary language. Ano Hottinger paid a visit to his frie Schutz of Schneyssingen. After t eaten and drunk together, Schutz as "What is this new faith that the Ze tors are preaching?" "They pre plied Hottinger, "that Christ was: once for all Christians; that by sacrifice he has purified and redeen from their sins; and they show Scripture that the mass is a lie."

After this (in February 1523), F had quitted Switzerland, and gone ness to Waldshut, on the other sid Rhine. Measures were taken to person, and about the end of the san the poor unsuspecting Zurichers, h crossed the river, had scarcely reac lentz, a village on the left bank of tl before he was arrested. He was Klingenu, and as he there frankly c

¹ Es soll nieman in den Wirtshäusern, oder st dem Wyn von Lutherischen, oder neuen Sachen Bull. Chr. p. 144.

² Wie wir unser pitt Hoffnung und Trost alle Ibid. p. 145.

¹ See his Autobiography.
² Weise, Füsslin Reyt. iv. 96

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the exasperated Flackenstein said: "take you to a place where you will be able to make you a suitable answer." Next, the bailiff conducted him successively before the judges of Klingenanau, before the tribunal of Baden, and, since he found no one who would declare him innocent before the diet sitting at Lucerne, firmly resolved to seek judges who would condemn his prisoner.

Not lost no time, and condemned him to be beheaded. When informed of the sentence, he gave glory to God: "Will do," said James Troger, one of the judges, "we do not sit here to listen to you."

You can have your talk some other time." "He must have his head taken off," said the bailiff Am Ort, with a sneer, "if he should ever get it on again, I will embrace his faith." "May God bless all those who have condemned me," said the prisoner. A monk then presented a scroll to his lips, but he put it away, saying, "It is in the heart that we must renounce Christ."

When he was led out to execution, many spectators could not refrain from tears. "Going to eternal happiness," said he, "towards them. On reaching the gallows where he was to die, he raised his hands to heaven, exclaiming: "Into thy hands, my Redeemer, I commit my soul." In another minute his head rolled from his neck.

The blood of Hottinger was hardly cold when his enemies of the Reformation seized the opportunity of still further inflaming the passions of the confederates. It was in Zurich that the mischief should be crushed. A noble example that had just been set by the death of Zwingle and his party. Another vigorous effort, and the blood of Hottinger would be followed by the blood of the Reformers. The diet immediately that a deputation should be sent to appeal upon the councils and the people to renounce their faith.

The deputation received an audience on the 10th of March. "The ancient Christian faith is broken," said the deputies; "the ground is gaining ground; already have the four Forest Cantons declared, as the magistrates come to their senses, must discontinue their functions. Let us of Zurich, join your efforts to this new faith; dismiss Zwingle and his disciples, and then let us all unite to do him injuries that have been inflicted upon his person and his courtiers." He spoke the adversaries: and what would the citizens of Zurich do? Would they fail them? Had their courage dried up with the blood of their fellow-citizens?

He did not leave her friends or enemies

long in suspense. The council announced calmly and nobly that they could make no concessions in what concerned the Word of God; and then proceeded to make a still more forcible reply.

Ever since the year 1351, it had been customary for a numerous procession, each member of which bore a cross, to go on Whitmonday on a pilgrimage to Einsiedlen to worship the Virgin. This festival, which had been established in commemoration of the battle of Tatwyll, was attended with great disorders.¹ The procession should have taken place on the 7th of May. On the petition of the three pastors it was prohibited by the council, and all the other processions were reformed in their turn.

They did not stop here. The relics, that source of innumerable superstitions, were honourably interred;² and then, at the request of the three pastors, the council published a decree, to the effect that honour being due to God alone, the images should be removed from all the churches of the canton, and their ornaments sold for the benefit of the poor. Twelve councillors, one from each guild, the three pastors, the city-architect, blacksmiths, carpenters, builders, and masons, went into the various churches, and having closed the doors,³ took down the crosses, defaced the frescoes, whitewashed the walls, and took away the images, to the great delight of the believers, who regarded this proceeding (says Bullinger) as a striking homage paid to the true God. In some of the country churches, the ornaments were burnt "to the honour and glory of God." Ere long the organs were taken down, on account of their connexion with many superstitious practices; and a baptismal service was drawn up, from which every thing unscriptural was excluded.

The burgomaster Roust and his colleague, with their dying eyes joyfully hailed the triumph of the Reformation. They had lived long enough, and they died at the very time of this great renovation of public worship.

The Swiss Reformation here presents itself under an aspect somewhat different from that of the German Reformation. Luther had risen up against the excesses of those who had broken the images in the churches of Wittenberg; and in Zwingle's presence the idols fell in the temples of Zurich. This difference is explained by the different lights in which the two reformers viewed the same object. Luther desired to maintain in the Church all that was not expressly contrary to the Scriptures, and Zwingle to abolish all that could not be proved by them. The German reformer wished to remain united to the Church of the preceding ages, and was content to purify it of all that was opposed

¹ Uff einen Grettzgang, stoben unehelicher kinden überkommen wurden. Bull. Chr. p. 162.

² Und es cerlich bestattet hat. Ibid. 161.

³ Habend die nach innen zu beschloßen. Ibid. 161.

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to the Word of God. The Zurich reformer passed over these ages, returned to the apostolic times, and, carrying out an entire transformation of the Church, endeavoured to restore it to its primitive condition.

Zwingle's reformation was therefore the more complete. The work that Providence had confided to Luther, the restoration of the doctrine of justification by faith, was doubtless the great work of the Reformation; but when this was accomplished, others remained to be done, which, although secondary, were still important; and to these Zwingle's exertions were more especially directed.

In fact, two mighty tasks had been imposed on the reformers. Christian catholicism, born in the midst of Jewish pharisaism and Greek paganism, had gradually felt the influence of these two religions, which had transformed it into Roman-catholicism. The Reformation that was called to purify the Church, was destined to purge it alike from the Jewish and the pagan element.

The Jewish element prevailed chiefly in that part of the christian doctrine which relates to man. Catholicism had received from Judaism the pharisaical ideas of self-righteousness, of salvation by human strength or works.

The pagan element prevailed especially in that part of the christian doctrine which relates to God. Paganism had corrupted in the catholic church the idea of an infinite Deity, whose power, being perfectly all-sufficient, is at work in all times and in all places. It had established in the Church the reign of symbols, images, and ceremonies; and the saints had become the demigods of popery.

Luther's reform was directed essentially against the Jewish element. It was against this element that he had been compelled to struggle, when an impudent monk on behalf of the pope was making a trade of the salvation of souls.

Zwingle's reform was particularly directed against the pagan element. It was this element with which he had come in contact at the temple of our Lady of Einsidlen, when a crowd, gathered together from every side, fell down blindly before a gilded idol, as of old in the temple of the Ephesian Diana.

The German reformer proclaimed the great doctrine of justification by faith, and with it inflicted a death-blow on the pharisaical righteousness of Rome. The reformer of Switzerland unquestionably did the same; the inability of man to save himself forms the basis of the work of all the reformers. But Zwingle did something more: he established the sovereign, universal, and exclusive agency of God, and thus inflicted a deadly blow on the pagan worship of Rome.

Roman-catholicism had exalted man and lowered God. Luther lowered man, and Zwingle exalted God.

These two tasks, which were so not exclusively theirs, were the work of each other. Luther laid the foundation of the building; Zwingle raised its stone.

It was reserved for a still more genius to impress, from the banks of the Lake of Geneva, these two characters upon the Reformation.¹

But while Zwingle was thus making mighty strides to the head of the Reformation, the disposition of the people became daily more hostile. The government felt the necessity of relying on the people. The people, moreover, though the assembly of believers, was, according to Zwingle's principles, the highest authority, which there could be any appeal from. It was resolved to test the state of opinion, and the bailiffs were enjoined to command of all the parishes whether they were ready to suffer every thing for Jesus Christ, "who," said the council, "has shed his life and his blood for us sinners." The whole canton had carefully followed the progress of the Reformation in the cities; in many places, the cottages of the peasants had become christian schools, where the Holy Scriptures were read.

The proclamation of the council and enthusiastically received in every part of the canton. "Let our lords," answered they fearlessly attached to the Word of God, "will aid them in upholding it; if one seeks to molest them, we will support them like brave and loyal citizens." The peasantry of Zurich then, that the strength of the Church was in the christian people.

But the people were not alone. Whom God had placed at their head, they were worthy to the call. Zwingle multiplied himself for the service of the people that were enduring persecution in the remote cantons for the cause of the Reformation. He dressed himself to him.² The city of public affairs, the care of the anxieties of the glorious conflict going on in every valley of Switzerland weighed heavily upon the evangelist.³ At Wittemberg, the news of the proceedings was received with rage. Luther and Zwingle were two great names placed in Upper and Lower Germany. The doctrine of salvation, so powerfully claimed by both, filled the vast spaces of the North Sea, from the shores of the Baltic and of the North

¹ *1. litterarischer Anzeiger*, 1840, No. 27.

² Der ein rosenfarb Blüt allein für uns an Rosen hat. *Bull. Chron.* p. 150.

³ Meine Herrn sollten auch nur dapper Worte verbleiben. *Fislin Beytr.* iv. p. 107, where the replies given by all the parishes.

⁴ *Scribunt ex Helvetiis ferme omnes qui preemuntur.* *Zw. Epp.* p. 348.

⁵ *Negotiorum strepitus et ecclesiarum curæ quæ quant.* *Ibid.*

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CHAPTER V.

—Abduction of Cælin—The Family of the Populace at the Convent of Ittingen—The Wirths apprehended and given up to Condemnation.

If God could not thus invade exultations, without its triumphs exasperate the pope in his palace, the priest in his, and the Swiss magistrates in theirs. Their terror increased from the people had been consulted; a people became of consequence to the Christian Church, and appeals were made in sympathy and faith and not to the Roman chancery! So for attack required a still more forcible assistance. On the 18th of April, addressed a brief to the confederates, which met at Zug in the month adding to the urgent exhortations, sent a deputation to Zurich, Appenzel, and Appenzel, commissioned these states with the firm resolve to crush the new doctrine, and to adhere to the forfeiture of their honours, and even of their blood did not hear this warning; but a firm reply was made, in the name of faith, the Word of God must be obeyed. On receiving this, Uri, Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, trembled with rage; and, of the reputation and strength the Zurich had formerly given to the federation, forgetting the precedents had been immediately accorded to solemn oaths that had to her, and the many victories they had shared with her,—declared that they would no longer sit in diet with Zurich. Thus in Germany, the partisans of the first to break the federal threats and the rupture of alliance not enough. The fanaticism of called for blood; and it was soon that arms Rome intended combat of God.

Zwingle's friends, the worthy pastor of Burg upon the Rhine, neighbourhood of Stein. The bailiff had appeared to listen to the delight, being desirous of oblige the bailiff, had promised the pastor of Schwytz to root out the new line, although not within his jurisdiction the first upon whom he exercised.

On the 7th of July 1524, a knock at the pastor's door; the bailiff's soldiers, who entered

the house, seized Cælin, and carried him away prisoner, in defiance of his cries. Thinking they meant to assassinate him, he cried "Murder;" the inhabitants started from their beds in affright, and the village soon became the scene of a frightful tumult, which was heard as far as Stein. The sentinel on guard at the castle of Hohenkingen fired the alarm-gun; the tocsin was rung, and the inhabitants of Stein, Stammheim, and the adjoining places, were soon a-foot, and inquiring of one another in the darkness what was the matter.

At Stammheim lived the deputy-bailiff Wirth, whose two eldest sons, Adrian and John, both young priests full of piety and courage, were preaching the Gospel with great unction. John especially abounded in faith, and was ready to sacrifice his life for his Saviour. This was truly a patriarchal family. Hannah, the mother, who had borne the bailiff many children, and brought them up in the fear of the Lord, was revered for her virtues throughout the whole district. At the noise of the tumult in Burg, the father and the two eldest sons went out like their neighbours. The father was indignant that the bailiff of Frauenfeld should have exercised his authority in a manner contrary to the laws of the country. The sons learned with sorrow that their brother, their friend, the man whose good example they were delighted to follow, had been dragged away like a criminal. Each of them seized a halberd, and in spite of the fears of a tender wife and mother, the father and his two sons joined the band of citizens of Stein with the determination of rescuing their pastor. Unhappily, a number of those miscreants who make their appearance in every disorder, had joined the expedition; they pursued the bailiff's officers; the latter, hearing the tocsin and the shouts of alarm, redoubled their speed, dragging their victim after them, and soon placed the river Thur between themselves and their pursuers.

When the people of Stein and Stammheim reached the bank of the river, and found no means of crossing, they halted, and resolved to send a deputation to Frauenfeld. "The pastor of Stein is so dear to us," said the bailiff Wirth, "that for his sake I would willingly sacrifice my goods, my liberty, and my life."¹ The populace, finding themselves near the Carthusian convent of Ittingen, whose inmates were believed to have encouraged the tyranny of the bailiff Am-Berg, entered the building and took possession of the refectory. These miserable wretches soon became intoxicated, and shameful disorders were the consequence. Wirth vainly entreated them to leave the convent;² he was in danger of being maltreated by them. His son Adrian

¹ Sunder die Kuttien im Dach vor im wagen. Bull. Chr.

² Und badt sy um Gottes willen aus dem Kloster zu gehen. Ibid. p. 121.

^{202.} dem Evangelio günstig. Bull. Chr. p.

remained outside the cloister. John entered, but soon came out again, distressed at what he had seen.¹ The drunken peasants proceeded to ransack the wine-cellars and the storerooms, to break the furniture, and burn the books.

When the news of these disorders reached Zurich, some deputies from the council hastened to the spot, and ordered all persons under the jurisdiction of the canton to return to their homes. They did so immediately. But a body of Thurgovians, attracted by the disturbance, established themselves in the convent, for the sake of its good cheer. On a sudden a fire broke out, no one knew how, and the monastery was burnt to the ground.

Five days after this, the deputies of the cantons met at Zug. Nothing was heard in the assembly but threats of vengeance and of death. "Let us march with banners flying, on Stein and Stammheim," said they, "and put the inhabitants to the sword." The deputy-bailiff and his two sons had long been objects of especial dislike on account of their faith. "If any one is guilty," said the deputy of Zurich, "he must be punished, but according to the laws of justice, and not by violence." Vadian, deputy of St. Gall, supported this opinion. Upon this the avoyer John Hug of Lucerne, unable to contain himself any longer, exclaimed with frightful imprecations:² "The heretic Zwingle is the father of all these insurrections; and you too, doctor of St. Gall, are favourable to his infamous cause, and aid him in securing its triumphs..... You ought no longer to have a seat among us." The deputy of Zug endeavoured to restore peace, but in vain. Vadian left the hall, and as the populace had designs upon his life, he quitted the town secretly, and reached the convent of Cappel by a circuitous route.

Zurich, intent on suppressing every disorder, resolved to apprehend provisionally those persons who were marked out by the rage of the confederates. Wirth and his two sons were living quietly at Stammheim. "Never will the enemies of God be able to vanquish His friends," said Adrian Wirth from the pulpit. The father was warned of the fate impending over him, and was entreated to flee with his two sons. "No," answered he; "I will wait for the officers, putting my trust in God." And when the soldiers made their appearance at his house, he said: "My lords of Zurich might have spared themselves all this trouble: if they had only sent a child I should have obeyed their summons."³ The three Wirths were taken to Zurich and put in prison. Rutiman, bailiff of Nussbaum, shared their fate. They were strictly examined, but nothing reprehensible was found in their conduct.

As soon as the deputies of the cantons had

heard of the imprisonment of these zeals, they required them to be sent and ordered that in case of refusal they should march upon Zurich and carry off by force. "To Zurich belongs of ascertaining whether these men or not," said the deputies of that state we have found no fault in them." the deputies of the cantons exclaimed you surrender them to us? Answer no, and not a word more." Two deputies of Zurich mounted their horses, and with all haste to their constituents.

On their arrival the whole town was in agitation. If the prisoners were the confederates would come and save them with an armed force; to give them consent to their death. Opinion divided: Zwingle declared for them. "Zurich," said he, "ought to remain faithful to its constitution." At last it was decided that a middle course had been found: will deliver the prisoners into your hands, said they to the diet, "but on condition you will examine them solely with regard to the affair of Ittingen, and not on the subject of the diet." The diet acceded to this proposition the Friday before St. Bartholomew (18th August 1524) the three Wirths, their friend, accompanied by four councillors of state and several armed men, Zurich.

A deep concern was felt by all at the prospect of the fate which awaited two youths and their aged companion. Sobbing alone was heard as they went along. "Alas!" exclaims a contemporary writer, "what a mournful procession! the churches were all filled." "God will us!" cried Zwingle. "Let us allow him to impart his grace to these prisoners, and to strengthen them in the faith."

On Friday evening the accused were taken to Baden, where an immense crowd was waiting for them. At first they were taken to an inn, and thence to prison. They scarcely advanced, the crowd so close around to catch a sight of them. The first, who walked in front, turned his two sons, and observed to them "See, my dear children, we are apostles (as the apostle says) men appointed to die, we are made a spectacle unto the world, to angels, and to men" (1 Cor. iv. 9). as he saw among the crowd his enemy, Am-Berg, the cause of all his fortunes, he went up to him and held out his hand, although the bailiff would have away: "There is a God in heaven who knows all things," said he calmly grasped his adversary's hand.

The examination began on the following day: the bailiff Wirth was first brought

¹ Dan es Im leid was. Bull. Chr. p. 196.

² Mit Fluchen und Wüten. Ibid. p. 196.

³ Dann hätt ich mir ein Kind gewünscht. Ibid. p. 196.

¹ O weh! was elender Fahrt war das! Beussel. Bezt. iv. p. 66.

² Sy troste und in waren glauben starkte. p. 196.

put to the torture, without any regard to his character or his age; but he persisted in declaring his innocence of the piling burning of Ittingen. He was then of having destroyed an image representing St. Anne. Nothing could be substituted against the other prisoners, except John Wirth was married, and preached the manner of Zwingle and Luther; John Wirth had given the sacrament to a sick man without bell and taper, he was more apparent their innocence, but was the fury of their adversaries. Morning until noon they inflicted the tortures on the old man. His tears softened his judges. John Wirth attacked with still greater barbarity, "they said to him in the midst of the trial, "whence did you learn this faith? From Zwingle or from any person?" And when he exclaimed, "God, help and defend me!" "Where is your Christ?" asked one of the deputies. When he appeared, Sebastian of Stein, the Berne, said to him: "Young man, tell us; for if you refuse to do so, I will open your veins one after another." They then fastened the young man on a rope, and hoisted him into the air. "My little master," said Stein with a sneer, "there is your wedding prelude alluding to the marriage of this servant of the Lord."

The examination was ended, the prisoners returned to their cantons to deliver their report, and did not meet again till four years later. The bailiff's wife, the mother of the priests, repaired to Baden, carrying her infant child in her arms, to intercede with the judges. John Escher of Zurich accepted her as her advocate. Among the prisoners he saw Jerome Stocker, landamman who had been twice bailiff of Frauenfeld. "Landamman!" said he, "you know me, I know that he has always been an upright man."—"You say the same of dear Escher," replied Stocker, "never injured anybody; fellow-prisoners and strangers were always kindly to him; his house was a common inn, and an hospital;" and so, if he committed robbery or murder, I would be every exertion to obtain his pardon, seeing that he has burnt Saint Ursula's grandmother, he must die!" "Lord have mercy upon us," exclaimed Escher.

The gates were now shut: it was the 28th

September, and the deputies of Berne, Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, Glaris, Friburg, and Soleure, having proceeded to deliberate on their judgment with closed doors, as was customary, passed sentence of death on the bailiff Wirth, on his son John, who was the firmest in his faith, and who appeared to have led away the others, and on the bailiff Rutiman. Adrian, the second son, was granted to his mother's tears.

The officers proceeded to the tower to fetch the prisoners. "My son," said the father to Adrian, "never avenge our death, although we have not deserved punishment." Adrian burst into tears. "Brother," said John, "the cross of Christ must always follow his Word."¹

After the sentence was read, the three Christians were led back to prison; John Wirth walking first, the two vice-bailiffs next, and a priest behind them. As they were crossing the castle bridge, on which was a chapel dedicated to St. Joseph, the priest called out to the two old men, "Fall down and call upon the saints." John Wirth, who was in front, turned round at these words and said, "Father, be firm. You know that there is only one Mediator between God and man, the Lord Jesus Christ."—"Assuredly, my son," replied the old man, "and by the help of His grace I will continue faithful even to the end." Upon this they all three began to repeat the Lord's Prayer, "Our Father which art in heaven," and so crossed the bridge.

They were next conducted to the scaffold. John Wirth, whose heart was filled with the tenderest anxiety for his parent, bade him farewell. "My dearly beloved father," said he, "henceforward thou art no longer my father, and I am no longer thy son, but we are brothers in Christ our Lord, for whose name we must suffer death." To-day, if it be God's pleasure, my beloved brother, we shall go to Him who is the Father of us all. Fear nothing." "Amen!" replied the old man, "and may God Almighty bless thee, my beloved son and brother in Christ!"

Thus, on the threshold of eternity, did father and son take leave of each other, hailing the new mansions in which they should be united by everlasting ties. The greater part of those around them shed floods of tears.² The bailiff Rutiman prayed in silence.

All three then knelt down, "in Christ's name," and their heads rolled upon the scaffold.

The crowd, observing the marks of torture upon their bodies, gave loud utterance to their grief. The two bailiffs left twenty-two children, and forty-five grandchildren.

sen, Scheilen und anders so bisshar geüpt ist. 1. 156.
2 Ich am folter sey! uffzog, sagt der zum Stein: ist die Gass die wir dich zu über Hussfrowen 1564. p. 156.
3 ist alweg gain wie ein Kloster, Wirtshaus und 1. p. 156.

¹ Doch allwäg das Crüz darbey. Bull. Chr. p. 156.

² Furohin bist du nitte me min Vatter und ich die Senn,

sondern wir sind Brüdern in Christo. Ibid. p. 156.

³ Das gnedens weyneten vil Liden herab. Ibid.

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Hannah was obliged to pay twelve golden crowns to the executioner who had deprived her husband and her son of life.

Thus blood, innocent blood, had been shed. Switzerland and the Reformation were baptized with the blood of the martyrs. The great enemy of the Gospel had done his work; but in doing it, his power was broken. The death of the Wirths was to accelerate the triumphs of the Reformation.

CHAPTER VI.

Abolition of the Mass—Zwingle's Dream—Celebration of the Lord's Supper—Fraternal Charity—Original Sin—The Oligarchs opposed to the Reform—Various Attacks.

It was not thought desirable to proceed to the abolition of the mass in Zurich immediately after the suppression of images; but now the proper moment seemed to have arrived.

Not only had the light of the Gospel been diffused among the people; but the violence of the blows struck by the enemy called upon the friends of God to reply to them by some impressive demonstration of their unalterable fidelity. Every time that Rome erects a scaffold, and that heads fall upon it, the Reformation will exalt the holy Word of the Lord, and throw down some abuses. When Hottinger was executed, Zurich suppressed images; and now that the heads of the Wirths have rolled on the ground, Zurich will reply by the abolition of the mass. The more Rome increases her cruelties, the more will the Reformation increase in strength.

On the 11th of April 1525, the three pastors of Zurich, accompanied by Megander and Oswald Myconius, appeared before the Great Council, and demanded the re-establishment of the Lord's Supper. Their language was solemn;¹ all minds were absorbed in meditation; every man felt the importance of the resolution which the council was called upon to take. The mass, that mystery which for more than three centuries had been the very soul of the religious service of the Latin Church, was to be abolished, the corporeal presence of Christ to be declared an illusion, and the illusion itself removed from the minds of the people. Courage was needed to arrive at such a resolution, and there were men in the council who shuddered at this daring thought. Jesachim Am-Grütt, under-secretary of state, alarmed at the bold demand of the pastors, opposed it with all his might. "These words, *This is my body*," said he, "unquestionably prove that the bread is the body of Christ himself." Zwingle

observed that *leiri* (is) is the proper Greek language to express *signify*; he quoted several instances in which the word is employed in a figurative sense. The Great Council were convinced and hesitated; the Gospel doctrines had touched their hearts; besides, as they rating from the Church of Rome, a certain satisfaction in making it as complete as possible, and in closing a gulf between it and the Reformation council, therefore, ordered the mass suppressed, and decreed that on the Holy Thursday, the Lord's Supper be celebrated in conformity with the usages.

Zwingle was seriously engrossed in thoughts, and when he closed at night, was still seeking for a subject with which to oppose his adverse subjects that had so strongly occupied his mind during the day presented before him in a dream. He fancied he was disputing with Am-Grütt, and could not reply to his principal argument. Suddenly a figure stood before him: "Why do you not quote the 11th of the 12th chapter of Exodus: *Ye shall eat the lamb in haste: it is the Lord's Passover?*" Zwingle awoke, sprung up, took up the Septuagint translation and found the same word *leiri* (is), which he agreed is synonymous with *signify* in the passage.

Here then, in the institution of the feast under the old covenant, is meaning that Zwingle defends. He avoids concluding that the two are parallel?

On the following day Zwingle preached a sermon on this text, and spoke of that he removed every doubt.

This circumstance, which admits of a simple explanation, and the vision Zwingle employs to show that he did not recall the appearance of the figure seen in his dream,¹ have given rise to an assertion that Zwingle received his revelation from the devil.

The altars had disappeared; plating bearing the sacramental bread and substituted in their place, and a crowd pressed round them. There was something particularly solemn in this. On Holy Thursday, the young people fasted; on Friday, the day of the Passion, the men and women,—and on Easter Sunday celebrated in turn the death of the Lord.

The deacons read aloud the passages of Scripture that relate to this sacrament. The pastors addressed the flock in an exhortation, calling upon all to retire from the sacred feast who, by persevering in

¹ *Ater fuerit albus nihil memini, I do not remember whether he was white or black (a phrase very indistinct and uncertain).—Ta.; see also the next page.*

² *Und verstand die ernstlich. Bull. Chron. p. 262.*

would pollute the body of Jesus Christ. The people knelt down, the bread was carried round on large platters or wooden plates, and each one broke off a morsel; the wine was next distributed in wooden goblets: in this manner it was thought they made a nearer approach to the simplicity of the primitive Supper. Emotions of surprise or joy filled every heart.¹

Thus was the Reform carried on in Zurich. The simple celebration of the Lord's Supper appeared to have shed anew over the Church the love of God and of the brethren. The words of Jesus Christ were once more spirit and life. While the different orders and parties in the Church of Rome were incessantly disputing among themselves, the first effect of the Gospel was to restore charity among the brethren. The love of the first ages was then revived in Christendom. Enemies were seen renouncing their long-cherished and inveterate enmities, and embracing one another after having partaken of the sacramental bread. Zwingle, delighted at these affecting manifestations, returned thanks to God that the Lord's Supper was again working those miracles of charity which the sacrifice of the mass had long ceased to accomplish.²

"Peace dwells in our city," exclaimed he; "among us there is no fraud, no dissension, no envying, no strife. Whence can proceed such harmony except from the Lord, and that the doctrine we preach inclines us to innocence and peace?"³

Charity and unity then prevailed, although there was no uniformity. Zwingle in his *Commentary on True and False Religion*,⁴ which he dedicated to Francis I. in March 1525, the year of the battle of Pavia, had put forward some truths in the manner best calculated to procure their reception by human reason, following in this respect the example of several of the most distinguished scholastic divines. In this way he had given the name of *disease* to our original corruption, and reserved the appellation of *sin* for the actual transgression of the law.⁵ But these statements, which called forth some objections, did not however interrupt brotherly love; for Zwingle, even when he persisted in calling original sin a disease, added, that all men were lost by this disease, and that Jesus Christ was the only remedy.⁶ In this position there is no error of Pelagianism.

But while the celebration of the Lord's Supper at Zurich was attended by a return

to christian brotherhood, Zwingle and his friends had to support a severer struggle against their adversaries from without. Zwingle was not only a christian teacher, he was also a true patriot; and we know how zealously he contended against the foreign capitulations, pensions, and alliances. He felt convinced that these external influences must tend to destroy piety, blind the reason, and scatter discord on every side. But his bold protests were destined to prejudice the advancement of the Reformation. In almost every canton, the chiefs who received the pensions of the foreigner, and the officers who led the youth of Helvetia to battle, formed powerful factions, formidable oligarchies, that attacked the Reformation, not so much on behalf of the Church as on account of the injury it would inflict on their interests and honours. They had already gained the victory in Schwytz; and that canton, where Zwingle, Leo Juda, and Oswald Myconius had taught, and which seemed as if it would walk in the footsteps of Zurich, had suddenly reverted to the mercenary capitulations, and shut its gates against the Reformation.

Even in Zurich, some wretches, instigated by foreign intrigues, attacked Zwingle during the night, hung stones at his house, broke the windows, and called with loud cries for "the red haired Uli, the vulture of Glaris;" so that Zwingle awoke from his sleep and ran to his sword.¹ This action is very characteristic of the man.

But these isolated attacks could not paralyze the movement by which Zurich was carried onward, and which was beginning to shake all Switzerland. They were pebbles thrown into a torrent to check its course. Every where its waters were swelling, threatening to sweep away the most formidable obstacles.

The Bernese having informed the people of Zurich that several states had refused to sit with them in future in the diet: "Well, then," replied these men of Zurich with calmness, and raising their hands towards heaven, as the heroes of Rutli in old time, "we have the firm assurance that God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in whose name the confederation was formed, will not desert us, and will at last, of his great mercy, make us sit at the right hand of his sovereign majesty."² Possessing such faith the Reformation had nothing to fear. But would it gain similar victories in the other states of the confederation? Would not Zurich remain alone on the side of God's Word? Would Berne, Basle, and other cantons remain subject to the power of Rome? This we shall soon see. Let us therefore turn towards Berne, and study the progress of the Reform.

¹ Mit grossem verwundern vieler Lätthen und noch mit vil freudern freuden der Gläubigen. Bull. Chron. p. 266.

² Expositio fidel. Zw. Opp. II. 241.

³ Ut tranquillitatis et innocentie studiosos reddat. Zw. Opp. II. 300.

⁴ De vera et falsa religione commentarius. Zw. Opp. III. 15-22.

⁵ Peccatum ergo morbus est cognatus nobis, quo fugimus asperam et gravia, sectamur iocunda et voluptuosa; secundo loco acceptius peccatum pro eo quod contra legem sit. Ibid. 24.

⁶ Originali morbo perditur omnes; remedium vero quod contra ipsum invenit Deus, incommutabili restituitur. De pecc. orig. declaratio ad Urbanum Regium. Ibid. I. 62.

¹ Interest surgere Zwingle ad ensem suum. Zw. Opp. III. 411.—Uli is an abridgment of Ulrich. Zwingle had been priest at Glaris.

² Rey ihu sulet sitzen. Kirchhofer Ref. v. Bern. p. 66.

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mation in the most influential state of the confederation.

CHAPTER VII.

Berne—The Provost Watteville—First Successes of the Reformed Doctrines—Haller at the Convent—Accusation and Deliverance—The Monastery of Königsfeldt—Margaret Watteville to Zwingle—The Convent opened—Two Champions—Clara May and the Provost Watteville.

NOWHERE was the struggle likely to be so severe as at Berne, for there the Gospel counted both powerful friends and formidable adversaries. At the head of the reforming party were the banneret John Weingarten, Bartholomew May, member of the Smaller Council, his sons Wolfgang and Claudius, his grandsons James and Benedict, and above all, the family of the Wattevilles. The avoyer James Watteville, who since 1512 had occupied the first station in the republic, had early read the writings of Luther and Zwingle, and had often conversed about the Gospel with John Haller, pastor of Anseltingen, whom he had protected against his persecutors.

His son Nicholas, then thirty-one years of age, had been for two years provost of the church of Berne, and as such, by virtue of the papal ordinances, enjoyed great privileges; accordingly Berthold Haller used to call him "our bishop."¹

The prelates and the pope spared no endeavours to bind him to the interests of Rome;² and it seemed as if every thing would keep him from a knowledge of the Gospel; but the ways of God are more powerful than the flatteries of man. Watteville was turned from darkness to the mild light of the Gospel, says Zwingle.³ As a friend of Berthold Haller, he read all the letters which the latter received from Zwingle, and could not find language to express his admiration.⁴

The influence of the two Wattevilles, one of whom was at the head of the state, and the other of the church, would apparently draw after it the whole republic. But the opposite party was not less powerful.

Amongst its leaders were the schulthess of Erlach, the banneret Willading, and many patricians whose interests were identical with those of the convents under their administration. Behind these influential men were an ignorant and corrupted clergy, who called the evangelical doctrine "an invention of hell."—"My dear confederates," said the

councillor Mullinen before a full assembly the month of July, "take care that this reformation does not come here; at Zumman is not safe in his own house, and obliged to have a guard to protect him." Accordingly they invited to Berne the one of the Dominicans of Mentz, one John who went into the pulpit and declaimed against the Reformation with all the eloquence of Saint Thomas.⁵

Thus were the two parties drawn into battle-array against each other; a struggle seemed inevitable, and already the result not appear doubtful. In fact, one cord of faith united a part of the people to the distinguished families of the state. Berthold Haller exclaimed, full of confidence in the future: "Unless God's anger be turned against us, it is not possible for the Word of God to be banished from this city, for the Bernese are hungering after it!"⁶

Shortly after this two acts of the government appeared to incline the balance to the side of the Reformation. The Bishop of Lausanne having announced an episcopal visitation, the council intimated to the provost Watteville, that he better refrain from so doing.⁷ And at the same time the councils of Berne issued an ordinance which, whilst in appearance it conceded something to the enemies of the reformation, sanctioned the principles of the new doctrines. They decreed that the Gospel and the doctrine of God, as it is laid down by the books of the Old and New Testament, should be preached exclusively, freely and openly; and that the ministers should abstain from every doctrine, discussion or writing, proceeding from Luther or his teachers.⁸ Great was the surprise of the adversaries of the Reformation when they saw the evangelical preachers boldly assenting to this ordinance. This decree, however, was the basis of all those that succeeded, and was the legal commencement of the Reformation in Berne. From that time the provost of this canton was more decided, and Zwingle whose attentive eyes watched every thing that was passing in Switzerland, was able to write to the provost Watteville: "All Catholics are overjoyed, on account of the ordinance which the pious city of Berne has just received."⁹—"The cause is the cause of God," exclaimed the friends of the Gospel; "they devoted themselves to it with a true courage of courage."

The enemies of the Reformation, alarmed at these first advantages, closed their ranks and resolved to strike a blow that would

¹ *Suo Thomastico Marte omnia invertere. Zw. 287.*

² *Favorem verbi Bernenses habent. Ibid. 295.*

³ *Ut nec oppidum, nec pagos Bernatum visitare dat omnino. Ibid.*

⁴ *Alein das heilige Evangelium und die leer Gott öffentlich und unverborren. Bull. Chr. p. 111.*

⁵ *Alle Christen sich allenthalben fröwend des gli. Zw. Opp. I. 426.*

⁶ *Christi negotium agitur. Zw. Opp. 9th May 1528.*

¹ *Episcopus noster Fadiellius. Zw. Opp. p. 285.*

² *Tantum favoris et amicitie que tibi cum tanto summorum pontificum et potentissimorum episcoporum cœtu hactenus intercessit. Zw. Opp. I. anc. ed. lat. 305.*

³ *Ex obscuris ignorantie tenebris in amenam Evangelii lucem productum. Ibid.*

⁴ *Epistolæ tuæ et eruditiois et humanitatis testes locustissimas. Zw. Opp. p. 287.*

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tory. They conceived the project of these ministers whose aims were overthrowing the most ancient customs; and it was not long before a favorable opportunity occurred.

In Bern, on the spot now occupied by the Island, a convent of St. Dominic, consecrated to the anniversary of the archbishop (September) was a great festival every year. Many of the clergy were present, and among others Wittenberg, Sebastian Meyer, and Ber-

Having entered into conversations, among whom was Clara, laudius May, a supporter of the Haller said to her, in the presence of her mother: "The merits of all life are imaginary, whilst in an honourable state, instituted for the people." Some of the nuns to whom Dr. Berthold's words were horrible, "Haller maintains," was the reply, "that all nuns are children."

The opportunity which the Reformation was looking for, before the Smaller Council, to repeal an ancient law which whoever carried off a nun from the convent should lose his head, but asked on the penalty, and that, after the three ministers a hearing, he was banished for life. The council acceded to their prayer, and as immediately carried before the council.

Bern about to be deprived of the intrigues of the papal court. But Rome, who tried to address herself to the beaten before the people or natives. Scarcely had they seen of Haller, Meyer, and Wittenberg, whom all Switzerland venerated, energetic opposition was raised by the Great Council against the council and the clergy. "We cannot be accused unheard," exclaimed their testimony is surely as good as that of women." The ministers bore them: the affair was ended at length John Weingarten gave credit to both parties. "The ministers were discharged, and not to confine themselves to the pulpit was sufficient for the efforts of their adversaries had their own disgrace. It was a great success for the Reformation. According to the patricians exclaimed: "It is now Luther's affair must go."

fact go forward, and in the end they expected it the least.

At Königsfeldt, on the Aar, near the castle of Hapsburg, stood a monastery adorned with all the conventual magnificence of the Middle Ages, and where reposed the ashes of several members of that illustrious house which had given so many emperors to Germany. Here the daughters of the greatest families of Switzerland and Swabia used to take the veil. It was not far from the spot where, on the 1st of May 1308, the Emperor Albert had fallen by the hand of his nephew John of Swabia: and the beautiful painted windows of the church of Königsfeldt represented the horrible punishments that had been inflicted on the relations and vassals of the murderer. Catherine of Waldburg-Truchsess, abbess of the convent at the period of the Reformation, numbered among her nuns Beatrice of Landenberg, sister to the Bishop of Constance, Agnes of Mullinen, Catherine of Bonstetten, and Margaret of Watteville, the provost's sister. The liberty enjoyed in this convent, which in former times had given room for scandalous disorders, now permitted the Holy Scriptures with the writings of Zwingle and Luther to be introduced; and soon a new life entirely changed its aspect. Near that cell to which Queen Agnes, Albert's daughter, had retired, after having bathed in torrents of blood as in "maydew," and where, plying the distaff or embroidering ornaments for the church, she had mingled exercises of devotion with thoughts of vengeance,—Margaret Watteville had only thoughts of peace, and divided her time between reading the Scriptures and compounding salutary ingredients to form an excellent electuary. Retiring to her cell, this youthful nun had the boldness to write to the doctor of Switzerland. Her letter displays to us, better than any reflections could do, the christian spirit that existed in those pious women, who are still so grievously calumniated even in our own days.

"May grace and peace in the Lord Jesus be given and multiplied towards you always by God our heavenly Father," wrote the nun of Königsfeldt to Zwingle. "Most learned, reverend, and dear Sir, I entreat you to take in good part the letter I now address to you. The love which is in Christ constrains me to do so, especially since I have learnt that the doctrine of salvation is spreading day by day through your preaching of the Word of God. For this reason I give praise to the everlasting God for enlightening us anew, and sending us by his Holy Spirit so many heralds of His blessed Word; and at the same time I offer up my ardent prayers that he will clothe with his strength both you and all those who proclaim His glad tidings, and that, arming you against all the enemies of the truth, He will cause his Divine Word to grow in all men. Very learned Sir, I venture to send your reverence this trifling mark of my affection; do not despise it; it is an

an. Der Lutherische Handel muss von
Vitz. K. G. v. 230.

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offering of christian charity. If this electuary does you good, and you should desire more, pray let me know; for it would be a great pleasure to me to do any thing that was agreeable to you; and it is not I only who think thus, but all those who love the Gospel in our convent of Königsfeldt. They salute your reverence in Jesus Christ, and we all commend you without ceasing to His almighty protection.¹

"Saturday before *Lætare*, 1523."

Such was the pious letter that the nun of Königsfeldt wrote to the doctor of Switzerland.

A convent into which the light of the Gospel had thus penetrated could not persevere in the observances of a monastic life. Margaret Watteville and her sisters, convinced that they could better serve God in the bosom of their families than in the cloister, asked permission to leave it. The council of Berne in alarm endeavoured at first to bring these nuns to reason, and the provincial and abbess employed threats and promises by turns; but the sisters Margaret, Agnes, Catherine, and their friends were not to be shaken. Upon this the discipline of the convent was relaxed, the nuns were exempted from fasting and matins, and their allowance was increased. "It is not the liberty of the flesh that we require," said they to the council; "it is that of the spirit. We, your poor and innocent prisoners, entreat you to have pity on us!"—"Our prisoners! our prisoners!" exclaimed the banneret Krauchthaler, "they shall be no prisoners of mine!" This language from one of the firmest supporters of the convents decided the council; the convent gates were opened, and shortly after, Catherine Bonstetten was married to William of Diesbach.

And yet Berne, far from siding openly with the reformers, held a middle course, and endeavoured to pursue a see-saw system. An opportunity soon occurred for showing this vacillating procedure. Sebastian Meyer, reader of the Franciscans, published a retraction of his Romish errors, which created a great sensation, and in which, describing a conventual life, he said: "In the convents the monks live more impurely, fall more frequently, recover themselves more tardily, walk more unsteadily, rest more dangerously, are pitied more rarely, are cleansed more slowly, die more despairingly, and are condemned more severely."² At the very time Meyer was thus denouncing the cloisters, John Heim, reader of the Dominicans, was exclaiming from the pulpit: "No! Christ has not, as the evangelists teach, made satisfaction to his Father once for all. It is further necessary that God should every day be

reconciled to man by the sacrifice and by good works." To who chanced to be present, inter by saying: "It is not true." Immediately a great disturbance in the church; Heim remained silent; sons urged him to continue, but the pulpit without finishing his sermon, the Great Council struck once against Rome and the Reformation they turned the two great contraries Meyer and Heim, out of the city said of the Bernese, "they are muddy nor clear."³—a play on the word, which in old German signifies

But in vain did they seek to stifle the Reformation in Berne. It was advancing every side. The sisters of the island had not forgotten Ha Clara May and several of her anxiously pondering on what she did, wrote to the learned Henry. "St. Paul," replied he, "enjoins women not to make vows, but to live in idleness under a false piety. (1 Timothy v. 13, 14.) Jesus Christ in humility, charity, purity, and kindness."⁴ Clara, helped from on high, resolved to add, and renounce a life so contrary to the Word of God, invented by men, and with temptation and sin. Her brother, who had spent fifty years in battle-field or in the council-chamber

¹ Das sie weder luther noch trüb seyen. B form. v. Bern. p. 50.
² Romish writers, and M. de Haller in parting Salat and Tschudi, both enemies of the convents, quote a pretended letter of Zwingle's, addressed to Kolb at Berne. It is as follows:—

"Health and blessing from God our Lord. I proceed gently in the affair; at first throw one sour pear among many sweet ones; then three; and when he has begun to eat him more and more—sour and sweet altogether, empty the sack entirely, hard and soft, sweet ripe; he will eat them all, and will no longer be taken away, or himself to be driven from it Monday before St. George's day, 1525."
"Your servant in Christ, Ursinus"

There are decisive reasons against the authenticity of this letter.—I. In 1525, Kolb was pastor at Wädwil, and did not remove to Berne until 1527. (See Zs.)—M. de Haller, indeed, very arbitrarily substitutes this correction was no doubt very well here, unfortunately, Haller is at variance with Tschudi, who, although they do not agree as to which this letter was alluded to in the diet, as to the year, which with both is clearly 1525, is a difference as to the manner in which it is divulged; according to one version, it was in 1525, according to another, some of Kolb's parishioners cited it to an inhabitant of the smaller cantons, who had changed to be at Berne.—II. The original is in Latin, but Zwingle always wrote in Latin to his friends and besides he saluted them as their brethren, not as their servants.—IV. If we read Zwingle's letter by Salat a letter, it is mere mockery.—V. As Salat deserves little confidence, and Tschudi have copied him with a few variations. It is a man of the smaller cantons may have had access to some Bernese of Zwingle's letter to Ha Clara, who have mentioned in our second volume (p. 307) Zwingle employs this same comparison of the bee and the dove, which moreover occurs in all the authentic letters. This may have suggested to some one inventing this spurious letter as addressed to Kolb.

³ Euerem Herrn Jesu nachfolget in Dem Ref. v. B. 60.

¹ Cujus praesidio auxilique presentissimo, nos vestram dignitatem assidue commendamus. Zw. Epp. p. 280.
² Langsame gereinigt, verzweifelter stirbt, härter verdammet. Kirchhofer, Reform. v. Bern. p. 48.

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ghter's resolution with delight.
ie convent.

ost Nicholas Watteville, whose
est bound him to the Roman hie-
who was to be raised to the first
opric in Switzerland, also re-
s titles, his revenues, and his
s, that he might preserve an un-
science; and snapping all the
hich the popes had endeavoured
him, he entered into the marriage
ite established by God from the
the world. Nicholas Watteville
ra May; and about the same time,
largaret, the nun of Königsfeldt,
to Lucius Tschärner of Coire.¹

CHAPTER VIII.

adius—He visits Augsburg—Enters a Con-
to Sickingen's Castle—Returns to Basle—
ten—His Plans—Last Effort of Chivalry—
Uffhus.

thing announced the triumphs
formation would soon obtain at
se, a city of no less importance,
was then the Athens of Switzer-
so arming herself for the great
has distinguished the sixteenth

he cities of the confederation had
character. Berne was the city
families, and it seemed that the
ould be decided by the part
certain of the leading men. At
ministers of the Word,—Zwingle,
lyconius, and Schmidt,—carried
powerful class of citizens. Lu-
he city of arms and military capi-
basle, of learning and the print-
Here Erasmus, the head of the
ublic in the sixteenth century,
p his abode; and preferring the
njoyed in this capital to the flat-
ations of popes and kings, he had
centre of a numerous concourse
ters.

umble, meek, and pious man,
genius far inferior to Erasmus,
l erelong to exercise in this very
powerful influence than that of
of the schools. Christopher of
ishop of Basle, in concert with
as endeavouring to surround him-
n fitted to accomplish a kind of
formation. With this view he
Capito and Eccolampadius to his
the latter person there was a
asticism that often annoyed the
philosopher. But Eccolampadius
re enthusiastically attached to
erhaps would have lost all inde-

pendence in this close intimacy, if Provi-
dence had not separated him from his idol.
In 1517, he returned to Weinsberg, his na-
tive place, where he was soon disgusted with
the disorders and profane jests of the priests.
He has left us a noble monument of the
serious spirit which then animated him, in
his celebrated work on *The Easter Revels*,
which appears to have been written about
that time.¹

Having been invited to Augsburg about
the end of 1518, as cathedral preacher, he
found that city still agitated by the famous
conference held there in the month of May
between Luther and the papal legate. He
had to decide between one party and the
other; Eccolampadius did not hesitate, and
declared in favour of the reformer. This
frankness soon gave rise to a violent opposi-
tion against him; and feeling convinced that
his timidity and the weakness of his voice
would be prejudicial to his success in the
world, he looked around him, and fixed his
eyes on a convent of monks of Saint Bridget,
near Augsburg, celebrated for their piety
and their profound and liberal studies. Feel-
ing the need of repose, of leisure, of study,
and of prayer, he turned towards these
friars, and inquired: "Can I live among you
according to the Word of God?" The latter
having replied in the affirmative, Eccolampadius entered the monastery on the 23d of April 1520, with the express condition that he should be free, if ever the service of God's Word should call him elsewhere.

It was well that the future reformer of
Basle should, like Luther, become acquainted
with that monastic life which is the highest
expression of Roman-catholicism. But here
he found no repose; his friends blamed the
step; and he himself openly declared that
Luther was nearer the truth than his adver-
saries. Accordingly, Eck and the other Rom-
ish doctors pursued him with their menaces,
even in his calm retreat.

At this time Eccolampadius was neither
reformed nor a follower of Rome; he desired
a certain purified catholicism, which is no-
where to be found in history, but the idea of
which has often bridged the way to many
minds. He began to correct the rules of his
order in conformity with the Word of God.
"Do not, I beseech you," said he to his
brethren, "set a higher value upon your sta-
tutes than on the ordinances of God!"—
"We desire no other law," replied the bro-
thers, "than that of our Saviour. Take our
books, and mark, as if in the presence of
Christ himself, whatever you find contrary
to His Word." Eccolampadius applied him-
self to the task, but was almost wearied by
the labour. "O Almighty God!" exclaimed
he, "what abominations has not Rome ap-
proved of in these statutes!"

As soon as he pointed out some of them,

notatio, p. 481. The Tschärners of Berne
on this marriage.

¹ Herzog, Studien und Kritiken, 1828, p. 284.

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the anger of the monks was aroused. "Heretic!" exclaimed they, "apostate! you deserve to be thrown into a dungeon for the rest of your days!" They excluded him from public prayers. But the danger from without was still greater. Eck and his party had not relinquished their projects. "In three days," he was told, "they will be here to arrest you." He went to the brethren and said, "Will you give me up to assassins?" The monks were silent and undetermined; they had no desire either to save or to destroy him. At this moment some friends of Eccolampadius arrived near the cloister with horses to carry him to a place of safety. On being informed of this, the monks resolved to allow the departure of a brother who had brought trouble into their convent. "Farewell," said he, and was free. He had remained nearly two years in the cloister of Saint Bridget.

Eccolampadius was saved; at last he began to breathe. "I have sacrificed the monk," wrote he to a friend, "and have regained the Christian." But his flight from the convent and his heretical writings were known every where, and every where people shrank back at his approach. He knew not what would become of him, when, in the spring of 1522, Sickingen offered him an asylum, which he accepted.

His mind, oppressed by monastic servitude, took a new flight in the midst of the noble warriors of Ebernburg. "Christ is our liberty," exclaimed he, "and death, which men consider their greatest misfortune, is a real gain to us." He directly began reading the Gospels and Epistles in German to the people. "As soon as these trumpets sound," said he, "the walls of Jericho will fall down."

Thus, in a fortress on the banks of the Rhine, and in the midst of illiterate warriors, the most humble man of his age was preparing for that change of worship which Christianity was shortly to undergo. But Ebernburg was too confined for him, and he felt the need of other society than these armed men. The bookseller Cratander invited him to Basle; Sickingen allowed him to depart, and Eccolampadius, delighted at the thought of seeing his old friends again, arrived in that city on the 16th of November 1522. After having lived there some time, simply as a man of learning without any public occupation, he was nominated curate of Saint Martin's church, and it was this call to an humble and obscure employment¹ that possibly decided the Reformation of Basle. An immense crowd filled the church whenever Eccolampadius went into the pulpit.² At the same time the public lectures delivered by himself and Pellican were crown-

ed with such success that even he was forced to exclaim, "Ecce triumphas."³

In effect, this mild yet firm man (Zwingle) spread around him the sweet odour of Christ, and all those who crowded him grew in truth.⁴ Often, indeed, it was circulated that he would be obliged to leave Basle and recommence his pilgrimage. His friends, and Zwingle in particular, were alarmed; but ere tidings of fresh victories gained by Eccolampadius scattered their fears and raised hopes. The renown of his lectures, even to Wittenberg, and delighted who talked with Melancthon about him day and night. And yet the Saxon reformer without anxiety. Erasmus was a friend of Eccolampadius, and Erasmus was the friend of Eccolampadius. Luther thought it his duty to put the man whom he loved on his guard against "I much fear," wrote he, "that I like Moses, will die in the country, and never lead us into the land of promise."⁵

Erasmus had taken refuge at Basle, a quiet city, lying in the centre of every movement, and from the bosom of which he could, by means of the press of France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and England. But he did not mean to come and trouble him there; he looked upon Eccolampadius with suspicion, another man inspired him with greater apprehension. Ulrich Hütten followed Eccolampadius to Basle. Long while he had been attacking him as one knight engages with another. "I have laid the axe," said he, "is already laid at the tree. Germans! faint not in the midst of the battle; the die is cast; the contest is begun. Liberty for ever!" He abandoned Latin, and now wrote in German; for it was the people he wished to address.

His views were noble and generous. His idea was that there should be an assembly of the bishops to regulate the interests of the Church. A christian religion, and above all a christian spirit, was to go forth from Germany, as from Jerusalem, at other times, and spread through the world. Charles V. was to be the hero appointed to realise this golden dream, but Hütten having seen the failure of hopes in this quarter, had turned to Sickingen, and sought from knightly aid, which the empire had refused him. Sickingen, the head of the feudal nobility, had distinguished part in Germany; the princes had besieged him in his castle of Landstein, and the new invention of

¹ *Meis sumptibus non sine contemptu et invidia.* Eccol. ad Pisch. de Eucharistia.
² *Das er kein Predigt that, er hatte ein mächtig Volk darvon,* says his contemporary Peter Ryf. *Wirts.* v. 360.

³ *Eccolampadius apud nos triumphat.* Eras. Ep. p. 312.

⁴ *Nulli magis ac magis in omni bono augebantur.*
⁵ *Et in terram promissionis ducere non potest.* 11. 323.

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hed those aged walls, intended for rather kinds of attack.¹ The taking of n had proved the final defeat of chie the decisive victory of artillery over nd lances,—the triumph of modern er the middle ages. Thus the last f the knights was destined to be in the Reformation; the first effort of w arms and this new system of war- to be against it. The mailed war- fell beneath the unlooked-for storm and lay among the ruins of Land- ve way to other soldiers. Other were about to begin; a spiritual succeeded to that of the Du Gues- d Bayards. And those old and attlements, those battered walls, ing heroes, proclaimed with greater han even Luther could have done, by such allies or by such arms e Gospel of the Prince of peace ovictory.

ll of Landstein and of chivalry had ll Hütten's hopes. Standing beside e of Sickingen, he bade farewell to ighter days which his imagination ured up before him, and losing all e in man, he sought only for seclu- repose. In search of these he visi- mus in Switzerland. These two l long been friends; but the unpou- nd turbulent knight, braving the of others, ever ready to lay his hand sword, dealing his blows right and ll whom he met, could scarcely live ony with the squeamish and timid an, with his refined manners, his polished language, his love of ap- , and his readiness to sacrifice every its sake, and fearing nothing in the much as a dispute. On arriving at lütten, poor, sick, and a fugitive, tely inquired for his old friend. But trembled at the thought of receiv- s table a person under the ban of and the emperor, who would spare who would borrow money of him, would no doubt be dragging after rowd of those "Gospellers" whom d dreaded more and more.² He re- see him, and shortly after, the magis- Basle desired Hütten to leave the ounded to the quick, and exaspe- against his timid friend, Hütten re- Mulhausen, and there published a pamphlet against Erasmus, to which e replied in a paper overflowing with e knight had grasped his sword with ds, and aimed a crushing blow at his ist; the scholar adroitly stepping ung the soldier smartly in return.³

1. 47.
pms et omnibus rebus destitutus querebat nidum
ut moveretur. Erat mihi gloriosus ille miles
cable in mdes recipiendus, sinique recipiendus
titulo Evangelicorum," writes Erasmus to Mo-
in a letter in which he endeavours to excuse
tr. Epp. p. 548.
sialio Hütteni.—Erasmii Spongia.

Hütten was again compelled to flee; he reached Zurich, and there met with a gene- rous reception from the noble-hearted Zwingli. But intrigues again compelled him to leave that city; and after passing some time at the baths of Pfeffers, he repaired with a letter from the Swiss reformer to the pastor John Schnepf, who inhabited the small island of Ufnau in the lake of Zurich. This poor minister entertained the sick and fugitive knight with the most touching charity. It was in this peaceful and unknown retreat that Ulrich Hütten, one of the most remark- able men of the sixteenth century, died ob- scurely about the end of August 1523, after a most agitated life, expelled by one party, persecuted by another, deserted by nearly all, and having always contended against superstition, but, as it would seem, without having ever possessed the truth. The poor pastor, who had some skill in the healing art, had vainly lavished on him all his care. With him chivalry expired. He left neither money, nor furniture, nor books;—nothing in the world but a pen.¹ Thus was broken the arm of iron that had presumed to support the ark of God.

CHAPTER IX.

Erasmus and Luther—Vacillations of Erasmus—Luther to Erasmus—Erasmus's Treatise against Luther on Free Will—Three Opinions—Effect upon Luther—Luther on Free Will—The Jansenists and the Reformers—Homage to Erasmus—His Anger—The Three Days.

THERE was in Germany a man more formid- able to Erasmus than the ill-fated Hütten: this was Luther. The moment had now arrived when these two great champions of the age were to measure their strength hand to hand. The two reformations at which they arrived were very different. While Luther desired a thorough reform, Erasmus, a friend to half-measures, was endeavouring to obtain concessions from the hierarchy that would unite the extreme parties. The vacil- lations and inconsistency of Erasmus dis- gusted Luther. "You desire to walk upon eggs without crushing them," said the lat- ter, "and among glasses without breaking them."²

At the same time he met the vacillations of Erasmus with absolute decision. "We Christians," said he, "ought to be sure of our doctrine, and able to say yes or no with- out hesitation. To presume to hinder us from affirming our belief with full conviction, is depriving us of faith itself. The Holy Ghost is no sceptic;³ and He has written in our hearts a firm and strong assurance, which

1 Libros nullos habuit, suppellectilem nullam, præter es-
lamum. Zw. Epp. p. 312.

2 Auf Eiern gehen und keines zutreten. L. Opp. lib. II.

3 Der heilige Geist ist kein Scepticus. Ibid. 2.

makes us as certain of our faith as we are of life itself."

These words alone suffice to show us on which side strength was to be found. To accomplish a religious transformation, there is need of a firm and living faith. A salutary revolution in the Church will never proceed from philosophical views and mere human opinions. To fertilize the earth after a long drought, the lightning must cleave the cloud, and the windows of heaven must be opened. Criticism, philosophy, and even history may prepare the way for the true faith, but cannot supply its place. In vain would you clear the water-courses and repair the dikes, so long as the rain does not come down from heaven. All human learning without faith is but an aqueduct without water.

Whatever might have been the essential difference between Luther and Erasmus, the friends of Luther, and even the reformer himself, had long hoped to see Erasmus unite with them against Rome. Many sayings which his caustic humour let fall were quoted, as showing his disagreement with the most zealous defenders of Romanism. One day, for instance, when he was in England, he had a keen discussion with Thomas More on transubstantiation: "Believe that you have the body of Christ," said the latter, "and you have it really." Erasmus made no reply. Shortly after, when leaving England, More lent him a horse to carry him to the seaside; but Erasmus took it with him to the Continent. As soon as More was informed of this, he wrote very severely to him about it. Erasmus, by way of reply, sent him these lines:—

"You said of the bodily presence of Christ:
Believe that you have, and you have him!
Of the nag that I took my reply is the same;
Believe that you have, and you have him!"¹

It was not only in England and Germany that Erasmus had thus become known. It was said at Paris that Luther had only opened the door, after Erasmus had picked the lock.²

The position taken by Erasmus was by no means easy: "I shall not be unfaithful to the cause of Christ," wrote he to Zwingli, "at least so far as the age will permit me."³ In proportion as he beheld Rome rising up against the friends of the Reformation, he prudently retreated. He was applied to from all quarters; the pope, the emperor, kings, princes, scholars, and even his most intimate friends, entreated him to write against the reformer.⁴ "No work," wrote the pope,

"can be more acceptable to God, thier of yourself and of your genius."

Erasmus long resisted these solis he could not conceal from himself cause of the reformers was the caution as well as of letters. Beside was an adversary with whom e feared to try his strength, and already imagined he felt the quick blows of the Wittenberg champion very easy to say, Write against replied he to a Romish theologian is a matter full of peril."² Thus he and yet he would not.

This irresolution on the part of drew on him the attacks of the men of both parties. Luther him not how to reconcile the respect h Erasmus's learning with the indignity felt at his timidity. Resolving to self from so painful a dilemma, he v a letter in April 1524, which he in Camerarius. "You have not yet from the Lord," said Luther, "the necessary to walk with us against th We put up with your weakness. It flourishes: if by its means the tre Scripture are opened to all; this which God has bestowed on us thro a noble gift, and for which our tings ascend to heaven! But do not the task that has been imposed u and pass over to our camp. No do eloquence and genius might be ve to us; but since you are wanting in remain where you are. I could v our people would allow your old a asleep peacefully in the Lord. The of our cause has long since gone bey strength. But on the other hand, Erasmus, refrain from scattering with such profusion that pungent s you know so well how to conceal u flowers of rhetoric; for it is more d to be slightly wounded by Erasmus be ground to powder by all the pa together. Be satisfied to remain a of our tragedy;³ and publish no book me; and for my part, I will wr against you."

Thus did Luther, the man of s for peace; it was Erasmus, the man who began the conflict.

Erasmus received this communica the reformer as the bitterest of insu if he had not yet determined to writ Luther, he probably did so then. possible," he replied, "that Eras writing against you will be of mor to the Gospel than certain dunces w for you,⁴ and who do not permit him simple spectator of this tragedy."

¹ Quod mihi dixisti nuper de corpore Christi:

Credo quod habes, et habes;

Hoc tibi rescribo tantum de tuo caballo;

Credo quod habes, et habes.

Paravicini Singularia, p. 71.

² Histoire Cathol. de notre temps, par S. Fontaine, de l'Ordre de St. François, Paris, 1562.

³ Quantum hoc seculum patitur. *Er. Epp.* p. 221.

⁴ A pontifice, a Cesare, a regibus, et principibus, a doctissimis etiam et carissimis amicis huc provocor. *Erasm.* *Er. Epp.* p. 206.

¹ Nulla te et ingenio, eruditioe, eloquentiaque esse potest. *Adrianus Papa, Epp. Er.* p. 1202.

² Res est periculi plena. *Er. Epp.* p. 758.

³ Spectator tantum sis tragedie nostre. *L.*

⁴ Quidam stolidi scribentes pro te. *Unschuchricht, p. 545.*

and other motives besides.

II. of England, and the nobility of the nation, earnestly pressed him to stand openly against the Reformers, in a moment of courage, promise to be wrung from him. His position had become a source of trouble to him; he loved repose, necessity he felt of continually justifying himself, disturbed his existence; of glory, and already men were of fearing Luther, and of being answer him; he was accustomed at seat, and the little monk of had dethroned the mighty philosopher of Rotterdam. He must then, by sup, recover the position he had in Christendom that adhered to the implored him to do so. A capacity and the greatest reputation of wanted to oppose the Reformers answered the call.

What weapons will he employ? Will he hunders of the Vatican? Will he abuse the abuses that disgrace the papacy could not act thus. The sentiment that agitated men's minds of so many centuries filled him; and he would have feared to be Unable to be the champion of what it has added to Christendom to defend it in what it away. In attacking Luther, he cited the point where Romanism, the doctrine of free natural power of man. Thus, attacking the defence of the Church, he testified the men of the world, and for the popes, he contended of the philosophers. It has been he had injudiciously confined obscure and unprofitable questions, the reformers, and their age, differently; and we agree with just acknowledge," said Luther, "in controversy you are the only one gone to the root of the matter. For it with all my heart; for I be occupied with this subject. All those secondary questions of purgatory, and indulgences, the enemies of the Gospel have red me."²

Experience and an attentive study of scriptures and of St. Augustine, told Luther that the natural powers inclined to evil, that he cannot, reach any farther than a certain tude, altogether insufficient in the Deity. He had at the same ed that it was God who gives ness, by carrying on freely the

work of faith in man by his Holy Spirit. This doctrine had become the mainspring of his religion, the predominant idea in his theology, and the point on which the whole Reformation turned.

While Luther maintained that every good thing in man came down from God, Erasmus sided with those who thought that this good proceeded from man himself. God or man,—good or evil,—these are certainly no paltry questions; and if "trivialities" exist, they must be looked for elsewhere.

It was in the autumn of 1524 that Erasmus published his famous treatise entitled *Dissertation on the Freedom of the Will*; and it had no sooner appeared, than the philosopher could hardly believe his own boldness. With eyes fixed on the arena, he looked tremblingly at the gauntlet he had flung to his adversary. "The die is cast," wrote he with emotion to Henry VIII.; "the book on free will has appeared.—Trust me, this is a daring act. I expect to be stoned for it.—But I console myself by the example of your majesty, whom the rage of these people has not spared."¹

His alarm soon increased to such a degree that he bitterly regretted the step he had taken. "Why was I not permitted to grow old in the garden of the Muses?" exclaimed he. "Here am I, at sixty, driven into the arena, and holding the cestus and the net of the gladiator, instead of the lyre!—I am aware," wrote he to the Bishop of Rochester, "that in writing upon free will, I have gone beyond my sphere..... You congratulate me upon my triumphs! Ah! I know not that I triumph. The faction (*i. e.* the Reformation) is spreading daily."² Was it then fated, that at any time of life I should be transformed from a friend of the Muses into a wretched gladiator!"

It was no doubt an important matter for the timid Erasmus to have stood up against Luther; he was, however, far from showing any very great boldness. In his book he seems to ascribe but little to man's will, and to leave the greater portion to Divine grace; but at the same time he chose his arguments in a manner to make it be believed that man does every thing, and God nothing. Not daring openly to express his thoughts, he affirms one thing and proves another; and hence we may be allowed to suppose that he believed what he proved and not what he affirmed.

He distinguishes three several opinions, opposed in three different degrees to Pelagianism. "Some think," said he, "that man can neither will, nor commence, and still less perform, any good work, without the special and continual aid of Divine grace; and this opinion seems probable enough.

1. M. Nisard says (Erasmus, Revue des 411). "We are grieved for our kind, when we see grappling with eternal truths, fencing about trivialities, like gladiators fighting

¹ Jacta est alea....audax, mihi crede, facinus....expecto lapidationem. Er. Epp. p. 811.

² Quomodo triumphans nescio....Factio crescit in dies infelix. Ibid. 809.

Others teach that man's will is powerless except for evil, and that it is grace alone which works in us any good; and finally, there are some who assert that there has never been any free will either in angels, or in Adam, or in us, either before or after grace, but that God works in man both good and evil, and that every thing happens from an absolute necessity."¹

Erasmus, while seeming to admit the former of these opinions, makes use of arguments that confute it, and which the most decided Pelagian might employ. In this manner, quoting the passages of Scripture in which God offers man the choice between good and evil, he adds: "Man must therefore have the power to will and to choose; for it would be ridiculous to say to any one, 'Choose! when it was not in his power to do so.'"

Luther did not fear Erasmus. "Truth," said he, "is mightier than eloquence. The victory remains with him who lisps out the truth, and not with him who puts forth a lie in flowing language."² But when he received Erasmus's treatise in the month of October 1524, he found it so weak that he hesitated to reply to it. "What! so much eloquence in so bad a cause!" said he; "it is as if a man were to serve up mud and dung on dishes of silver and gold."³ One cannot lay hold of you. You are like an eel that slips through the fingers; or like the fabulous Proteus who changes his form in the very arms of those who wish to grasp him."

But as Luther did not reply, the monks and scholastic divines began to utter shouts of victory: "Well, where is your Luther now? Where is the great Maccabeus? Let him come down into the lists! let him come forth! Ah, ah! he has met with his match at last! He has learnt now to remain in the back-ground; he has found out how to hold his tongue."⁴

Luther saw that he must write an answer; but it was not until the end of the year 1525 that he prepared to do so; and Melancthon having informed Erasmus that Luther would be moderate, the philosopher was greatly alarmed. "If I have written with moderation," said he, "it is my disposition; but Luther possesses the wrath of Peleus' son (Achilles). And how can it be otherwise? When a vessel braves a storm such as that which has burst upon Luther, what anchor, what ballast, what helm does it not require to prevent it from being driven out of its course! If therefore he replies to me in a manner not in accordance with his character, these sycophants will cry out that we are in collusion."⁵ We shall see that Eras-

mus was soon relieved from this position.

The doctrine of God's election cause of man's salvation had dear to the reformer; but he considered it in a practical light. In his reply to Erasmus, he invests particularly in a speculative point endeavoured to establish by such as appeared to him most correct. God works every thing in man, and that our hearts are so alienated from the love of God that they cannot have a desire for righteousness, except the regenerating influence of the Holy Spirit.

"To call our will a free will," to imitate those princes who assume titles, styling themselves lord kingdoms, principalities, and dukes (of Rhodes, Cyprus, and Jerusalem) while they have not the least power of them." Here, however, Luther makes an important distinction, clearly showing that he by no means participated in the opinion that Erasmus had previously imputed to him. "Man's will, a free will, not in relation to God above him, that is to say, to God in respect to that which is below, things of the earth."¹ As regards property, my fields, my house, my act, do, and manage freely. But of salvation, man is a captive; he is bound to the will of God, or rather to God. Show me but one of all these free will (he exclaims) that he himself sufficient strength to escape the trifling injury, a fit of anger, look from his enemy, and beat him then—without even asking him to give up his body, his life, his honour, and all things—I acknowledge that I have gained your cause."²

Luther's glance was too perceptive to discover the contradictions in his opponent had fallen. And in his reply, he endeavours to fasten upon his opponent the net in which he himself was caught. "If the passages you cite," he says, "establish that it is easy to be good, why do we dispute? We know of Christ and of the Holy Ghost would then have acted foolishly his blood to acquire for us a peace already possessed by nature." The passages cited by Erasmus must be taken in quite a different sense. This question is clearer than it appears at first sight. When the Bible says, 'Choose,' it presupposes the gift of God's grace, by which alone he can command. God, in giving the commandment, also gives the strength to obey. Christ said to Lazarus, 'Come out that Lazarus had power to

¹ De libero arbitrio Distribue. Eras. Opp. ix. 1215, seqq.

² Victoria est penes balbutientem veritatem, non apud mendacem eloquentiam. L. Opp. ii. 302.

³ Als wenn einer in silbern oder güldern Schusseln wolte Mist und Unrath auftragen. L. Opp. xix. 4.

⁴ Sebet, sebet nun da zu! wo ist nun Luther. Ibid. 2.

⁵ Ille si hinc multum sui distinxisset fuerit, clamabant sycophantes collidere nos. Erasmi. Opp. p. 312.

¹ Der Wille des Menschen mag... L. i.

² Ibid. 33.

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at Christ, by commanding him to sepulchre, gave him also the o do so, and accompanied His creative power. He spoke, done. Moreover, it is very true an to whom God speaks, must be who wills, and not another; he e this will but from God alone; him that this will must be, and mmandment that God addresses d which, according to Erasmus, the ability of man, is so reconb the workings of God, that it is y these means that the working . It is by saying to the man rted," that God converts him. idea on which Luther principally s reply is, that the passages quotmus are intended to teach man and their inability to perform it, way to make known to them the power ascribed to them. "How it happens," says Luther, "a his feeble child to him, and says: come, my son! come then, come! at the child may learn to call for nce, and allow himself to be car-

nbating Erasmus's arguments in free will, Luther defends his own attacks of his opponent. "Dear n," says he ironically, "mighty o pride thyself in having overse words of our Lord in St. John: e ye can do nothing, which thou nevertheless as the prop of my and callest *Luther's Achilles*, listen less thou canst prove that this w, not only may, but must, sigll thy high-sounding phrases, thy amples, have no more effect than vere to attempt to quench an exflagration with a handful of straw. such assertions as these to us: mean; that may be understood..... was thy duty to show us that it understood.....Unless thou doest ce this declaration in its literal and laugh at all thy examples, preparations, and thy pompous

in a concluding part, Luther d always from Scripture, that the od does every thing. "In short," the end, "since Scripture every trasts Christ with that which has rit of Christ; since it declares that s not Christ and in Christ is under f error, darkness, the devil, death, ie wrath of God, it follows that all ages of the Bible that speak of opposed to free will. Now such e numberless; the Holy Scriptures them."³ ceive that the discussion which

arose between Luther and Erasmus is the same as that which a century after took place between the Jansenists and Jesuits, between Pascal and Molina.¹ How is it that, while the results of the Reformation were so immense, Jansenism, though adorned by the noblest geniuses, wasted and died away? It is because Jansenism went back to Augustine and relied on the Fathers; while the Reformation went back to the Bible and leant upon the Word of God. It is because Jansenism entered into a compromise with Rome, and wished to establish a middle course between truth and error, while the Reformation, relying upon God alone, cleared the soil, swept away all the rubbish of past ages, and laid bare the primitive rock. To stop half way is a useless work; in all things we should persevere to the end. Accordingly, while Jansenism has passed away, the destinies of the world are bound up with evangelical Christianity.

Further, after having keenly refuted error, Luther paid a brilliant, but perhaps a somewhat sarcastic, homage to Erasmus himself. "I confess," said he, "that you are a great man; where have we ever met with more learning, intelligence, or ability, both in speaking and writing? As for me, I possess nothing of the kind; there is only one thing from which I can derive any glory—I am a Christian. May God raise you infinitely above me in the knowledge of the Gospel, so that you may surpass me as much in this respect as you do already in every other."²

Erasmus was beside himself when he read Luther's reply; and would see nothing in his encomiums but the honey of a poisoned cup, or the embrace of a serpent at the moment he darts his envenomed sting. He immediately wrote to the Elector of Saxony, demanding justice; and Luther having desired to appease him, he lost his usual temper, and, in the words of one of his most zealous apologists, began "to pour forth invectives with a broken voice and hoary hair."³

Erasmus was vanquished. Hitherto, moderation had been his strength,—and he had lost it. Passion was his only weapon against Luther's energy. The wise man was wanting in wisdom. He replied publicly in his *Hyperaspistes*, accusing the reformer of barbarism, lying, and blasphemy. The philosopher even ventured on prophesying. "I prophesy," said he, "that no name under the sun will be held in greater execration than Luther's." The jubilee of 1817 has replied to this prophecy, after a lapse of three hundred years, by the enthusiasm and acclamations of the whole Protestant world.

Thus, while Luther with the Bible was setting himself at the head of his age, Eras-

¹ It is unnecessary to state that I do not speak of personal discussions between these two men, one of whom died in 1600, and the other was not born until 1623.

² L. Opp. xix. pp. 166, 167.

³ M. Nisard, Erasmus, p. 419.

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mus, standing up against him, wished to occupy the same place with philosophy. Which of these two leaders has been followed? Both undoubtedly. Nevertheless Luther's influence on the nations of Christendom has been infinitely greater than that of Erasmus. Even those who did not thoroughly understand the grounds of the dispute, seeing the conviction of one antagonist and the doubts of the other, could not refrain from believing that the first was right and the second wrong. It has been said that the three last centuries, the sixteenth, the seventeenth, and the eighteenth, may be conceived as an immense battle of three days' duration.¹ We willingly adopt this beautiful comparison, but not the part that is assigned to each of the days. The same struggle has been ascribed to the sixteenth and to the eighteenth century. On the first day, as on the last, it is philosophy that breaks the ranks. The sixteenth century philosophical!.....Strange error! No: each of these days has its marked and distinct character. On the first day of the conflict, it was the Word of God, the Gospel of Christ, that triumphed; and then Rome was defeated, as well as human philosophy, in the person of Erasmus and her other representatives. On the second day, we grant that Rome, her authority, her discipline, her doctrine, reappeared and were about to triumph by the intrigues of a celebrated society and the power of the scaffold, aided by men of noble character and sublime genius. On the third day, human philosophy arose in all its pride, and finding on the field of battle, not the Gospel, but Rome, made short work, and soon carried every intrenchment. The first day was the battle of God, the second the battle of the priest, the third the battle of reason. What will be the fourth?.....In our opinion, the confused strife, the deadly contest of all these powers together, to end in the victory of Him to whom triumph belongs.

CHAPTER X.

The Three Adversaries—Source of Truth—Anabaptism—Anabaptism and Zwingli—Constitution of the Church—Prison—The Prophet Blaurock—Anabaptism at Saint Gall—An Anabaptist Family—Discussion at Zurich—The Limits of the Reformation—Punishment of the Anabaptists.

THE battle fought by the Reformation in the great day of the sixteenth century, under the standard of the Word of God, was not one and single but manifold. The Reformation had many enemies to contend with at once; and after having first protested against the decretals and the supremacy of the pope, and then against the cold apophthegms of the rationalists, philosophers, or schoolmen,

it had equally to struggle with the of enthusiasm and the hallucination of mysticism; opposing alike to these the shield and the sword of Divinity.

It must be admitted that there is similarity, a striking unity, between three powerful adversaries. The terms that in every age have been opposed to evangelical Christianity always been distinguished by their religious knowledge proceed from the man himself. Rationalism may proceed from reason; mysticism from inner lights; and Romanism from the nation of the pope. These three enemies for truth in man: evangelical Christianity looks for it wholly in God; and withicism, rationalism, and Romanism permanent inspiration in certain classes of men, and thus open a door to extravagance and diversity, evangelical Christianity recognises this inspiration the writings of the apostles and alone presents that great, and living unity which is ever the same in all ages.

The task of the Reformation has re-establish the rights of the Word in opposition not only to Romanism to mysticism and rationalism.

The fanaticism of the anabaptists, which was first manifested in Germany by Luther's Wittemberg, reappeared in full in Switzerland, and threatened the peace of Zwingli, Haller, and Ecolampa built on the Word of God. Thomas having been forced to quit Saxony had reached the frontiers of Switzerland, whose restless disposition we have already noticed come connected with him, as had Manz, a canon's son, and several richers; and Grebel had immediately vowed to gain over Zwingli. In the latter gone farther than Luther a party springing up which desired to proceed farther still. "Let us form a community of true believers," said Grebel "for to them alone the promise be let us found a church in which there be no sin."² "We cannot make upon earth," replied Zwingli; "a has taught us that we must let grow up along with the wheat."³

Grebel having failed with the would have desired to appeal to the "The whole community of Zurich, "ought to have the final decision of faith." But Zwingli feared the these radical enthusiasts might excite a large assembly. He thought that on extraordinary occasions when the

¹ Vol. II. p. 579.

² Vermeyntend ein Kilchen so versammelen wie. Zw. Opp. II. 331.

³ Ibid. III. 362.

¹ Fort Royal, by M. Sainte Beuve, I. 20.

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called upon to express their assent, to confide the interests of religion, which might be considered as representatives of the Church, to the Council of Two Hundred, exercised the supreme political authority, was also intrusted with the civil power, on the express condition should conform in all things to the scriptures. No doubt it would have been to have thoroughly organized the nation called on it to appoint its own officers, who should be intrusted with the religious interests of the people, or a man may be very capable of serving the interests of the State, and unskilful in those of the Church; the reverse of this is true also. Nevertheless inconvenience was not then so great as it would be in our days, since the Council of the Great Council had frankly taken to the religious movement. But, this may be, Zwingli, while appealing to the Church, was careful not to make it dominant, and preferred the representation to the actual sovereignty of the State. This is what, after three centuries, the states of Europe have been doing in the political world for the last fifty

years. rejected by Zwingli, Grebel turned to the quarter. Rubli, formerly pastor of Bröttlen, pastor at Zollikon, and Grebel, received him with eagerness. They resolved to form an independent congregation in the midst of the great congregation within the Church. A new way was to be their means of assembling for congregation, consisting exclusively of laymen. "Infant baptism," said they, "a terrible abomination, a flagrant sin, imputed by the wicked spirit, and by the Pope of Rome."¹ The Council of Zurich was alarmed, and a public discussion to be held; and the Anabaptists still refused to abjure their views. Some of the Zurichers among their ranks were thrown into prison, and several were banished. But persecution increased their zeal: "Not by words," said they, "but with our blood, are we to bear testimony to the truth of the Gospel." Some of them, girding themselves with cords or osier twigs, ran through the streets, exclaiming: "Yet a few days, and we will be destroyed! Woe to thee, Woe! woe!"—Many uttered blasphemous words. "Baptism," said they, "is but the bark of a dog; it is of no more avail to a child than to baptize a cat."² The learned and pious were agitated and Fourteen men, among whom was

hended, in despite of Zwingli's intercession, and put on bread and water in the heretic's tower. After being confined a fortnight, they managed to loosen some planks in the night, and aiding one another, effected their escape. "An angel," said they, "had opened the prison and led them forth."³

A monk, who had escaped from his convent, George Jacob of Coire, surnamed Blaurock, as it would seem, from the blue dress he constantly wore, joined their sect, and from his eloquence was denominated a *second Paul*. This daring monk travelled from place to place, constraining many, by his imposing fervour, to receive his baptism. One Sunday, when at Zollikon, the impetuous anabaptist interrupted the deacon as he was preaching, calling out in a voice of thunder: "It is written, *My house is a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.*" Then raising the staff he carried in his hand, he struck four violent blows.

"I am a door," exclaimed he; "whosoever entereth by me shall find pasture. I am a good shepherd. My body I give to the prison; my life I give to the sword, the stake, or the wheel. I am the beginning of the baptism and of the Lord's bread."⁴

While Zwingli was opposing the torrent of anabaptism in Zurich, Saint Gall was soon inundated with it. Grebel arrived there, and was received by the brethren with acclamations; and on Palm-Sunday he proceeded to the banks of the Sitter with a great number of his adherents, whom he there baptized.

The news quickly spread through the adjoining cantons; and a great crowd flocked from Zurich, Appenzel, and several other places to the "Little Jerusalem."

Zwingli's heart was wrung at the sight of this agitation. He saw a storm bursting on these districts where the seed of the Gospel was just beginning to spring up.⁵ He resolved to oppose these disorders, and wrote a treatise *On Baptism*,⁶ which the council of Saint Gall, to whom it was addressed, ordered to be read in the church before all the people.

"My dear brethren in the Lord," said Zwingli, "the water of the torrents that issue from our rocks carries with it every thing within its reach. At first it is only small stones; but these dash violently against larger ones, until at last the torrent becomes so strong that it carries away all it meets, and leaves in its track wailing and vain regrets, and fertile meadows changed into a wilderness. The spirit of strife and self-righteousness acts in a similar manner: it excites discord, destroys charity, and where it found beautiful and flourishing churches,

¹ Wie die Apostel von dem Engel Gottes geleitet, Züll. Chr. p. 261.

² Ich bin ein Anfänger der Taufe und des Herrn Brodes. Füssli. Beitr. i. 264.

³ Nicht bedurft seer des ungewitter. Sv. to Council of St. Gall, ii. 223.

⁴ Vom Tauf, vom Widertauf, und vom Kindertauf. TBA.

um manifestenmum, a cecedermon, a Nicolao Schinger, St. 219, eben so viel als wenn man eine Kaiser taufet. 242.

leaves behind it nothing but flocks plunged into mourning and desolation."

Thus spoke Zwingle, the child of the Töckenburg mountains. "Give us the Word of God," exclaimed an anabaptist, who was present in the church; "and not the word of Zwingle." Immediately confused voices were heard: "Away with the book! away with the book!" shouted the anabaptists. After this they rose and quitted the church, crying out: "You may keep the doctrine of Zwingle; as for us, we will keep the Word of God."¹

This fanaticism now broke forth into the most lamentable disorders. Maintaining that the Lord had exhorted us to become like children, these unhappy creatures began to clap their hands, and skip about in the streets, to dance in a ring, sit on the ground, and tumble each other about in the dust. Some burnt the New Testament, saying: "The letter killeth, the Spirit giveth life." Others, falling into convulsions, pretended to have revelations from the Holy Ghost.

In a solitary house on the Müllegg near St. Gall, lived an aged farmer, John Schucker, with his five sons. They had all of them, including the domestics, received the new baptism; and two of the sons, Thomas and Leonard, were distinguished for their fanaticism. On Shrove Tuesday (7th February 1526), they invited a large party of anabaptists to their house, and their father killed a calf for the feast. The viands, the wine, and this numerous assembly, heated their imaginations; the whole night was passed in fanatical conversation and gesticulations, convulsions, visions, and revelations.²

In the morning, Thomas, still agitated by this night of disorder, and having, as it would seem, lost his reason, took the calf's bladder, and placing in it part of the gall, intending thus to imitate the symbolical language of the prophets, approached his brother Leonard, saying with a gloomy voice: "Thus bitter is the death thou art to suffer!" He then added: "Brother Leonard, kneel down!" Leonard fell on his knees; shortly after, "Brother Leonard, arise!" Leonard stood up. The father, brothers, and the other anabaptists looked on with astonishment, asking themselves what God would do. Thomas soon resumed: "Leonard, kneel down again!" He did so. The spectators, alarmed at the gloomy countenance of the wretched man, said to him: "Think of what you are about, and take care that no mischief happens."—"Fear not," replied Thomas, "nothing will happen but the will of the Father." At the same time he hastily caught up a sword, and striking a violent blow at his brother, kneeling before him as a

criminal before the executioner his head, exclaiming: "Now t Father is accomplished." All recoiled with horror at the d farm resounded with groans tions. Thomas, who had not shirt and trousers, rushed b bareheaded out of the house, r with frenzied gestures, entered the burgomaster Joachim Vad to him with haggard looks ar "I proclaim to thee the day o The frightful news soon sp Saint Gall. "He has slain h Cain slew Abel," said the peopl prit was seized. "It is true continually repeated; "but i did it through me." On the 16t this unhappy creature lost his sword of the executioner. F made its last effort. The eye opened, and, in the words of an the same blow cut off the hea Schucker and of anabaptism in

It still prevailed at Zurich of November in the preceding; discussion had taken place, in o the anabaptists, who were c claiming that the innocent wei unheard. The three followi; proposed by Zwingle and his fi subject of the conference, ar maintained by them in the cou

"Children born of believing children of God, like those w under the Old Testament, and may receive baptism.

"Baptism under the New what circumcision was under sequently, baptism ought no ministered to children, as circ formerly.

"We cannot prove the cust tizing either by examples, t ements drawn from Scripture; a are re-baptized crucify Jesus C

But the anabaptists did not selves exclusively to religiou they called for the abolition of ground that they were not c pointment. Zwingle replied, t tenance of the schools and chur on the tithes. He desired a , gious reform; but was decided the public order or political ins in the least degree shaken. limit at which he perceived t heaven, written by the hand of t to shalt thou come, and no fart necessary to stop somewhere, a gle and the reformers halted, ir headstrong men who endea vo them farther still.

But if the reformers halted,

¹ So wollen wir Gottes Wort haben. Zw. to Council of St. Gall, B. 237.

² Mit wunderbaren geperden und gesprächen, verzucken, gesichten und offenbarungen. Bull. Chr. I. 324.

¹ Gleich wie Cain den Abel seinen Br Bull. Chron. I. 324.

² Job xxxviii. 11.

thusiasts, who seemed placed at as if in contrast with their disprudence. The anabaptists were with having formed a church; in their eyes was the state. were summoned before the tri- declared they did not recognise thority, that it was only a remunism, and that they would obey ower than God. They taught not lawful for Christians to fill s, or to carry the sword; and in this respect certain irreligious that have sprung up in our days, upon a community of goods as n of humanity.¹

danger was increasing; the f civil society was threatened. to reject from its bosom these elements. The government, in sired itself to be hurried into usures. Being resolved to make s, it condemned Mantz to be n on the 5th of January 1527, he in a boat; his mother (the aged f the canon) and his brother the crowd that followed him to edge. "Persevere unto the imed they. When the execu- red to throw Mantz into the other burst into tears; but his n and resolute, witnessed with ning eyes the martyrdom of her

me day Blaurock was scourged As they were leading him out- ity, he shook his blue cloak and n off his feet against the state of ; would appear that two years happy man was burnt alive by atholics of the Tyrol. dly a spirit of rebellion existed unabaptists; no doubt the old ec- law, condemning heretics to existed, and the Reformation : one or two years reform every urther, there is no question that states would have accused the ates of encouraging disorder if ot punished these enthusiasts: onsiderations may explain, al- cannot justify, the severity of ates. They might have taken ainst every thing that infringed athority; but religious errors, ted by the teachers, should have mplete liberty before the civil. Such opinions are not to be ex- s scourge; they are not drowned their professors into the water : p again from the depth of the fire but serves to kindle in their fiercer enthusiasm and thirst for

martyrdom. Zwingle, with whose sentiments on this subject we are acquainted, took no part in these severities.¹

CHAPTER XI.

Progression and Immobility—Zwingle and Luther—The Netherlands at Zurich—Result of Zwingle's inquiries—Luther's Return to Scholasticism—Respect for Tradition—Occam—Contrary Tendency in Zwingle—Beginning of the Controversy—Ecolampadius and the Swabian Synod—Strasbourg mediates.

It was not, however, on baptism alone that diversities were to prevail; more serious differences were to arise on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

The human mind, freed from the yoke that had pressed upon it for so many ages, made use of its liberty; and if Roman-catholicism has to fear the shoals of despotism, Protestantism is equally exposed to those of anarchy. Progression is the character of Protestantism, as immobility is that of Romanism.

Roman-catholicism, which possesses in the papacy a means of continually establishing new doctrines, appears at first sight, indeed, to contain a principle eminently favourable to variations. It has in truth largely availed itself of it, and from age to age we see Rome bringing forward or ratifying new doctrines. But its system once complete, Roman-catholicism has declared itself the champion of immobility. In this its safety lies; it resembles those buildings which tremble at the least motion, and from which nothing can be taken without bringing them wholly to the ground. Permit the Romish priests to marry, or aim a blow at the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the whole system is shaken, the whole edifice crumbles into dust.

It is not thus with evangelical Christianity. Its principle is much less favourable to variations, and much more so to progression and to life. In fact, on the one hand it recognises Scripture only as the source of truth, one and always the same, from the beginning of the Church to the end: how then should it vary as Popery has done? But, on the other hand, each Christian is to go and draw for himself from this fountain; and hence proceed action and liberty. Accordingly, evangelical Christianity, while it is the same in the nineteenth as in the sixteenth century, and as in the first, is in every age full of spontaneity and motion, and is now filling the world with its researches, its labours, bibles, missionaries, light, salvation, and life.

It is a great error to classify together and almost to confound evangelical Christianity with mysticism and rationalism, and to im-

¹ *Agg. f. 228-229; il. 283.*
oder die Mutter, sondern nur der Bruder,
-Heilv. K. Gesch. III. 320.
st seinen blauen Rock und eine Schüh über
- Bull. Chr. I. 302.

¹ *Quod homines seditiosi, reipublicam turbatores, magistratum hostes, iusta Senatus sententia, damnati sunt, num id Zwingle frandi esse poterit? Rod. Gualteri Ep. ad lectorem, Opp. 1544. II.*

pute their irregularities to it. Motion is in the very nature of Christian Protestantism; it is directly opposed to immobility and lethargy; but it is the motion of health and life that characterizes it, and not the aberrations of man deprived of reason, or the convulsions of disease. We shall see this characteristic manifested in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Such a result might have been expected. This doctrine had been understood in very different manners in the former ages of the Church, and this diversity existed until the time when the doctrine of transubstantiation and the scholastic theology began simultaneously to rule over the middle ages. But when this dominion was shaken, the old diversities were destined to reappear.

Zwingle and Luther, who had each been developed separately, the one in Switzerland and the other in Saxony, were however one day to meet face to face. The same spirit, and in many respects the same character, animated both. Both alike were filled with love for the truth and hatred of injustice; both were naturally violent; and this violence was moderated in each by a sincere piety. But there was one feature in Zwingle's character destined to carry him farther than Luther. It was not only as a man that he loved liberty, but also as a republican and fellow-countryman of Tell. Accustomed to the decision of a free state, he did not permit himself to be stopped by those considerations before which Luther recoiled. He had moreover studied less profoundly the scholastic theology, and thus found his motions less fettered. Both were ardently attached to their own convictions; both resolved to defend them; and, little habituated to yield to the convictions of another, they were now to meet, like two proud war-horses, which, rushing through the contending ranks, suddenly encounter each other in the hottest of the strife.

A practical tendency predominated in the character of Zwingle and in the Reformation of which he was the author, and this tendency was directed to two great objects, simplicity of worship and sanctification of life. To harmonize the worship with the necessities of the mind, that seeks not external pomp but invisible things—this was Zwingle's first aim. The idea of the corporeal presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, the origin of so many ceremonies and superstitions of the Church, must therefore be abolished. But another desire of the Swiss reformer led to the same results. He found that the Roman doctrine of the eucharist, and even that of Luther, presupposed a certain magical influence prejudicial to sanctification; he feared lest Christians, imagining they received Jesus Christ in the consecrated bread, should henceforward less earnestly seek to be united to him by faith in the heart. "Faith," said he, "is not knowledge, opinion, imagination;

it is a reality.¹ It leads to a real Divine things." Thus, whatever adversaries may have asserted, it leaning to rationalism, but a profound view, that led him to his pectrines.

But there was another element in his convictions: he was subject to historical influences which we nowhere recognise in the annals of the Reformation as in that of the world. It has been supposed that he was acquainted with the sentiments of Ratram, Wickliffe, and Waldo; but we possess a much more direct clue to the convictions of the reformer.

The two Netherlanders, Rhodius and Waldo, whom we have seen arrive in Switzerland, and there occasion the first meeting between Luther and Carlstadt, had taken their steps towards Switzerland with them Wessel's manuscripts reached Basle, where Luther had commended them to Oecolampad, a latter person, who was of timid disposition, finding that Luther did not approve of his opinions which these brethren were endeavouring to propagate, he ventured to declare his sentiments to Zwingle. They arrived in 1521, and having waited on the immediately turned the conversation to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.²

Rhodius and his friend did not make known their opinions, but allowing Zwingle, they gave thanks having delivered them from so great a burden. They then presented the letter of Hoen, which Zwingle read, and was shortly after.

This letter had an incalculable influence on the destinies of the Reformation. Resting his arguments on Christ's words in the sixth chapter of Saint John, "Christ gives himself to us by his bread,"³ but let us distinguish between what we receive by the mouth, and what we receive by faith. Who receives only what he takes with the mouth, does not discern the body of the Lord, and eats and drinks his own condemnation, because by eating and drinking he bears testimony to the presence of Christ whilst by his unbelief he remains without Him."⁴—At the same time the Net laid Wessel's theses before Zwingle's writings made a deep impression on the reformer's mind.

¹ Fidem rem esse, non scientiam, non opinionem, sed rem. Comment. de vera relig. Zw. O. ² Factum est ut Johannes Rhodius et Georgii et docti viri, Tigurum venirent, ut de Eucharistia conferrent. Lavateri Hist. de ori. sacra. Tiguri, 1644, p. 1.

³ Qui cum ejus sententiam audissent, gratias egerunt Deo, quod a tanto errore atque hominum Babeli epistolam protulerent.

⁴ Dominus per panem se ipsum tradit Christianis per hominum Babelum Hist. Ev. 1.

⁵ Propositiones ex evangelio de corpore et sanguine, &c. It is uncertain whether Zwingle time, received Wessel's treatise de Eucharistia.

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of Zwingle's inquiries correct his tendencies. By studying a whole, which was his custom in detached passages, and by recourse to classical antiquity for the difficulties of language, he became convinced that the word is, the formula of the institution of Supper, ought to be taken (as the meaning of *signifies*, and as he wrote to his friend Witteme bread and wine are in the Eucharist: the water is in baptism. "It rains," added he, "for us to plunge and times in water, if he does Faith is the one thing need-

appear, besides, that Zwingle had indirectly at least, for these Erasmus. Melancthon says: confessed to me (at Marburg) that ally from the writings of Erasmus had derived his opinions on the er." In fact Erasmus wrote in sentiments of Ecolampadius displease me if the testimony of were not against them. I do it an insensible body can do, it would be derived from it, could feel it; it is enough that be found in the symbols."¹

first set out, in appearance at principles very similar to those of doctor. "It is not the sacrament th," said he, "but faith in the

But the extravagances of the whose mysticism spiritualized led to a great change in his when he saw enthusiasts who pre-particular inspiration, breaking baptism, and denying the Christ in the Lord's Supper, he; he had a sort of prophetic pre-dangers that would threaten if this ultra-spiritual tendency he upper hand, and he accord-himself into the very opposite pilot who, seeing his boat lean one side and near foundering, elf on the other to restore the

time Luther attached a higher to the sacraments. He main-they were not only signs, by rich Christians were outwardly l, as Zwingle said, but testimo-e Divine will, calculated to r faith. More than this, Christ, ad determined to give believers nce of their salvation, and in this promise in the most effec-

tual manner, he had added his real body to the bread and wine. "Just as iron and fire," continued he, "which are nevertheless two distinct substances, are confounded together in a heated mass of iron, so that in each of its parts there is at once iron and fire; in like manner, and with much greater reason, the glorified body of Christ is found in all the parts of the bread."

Thus at this period there seems to have been some return on the part of Luther towards the scholastic theology. In his doctrine of justification by faith he had entirely renounced it; but in that of the sacrament he abandoned one point only, transubstantiation, and preserved the other, the corporeal presence. He even went so far as to say, that he would rather receive the blood only with the pope, than the wine only with Zwingle.

Luther's great principle was never to depart from the doctrine and customs of the Church, except when the language of Scripture rendered it absolutely necessary. "Where has Christ commanded us to elevate the host and exhibit it to the people?" Carlstadt had demanded.—"And where has Christ forbidden it," was Luther's reply. In this answer lies the principle of the two Reformation. Ecclesiastical traditions were dear to the Saxon reformer. If he separated from them on several points, it was not until after terrible struggles, and because, above all, it was necessary to obey the Scriptures. But when the letter of the Word of God appeared in harmony with the tradition and usages of the Church, he adhered to it with immovable firmness. Now this was what happened in the question of the eucharist. He did not deny that the word is might be taken in the sense indicated by Zwingle. He acknowledged, for instance, that in the words, *That rock was Christ*,¹ it must be so understood; but he denied that this word must have the same meaning in the institution of the Lord's Supper.

He found in one of the later schoolmen, Occam,² whom he preferred to all others, an opinion which he embraced. Like Occam, he gave up the continually repeated miracle, by virtue of which, according to the Roman Church, the body and blood of Christ takes the place of the bread and wine after every consecration by the priest; and following this doctor, he substituted a universal miracle, worked once for all,—that of the ubiquity and omnipresence of the body of Jesus Christ. "Christ," said he, "is present in the bread and wine, because he is present every where, and above all, wherever he wills to be."³

The turn of Zwingle's mind was very different from Luther's. He was less inclined

de panem et vinum esse puto quam aqua
Ad Wittenbachium Ep. 15th June 1523.
Ibi confessus est, se ex Erasmi scriptis
opinionem suam de cena Domini. Corp.

no quid agat corpus insensibile, nec utilitate
sentiretur, modo adit in Symbolis gratia
Opp. III. 341.

¹ 1 Cor. x. 4.
² Diu multumque legit scripta Occami cuius acumen as-
tulerat Thomæ et Scoti. Melanct. Vita Luth.
³ Occam und Luther, *Studium und Kritik*, 1838, p. 28.

to preserve a certain union with the universal Church and to maintain his connexion with the traditions of past ages. As a theologian, he looked at Scripture alone, and thence only would he receive his faith freely and immediately, without troubling himself about what others had thought before him. As a republican, he looked to his commune of Zurich. It was the idea of the present Church that engrossed his thoughts, and not that of the Church of former times. He clung particularly to these words of St. Paul: *For we being many are one bread, and one body*; and he saw in the Lord's Supper the sign of a spiritual communion between Christ and all Christians. "Whoever acts unworthily," said he, "is guilty of sin against the body of Christ of which he is a member." This thought had a great practical influence over men's minds; and the effects it produced in the lives of many confirmed Zwingli in it.

Thus Luther and Zwingli had insensibly separated from each other. It is probable however that peace might have subsisted longer between them, if the turbulent Carlstadt, who kept passing to and fro between Switzerland and Germany, had not inflamed these contrary opinions.

A step taken with a view to maintain peace led to the explosion. The council of Zurich, desirous of preventing all controversy, forbade the sale of Carlstadt's works. Zwingli, who disapproved of his violence, and blamed his mystical and obscure expressions,¹ thought himself now called upon to defend his doctrine, both in the pulpit and before the council; and shortly after wrote a letter to Albert, pastor of Reutlingen, in which he said: "Whether or not Christ speaks of the sacrament in the sixth chapter of St. John, it is very evident that he there inculcates a manner of eating his flesh and drinking his blood, in which there is nothing corporeal."² He then proceeded to prove that the Lord's Supper, by reminding the faithful, according to Christ's intention, of his body which was broken for them, procured for them that spiritual eating which alone is truly salutary.

Yet Zwingli shrunk from a rupture with Luther; he trembled at the thought that these unhappy disputes might tear in pieces that new society which was then forming in the midst of fallen Christendom. But it was not so with Luther. He did not hesitate to class Zwingli with those enthusiasts against whom he had already broken so many lances. He did not reflect that if the images had been taken down at Zurich, it was done legally and by order of the public authority. Accustomed to the forms of the German principalities, he knew but little of the proceedings of the Swiss republics; and he inveighed against the grave divines of Hel-

vetia, as he had done against the Munster and the Carlstads.

Luther having published his *Treatise against the Celestial Prophets*, Zwingli no longer hesitated, and at nearly the same time he gave to the world his *Letter to Albert*, and his *Commentary on True and False Religion*, dedicated to Francis I. In this last he said: "Since Christ, in the sixth chapter of St. John, ascribes to faith the power of imparting eternal life, and of uniting the believer to Him in the closest union, what need have we of more? Why should He afterwards have ascribed this virtue to His flesh, whilst He himself declares that His flesh profiteth nothing? The flesh of Christ, so far as it suffered death for us, is of incalculable utility, for it saves us from perdition; so far as it is eaten by us, it is of no use whatever."

The struggle began. Pomeranus, Luther's friend, rushed into the conflict, and attacked the evangelist of Zurich somewhat too contemptuously. Ecolampadius then began to blush at having so long combated his doubts, and of having preached doctrines that already began to give way in his mind. He took courage, and wrote from Basle to Zwingli: "The dogma of the real presence is the fortress and safeguard of their impiety. So long as they preserve this idol, no one can conquer them." He then entered into the lists, by publishing a book on the meaning of our Lord's words: *This is my body*.¹

The mere fact that Ecolampadius had joined the reformer of Zurich excited an immense sensation, not only in Basle but in all Germany. Luther was deeply affected by it. Brenz, Schnepff, and twelve other pastors of Swabia, to whom Ecolampadius had dedicated his book, and most of whom had been his pupils, experienced the keenest sorrow. "At this very moment when I am separating from him in a just cause," said Brenz, taking up the pen to reply to him, "I honour and admire him as much as it is possible for a man to do. The bonds of love are not broken between us because we are not of one opinion." He then published, conjointly with his friends, the famous *Swabian Syngamma*, in which he replied to Ecolampadius with firmness but with charity and respect. "If an emperor," said the authors, "give a wand to a judge, saying: 'Take, this is the power of judging; the wand no doubt is a mere sign; but the words being added, the judge has not only the symbol but the power itself.'" The true members of the reformed churches may admit this illustration. The *Syngamma* was received with acclamations; its authors were looked upon as the champions of truth; many theologians, and even laymen, desirous of sharing in their glory, began to defend the doc-

¹ Quod morosior est (Carlstadtus) in ceremoniis non ferendis, non admodum probat. Zw. Epp. p. 369.

² A manducatione cibi, qui ventrem implet, transit ad verbi manducationem, quam cibum vocat celestem, qui mundum vivificat. Zw. Opp. iii. 673.

¹ He took the word in its usual acceptance, but by which he understood a symbol of the body.

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ad, and fell upon Ecolampa-

then came forward to mediate between the friends of peace, and the debate was, in their opinion, of no consequence; they therefore placed between the two parties, sent their colleagues, George Cassel, to conjure him to beware of snapping of fraternity which united him with his divines.

did Luther's character shine strikingly than in this controversy of the Lord's Supper. Never were

displayed that firmness with which he came to a conviction which he held as a Christian, his faithfulness in no other foundation than Scripture, his defence, his animosity, and often overwhelming argumentation. But never also clearly shown the obstinacy which he adhered to his own opinions, when he paid to the reasons of his opponents the uncharitable haste with which he attributed their errors to the wicked hearts, or to the wiles of the one or other of us," said he to the mediator, "must be ministers of Satan to us or ourselves."

what Capito styled "the frenzies of Orestes;" and these frenzies ended by exhaustion. Luther's affected by them; one day he was alarmed of his wife and friends; whole week as if in "death and he had lost Jesus Christ," he was tossed to and fro by the tempest. The world was passing unheeding by prodigies that threatened at hand.

visions among the friends of the Reformation were destined to have still more success. The Romish theologians, particularly in Switzerland, at first opposed Luther to Zwingli. And three centuries, the recollections should convey to evangelists the precious fruits of unity and of charity in liberty, they have been in vain. Even then, the opposing one another, showed they were not governed by a blind rage, and that truth was the object of their inquiries. Herein knowledge there is something and conduct so disinterested did bear fruit, and to extort, even then, a feeling of interest and

er than this, we may here again at sovereign hand which directs and permits nothing without the grace. Luther, notwithstanding

his opposition to the Papacy, was in an eminent degree conservative. Zwingli, on the contrary, was inclined to a radical reform. These two opposite tendencies were necessary. If Luther and his friends had stood alone at the time of the Reformation, the work would have been stopped too soon, and the reforming principle would not have accomplished its prescribed task. If, on the contrary, Zwingli had been alone, the thread would have been snapped too abruptly, and the Reformation would have been isolated from the ages that had gone before.

These two tendencies, which to a superficial observer might seem to have existed only to combat each other, were ordained to complete each other; and after a lapse of three centuries we can say that they have fulfilled their mission.

CHAPTER XII.

The Tockenburgh—An Assembly of the People—Reformation—The Grisons—Disputation at Basle—Results—Reformation at Zurich.

Thus the Reformation had struggles to maintain in every quarter, and after having contended with the rationalist philosophy of Erasmus, and the fanatical enthusiasm of the anabaptists, it had still to endure an intestine war. But its great conflict was always with popery; and the attack begun in the cities of the plain was now carried on among the most distant mountains.

The mountains of the Tockenburgh had heard the sound of the Gospel, and three ecclesiastics were there persecuted by order of the bishop, as inclining to heresy. "Convince us by the Word of God," said Militus, Döring, and Farer, "and we will submit not only to the chapter, but even to the least of our brethren in Christ; otherwise we will obey no one, not even the mightiest among men."¹

This was truly the spirit of Zwingli and of the Reformation. A circumstance occurred shortly after that inflamed the minds of the inhabitants of these lofty valleys. A meeting of the people took place on Saint Catherine's day; the citizens were assembled, and two men of Schwytz, having come to the Tockenburgh on business, were seated at one of the tables; they entered into conversation. "Ulrich Zwingli," said one of them, "is a heretic and a robber!" Steiger, the secretary of state, undertook Zwingli's defence. Their noise attracted the attention of the whole meeting. George Bruggmann, Zwingli's uncle, who was at an adjoining table, sprung angrily from his seat, exclaiming: "Surely they are speaking of Master Ulrich!" All the guests rose and followed

¹ In inferno jacet. L. Epp. III. 152.

¹ Ne potentissimo quidem, sed soli Deo obsequi verba. Zw. Epp. p. 370.

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him, fearing a brawl.¹ As the tumult kept increasing, the bailiff hastily assembled the council in the street, and prayed Bruggmann, for the sake of peace, to be content with saying to these men: "If you do not retract your words, it is you who are guilty of lying and thieving."—"Recollect what you have just said," replied the men of Schwytz; "be sure we shall remember them." They then mounted their horses, and galloped off on the road to Schwytz.²

The government of Schwytz then addressed a threatening letter to the inhabitants of the Tockenburgh, which spread dismay among them. "Be bold and fearless,"³ wrote Zwingle to the council of his native place. "Be not concerned at the lies they utter against me! Any brawler can call me a heretic; but do you refrain from insults, disorders, debauchery, and mercenary wars; relieve the poor, protect those who are oppressed, and whatever abuse may be heaped upon you, preserve an unshaken confidence in Almighty God."⁴

Zwingle's exhortations produced the desired effect. The council still hesitated, but the people, meeting in their respective parishes, unanimously decreed that the mass should be abolished, and that they would be faithful to the Word of God.⁵

The conquests were not less important in Rhætia, which Salandronius had been compelled to leave, but where Comander was boldly proclaiming the Gospel. The anabaptists, indeed, by preaching their fanatical doctrines in the Grisons, had at first done great mischief to the Reformation. The people were divided into three parties. Some had embraced the views of these new prophets; others, amazed and confounded, regarded this schism with anxiety; and lastly, the partisans of Rome were loud in their exaltation.⁶

A meeting was held at Ilantz, in the Gray League, for a public disputation; the supporters of the papacy, on the one hand, the friends of the Reformation on the other, collected their forces. The bishop's vicar at first sought how to evade the combat. "These disputes lead to great expense," said he; "I am ready to lay down ten thousand florins in order to meet them; but I require the opposite party to do as much."—"If the bishop has ten thousand florins at his disposal," exclaimed the rough voice of a peasant in the crowd, "it is from us he has wrung them; to give as much more to these poor priests would be too bad."—"We are poor

people with empty purses," said Comander, pastor of Coire; "we have hardly the means of buying food: where then can we find ten thousand florins?"¹ Every one laughed at this expedient, and the business proceeded.

Among the spectators were Sebastian Hofmeister and James Amman of Zurich; they held in their hands the Holy Bible in Greek and Hebrew. The bishop's vicar desired that all strangers should be excluded. Hofmeister understood this to be directed against him. "We have come provided with a Greek and Hebrew Bible," said he, "in order that no violence may be done in any manner to Scripture. Yet sooner than prevent the conference, we are willing to withdraw."—"Ah!" exclaimed the priest of Dintzen, looking at the books of the Zurichers, "if the Greek and Hebrew languages had never entered our country, there would have been fewer heresies!"²—"St. Jerome," said another, "has translated the Bible for us; we do not want the books of the Jews!"—"If the Zurichers are turned out," said the baneret of Ilantz, "the commune will interfere."—"Well then," replied others, "let them listen, but be silent." The Zurichers remained accordingly, and their Bible with them.

After this Comander stood up and read the first of the theses he had published; it ran thus: "The christian Church is born of the Word of God; it must abide by this Word, and listen to no other voice." He then proved what he had advanced by numerous passages from Scripture. "He trod with a firm step," said an eye-witness,³ "each time setting down his foot with the firmness of an ox."—"This is too long," said the vicar.—"When he is at table with his friends listening to the pipers," said Hofmeister, "he does not find the time too long."⁴

Presently a man arose and advanced from the midst of the crowd, tossing his arms about, knitting his brows, blinking his eyes, and who appeared to have lost his senses; he rushed towards the reformer, and many thought he was about to strike him. He was a schoolmaster of Coire. "I have committed several questions to writing," said he to Comander; "answer them instantly."—"I am here," said the reformer of the Grisons, "to defend my doctrine: attack it, and I will defend it; or else return to your place. I will answer you when I have done." The schoolmaster remained a moment in suspense. "Very well," said he at last, and returned to his seat.

It was proposed to pass on to the doctrine of the sacraments. The Abbot of St. Luke's declared that he could not approach such a

¹ Totumque convivium sequi, grandem conflictum timentes. Zw. Epp. p. 371.

² Auf welches, ritten sie wieder heim. Ibid. p. 374.

³ Maest animo esse et interit. Ibid. p. 351.

⁴ Verbis dicit abstinete....opem forte egimus....sperem certissimum in Deo reponatis omnipotente. Zw. Epp. p. 351. There must be a mistake in the dates of one of the letters, 14th and 21st (anno 1524), or else one of Zwingle's letters to his fellow-countrymen is lost.

⁵ Parochia uno consensu statuerunt in verbo Dei manere. Ibid. p. 423.

⁶ Pars tertia papistarum est in immensum gloriantium se schismate inter nos facto. Ibid. p. 440.

¹ Sie wären gute arme Gesellen mit lehren Sackem. Füsel. Beytr. I. 356.

² Wäre die Griechische und Hebraische Sprache nicht in das Land gekommen. Ibid. 350.

³ Satzte den Fuss wie ein edler Ochse. Ibid. 348.

⁴ Den Pfeiffen zuzuhören, die....wie dem Fürsten hoheten. Ibid.

⁵ Blinsete mit den Augen, rumsfete die Stirne. Ibid. 348.

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ut awe, and the horrified curate
e the sign of the cross.

master of Coire, who had already
empt to attack Comander, began
olubility to argue in favour of
of the sacrament according to
his is my body."—"My dear
Comander, "how do you under-
ords, John is Elias?"—"I un-
died Berre, who saw what Co-
oming at, "that he was really
ly Elias."—"Why then," con-
nder, "did John the Baptist
the Pharisees that he was not
a schoolmaster was silent: at
ed, "It is true." Everybody
h, even those who had urged

of St. Luke's made a long
e eucharist, which closed the
Seven priests embraced the
loctrine; complete religious li-
claimed, and the Romish wor-
olished in several churches.
se the language of Salandro-
up every where in these moun-
ender grass of spring; and the
like living fountains, watering
lleys."¹

made still more rapid strides
The Dominicans, the Augus-
uchins, so long at enmity, were
; necessity of living together;
hell for these poor monks. In
ese corrupted institutions were
ols, an hospital, a theological
ing and charity every where
dolence and selfishness.

CHAPTER XIII.

putation to Berne—Bernese Mandate of
the Papacy—Discussion at Baden—Regu-
scussion—Riches and Poverty—Eck and
Discussion—Zwingli's Share in the Dis-
cussion of the Romanists—Abusive Language of
f the Disputation.

as of the Reformation could not
ced. Monks, priests, and pro-
tection, felt that the ground was
lipping from beneath their feet,

Romish Church was on the
ng under unprecedented dan-
garchs of the cantons, the ad-
ign pensions and capitulations,
could delay no longer, if they
serve their privileges; and at
ment when the Church was
d beginning to sink, they
their mailed hands to save it.
John Hug of Lucerne united
Faber; and the civil authority
support of that hierarchical

power which openeth its mouth to blaspheme
and maketh war upon the saints.¹

Their first efforts were directed against
Berne. The seven Roman-catholic cantons,
in collusion with the Bernese oligarchs, sent
a deputation to that city, who laid their
complaints before the council on Whitmon-
day 1526. "All order is destroyed in the
Church," said the schulthess (chief magis-
trate) of Lucerne; "God is blasphemed, the
sacraments, the mother of God, and the
saints, are despised, and imminent and ter-
rible calamities threaten to dissolve our
praiseworthy confederation." At the same
time the Bernese partisans of Rome, in har-
mony with the Forest cantons, had sum-
moned to Berne the deputies of the country,
chosen from those who were devoted to the
papacy. Some of them had the courage to
pronounce in favour of the Gospel. The sit-
ting was stormy. "Berne must renounce
the evangelical faith and walk with us,"
said the Forest cantons. The Bernese coun-
cils decreed that they would maintain "the
ancient christian faith, the holy sacraments,
the mother of God, the saints, and the orna-
ments of the churches."² Thus Rome
triumphed, and the mandate of 1526 was
about to annul that of 1523. In effect, all
the married priests not born in the canton
were compelled to leave it; they drove from
their borders all who were suspected of Lu-
theranism; they exercised a vigilant censor-
ship over every work sold by the booksellers,
and certain books were publicly burnt. Even
John Faber, with audacious falsehood, said
publicly that Haller had bound himself be-
fore the council to perform mass again, and
to preach the doctrine of Rome. It was re-
solved to take advantage of so favourable an
opportunity to crush the new faith.

For a long while public opinion had been
demanding a discussion; this was the only
means left of quieting the people.³ "Con-
vince us by the Holy Scriptures," said the
council of Zurich to the diet, "and we will
comply with your wishes."—"The Zurich-
ers," it was every where said, "have made
you a promise; if you can convince them
by the Bible, why not do so; if you cannot,
why do you not conform to the Bible?"

The conferences held at Zurich had exer-
cised an immense influence, and it was felt
necessary to oppose them by a conference
held in a Romish city, with all necessary
precautions to secure the victory to the
pope's party.

True, these discussions had been pro-
nounced unlawful, but means were found to
evade this difficulty. "It is only intended,"
said they, "to check and condemn the pesti-
lent doctrines of Zwingli."⁴ This being set-
tled, they looked about for a vigorous cham-

¹ Revelation xiii. 5, 6, 7.

² Actum uff den heil. Pfingstel Montag, 1526. Frobenius.

³ Das der gemein man, one eine offne Disputation, mit un-
stillen was. Basl. Chr. I. 321.

⁴ Diet of Lucerne, 15th March 1526.

et doctrina herescenti Christo apud
na. Zw. Epp. p. 463.

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pion, and Doctor Eck offered himself. He feared nothing. "Zwingle no doubt has milked more cows than he has read books," said he, according to Hofmeister's account.¹

The Great Council of Zurich sent Dr. Eck a safe-conduct to go direct to Zurich; but Eck replied that he would wait for the answer of the confederation. Zwingle then offered to dispute at Saint Gall or Schaffhausen; but the council, acting on an article of the federal compact, which provided "that every accused person should be tried in the place of his abode," ordered Zwingle to withdraw his offer.

At last the diet decided that the conference should take place at Baden on the 16th of May 1526. This meeting promised to be important; for it was the result and the seal of the alliance which had just been concluded between the clergy and the oligarchs of the confederation. "See," said Zwingle to Vadian, "what Faber and the oligarchs now venture to attempt."²

Accordingly, the decision of the diet produced a great sensation in Switzerland. It was not doubted that a conference held under such auspices would be favourable to the Reformation. Are not the five cantons the most devoted to the pope supreme in Baden? said the Zurichers. Have they not already declared Zwingle's doctrine heretical, and pursued it with fire and sword? Was not Zwingle burnt in effigy at Lucerne, with every mark of ignominy? At Friburg, were not his writings committed to the flames? Do they not every where call for his death? Have not the cantons that exercise sovereign rights in Baden declared, that in whatever part of their territory Zwingle made his appearance, he should be apprehended?³ Did not Uberlinger, one of their chiefs, say that the only thing in the world that he desired was to hang Zwingle, though he should be called a hangman all the rest of his days?⁴ And has not Doctor Eck himself, for years past, been crying out that the heretics must be attacked with fire and sword? What then will be the end of this conference? what other result can it have, but the death of the reformer?

Such were the fears that agitated the commission appointed at Zurich to examine into the affair. Zwingle, an eye-witness of their agitation, rose and said: "You know what happened at Baden to the valiant men of Stammheim, and how the blood of the Wirths dyed the scaffold.....and it is to the very place of their execution that they challenge us!.....Let Zurich, Berne, Saint Gall or even Basle, Constance, or Schaffhausen, be selected for the conference; let it be agreed to dis-

cuss essential points only, employ else than the Word of God; let n set above it; and then I am re pear."¹

Meanwhile, fanaticism was alre ring itself and striking down i On the 10th of May 1526, about fore the discussion at Baden, a headed by that same Faber who lenged Zwingle, condemned to th a heretic, an evangelical minis John Hugel, pastor of Lindau,² v to the place of execution singing t At the same time, another mi Spengler, was drowned at Fribur of the Bishop of Constance.

Sinister rumours reached Zwin quarters. His brother-in-law, Leor wrote to him from Berne: "I ei as you regard your life, not t Baden. I know that they will your safe-conduct."³

It was affirmed that a plan had ed to seize and gag him, throw boat, and carry him off to some se With these threats and persecut them, the council of Zurich de Zwingle should not go to Baden.⁵

The discussion being fixed for May, the disputants and the repr of the cantons and bishops bega gradually. On the side of the R cles appeared in the foremost pla like and vain-glorious Doctor E side of the Protestants, the r gentle Ecolampadius. The latt aware of the perils attending this "He had long hesitated, like a worried by furious dogs," says a rian; at length he decided on goir previously making this solemn "I acknowledge no other standa ment than the Word of God." had earnestly desired that Zwin share his danger;⁶ but he soon l vinced that, if the intrepid doc peared in that fanatical city, t the Romanists, kindling at his s have caused the death of both of

The first step was to determin lations of the conference. Doct posed that the deputies of the For should be empowered to pronour judgment; which was, in truth, t the condemnation of the reforme Thomas Plater, who had come t to attend the colloquy, was des Ecolampadius to ask Zwingle Arriving during the night, he w

¹ Er habe wohl mehr Kühe gemolken, als Bücher gelesen. Zw. Opp. II. 405.

² Vide nunc quid audeant oligarchi atque Faber. Zw. Opp. p. 464.

³ Zwingle in threm Gebiet, wo er betreten werde, gefangen zu nehmen. Zw. Opp. II. 422.

⁴ Da wollte er gern all sein Lebtag ein Henker genannt werden. Ibid. 464.

¹ Wellend wir ganz geneigt syn zu crachy II. 423.

² Hunc hominem hereticum damnatus conciliamus. Rotting. Helv. K. Gesch. III.

³ Cerealis per caput vestrum....Zw. Opp.

⁴ Navigio captum, ore mox oburato, oia tandum. Osw. Mjc. VII. Zw.

⁵ Zwingleum Senatus Tigurinus Badenam savit. Ibid.

⁶ Si periclitaberis, periclitabimur omne Epp. p. 312.

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nitted into the reformer's house. "disturber," said Zwingle to him, ed his eyes, "for six weeks I have o bed, owing to this discussion.¹ are your tidings?" Plater stated unds. "And who can make those nderstand such things?" replied "they would be much more at ilking their cows."²

1st of May the conference opened. Faber, accompanied by prelates, s, and doctors, robed in garments and silk, and adorned with rings, l crosses,³ repaired to the church. itly ascended a pulpit splendidly while the humble Eccolampadius, thed, was forced to take his seat ' his opponent on a rudely carved ll the time the conference lasted." ronicler Bullinger, "Eck and his re lodged at the Baden parsonage, iptuously, living gaily and scan- and drinking much wine, with abbot of Wettingen provided them.⁴ the baths at Baden (it was said) wine. The evangelicals, on the made a sorry appearance, and the rged at them, as at a troop of men- Their way of living was in strong that of the papal champions. The of the *Pike*, the inn at which Eco- lodged, being curious to know tter did in his room, reported that he peeped in, he found him read- ing. "It must be confessed (said is a very pious heretic." ution lasted eighteen days, and a whole time the clergy walked lemn procession, chanting litanies enure victory. Eck alone spoke of the Romish doctrines. He was ampion of the Leipsic disputation, ame German accent, broad shoul- strong lungs,—an excellent town- in outward appearance having nblance to a butcher than a theo- according to his usual custom he rith great violence, seeking to gall aries by sarcasm, and from time to ing out an oath.⁵ But the presi- called him to order.

a with his feet, and thumps with his hands, ers, he swears, and he scolds; the pope and the cardinals teach, ith, he declares, that he holds.⁶

padius, on the contrary, with his ires and noble and patriarchal air, h so much mildness, and at the s with such courage and ability,

that even his adversaries, affected and im- pressed, said one to another: "Oh! that the tall fallow man were on our side."¹.....At times, however, he was moved when he saw the hatred and violence of his auditors: "How impatiently they listen to me!" said he; "but God will not forsake his glory; and that is all we seek."²

Eccolampadius having combated Dr. Eck's first thesis on the real presence, Haller, who had come to Baden after the opening of the conference, entered the lists against the second. But little used to such conferences, of a timid character, tied down by the orders of his government, and embarrassed by the looks of his avoyer, Gaspard of Mullinen, a great enemy to the Reformation, Haller pos- sessed not the haughty confidence of his opponent; but he had more real strength. When Haller had finished, Eccolampadius returned to the combat, and pressed Eck so closely, that the latter was compelled to fall back on the customs of the Church. "Custom," replied Eccolampadius, "has no force in our Switzerland, unless it be according to the constitution; now, in matters of faith, the Bible is our constitution."

The third thesis on the invocation of saints; the fourth on images; the fifth on purgatory, were successively discussed. No one rose to contest the truth of the two last, which turned on original sin and baptism.

Zwingle took an active part in the whole of the discussion. The Romish party, which had appointed four secretaries, had forbidden all other persons to take notes under pain of death.³ But Jerome Walsch, a student from the Valais, who possessed an excellent memory, impressed on his mind all that he heard, and on returning home, hastened to commit it to writing. Thomas Plater and Zimmermann of Winterthur carried these notes to Zwingle every day, with letters from Eccolampadius, and brought back the reformer's answers. Soldiers armed with halberds were posted at all the gates of Baden, and it was only by inventing different excuses that these two messengers evaded the inquiries of the sentinels, who could not understand why they were so frequently passing to and fro.⁴ Thus Zwingle, though absent from Baden in body, was present in spirit.

He advised and strengthened his friends, and refuted his adversaries. "Zwingle," said Oswald Myconius, "has laboured more by his meditations, his sleepless nights, and the advice which he transmitted to Baden,

¹ O were der lange gäl man uff unser syten. Bull. Chr. l. 363.

² Domino suam gloriam, quam salvam cupimus ne uti- quam deserturo. Zw. Epp. p. 511.

³ Man sollte elnem ohne aller weiter Urtheilen, den Kopf abhauen. Thom. Plater's Lebens Beschreib. p. 262.

⁴ When they asked me: "What are you going to do?" I replied: "I am carrying chickens to sell to the gentlemen at the baths;" for they gave me some chickens at Zurich, and the sentries could not make out how I procured them always, and in so short a time. Plater's Autobiography, p. 262. Leben's Beschreib.

n sechs Wochen nie in das Beth Kommen. n, p. 262.

inden sich bas auf Kuh milken. Ibid. n, Damast und Sammet bekleydet. Bull.

ten vil wyn. Ibid. l. 361.

schüß imm etwas ein Schwür. Ibid.

rg zähet mit fussen und henden

ing an schelken und schenden, &c.

emporary Poems by Nicholas Manuel of Berne.

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than he would have done by discussing in person in the midst of his enemies."¹

During the whole conference, the Roman-catholics were in commotion, sending letters in every direction and loudly boasting of their victory. "Ecolampadius," exclaimed they, "vanquished by Dr. Eck and laid prostrate in the lists, has sung his recantation;² the dominion of the pope will be every where restored."³ These statements were circulated through the cantons, and the people, prompt to believe every thing they heard, gave credit to all the vaunts of the Romish partisans.

When the dispute was finished, the monk Murner of Lucerne, nicknamed "the tom-cat," stepped forward, and read forty charges against Zwingle. "I thought," said he, "that the coward would come and reply to them; but he has not appeared. Well, then, by every law, both human and divine, I declare forty times that the tyrant of Zurich and all his partisans are traitors, liars, perjurers, adulterers, infidels, robbers, sacrilegers, gallows-birds, and such that every honest man must blush at having any intercourse whatever with them." Such was the abuse which at this time was honoured with the name of "christian controversy," by doctors whom the Romish church should herself disavow.

Great agitation prevailed in Baden; the general impression was, that the Roman champions had talked the loudest, but argued the weakest.⁴ Only Ecolampadius and ten of his friends voted against Eck's theses; while eighty persons, including the presidents of the debate and all the monks of Wittingen, adopted them. Haller had quitted Baden before the end of the conference.

The majority of the diet then decreed that, as Zwingle, the chief of this pestilent doctrine, had refused to appear, and as the ministers who had come to Baden had resisted all conviction, they were all together cast out from the bosom of the catholic church.⁵

CHAPTER XIV.

Consequences at Basle, Berne, Saint Gall, and other Places
—Diet at Zurich—The small Cantons—Threat against
Berne—Foreign Support.

But this famous conference, owing to the zeal of the oligarchs and clergy, was destined

to be fatal to both. Those who bated for the Gospel were, on the home, to fill their countrymen with siasm for the cause they had and two of the most important of the Helvetic alliance, Berne and F, thenceforth to begin their separ the papacy.

The first blows were to fall on C dius, a stranger in Switzerland; not return to Basle without app But his anxiety was soon dissipated by the mildness of his language had stri partial witnesses, much more the mours of Dr. Eck, and all pious me him with acclamation. The s made, in truth, every exertion to from the pulpit, but in vain; he t preached with greater energy th and the people had never shown s for the Word.¹

Similar results followed at Be conference at Baden, intended to Reformation, gave it a new impr canton, the most powerful of all league. Haller had no sooner arri capital, than the Smaller Council him before them, and ordered h brate the mass. Haller demand sion to reply before the Great Co the people, thinking it their duty their pastor, hastened to the spot. alarm declared that he would ra the city than be the occasion of s bance. Upon this, tranquillity stored: "If I am required to pe ceremony," said the reformer, "sign my office; the honour of Go truth of his Holy Word are dea than any care about what I sh wherewithal I shall be clothed." uttered these words with emotion; bers of the council were affected; of his opponents burst into tear more it was found that moder stronger than force. To satisfy some degree, Haller was depriv canonry, but nominated preacher. violent enemies, Lewis and Anth bach, and Anthony d'Erlach, incen resolution, immediately withdrew council and the city, and renou citizenship. "Berne stumbled," s "but has risen up again with greate than ever." This firmness in th made a deep impression in Switzer

But the results of the conference were not limited to Basle and Ber these events were taking place powerful cities, a movement, mo similar, was going on in several of of the confederation. The preach Gall, on their return from Baden, I

¹ Quam laborasset disputando vel inter medios hostes. Osw. Myn. Vita Zw.—See also Zwingle's several writings having reference to the Baden disputation. Opp. ii. pp. 308-320.

² Ecolampadius victus jacet in arena prostratus ab Ecolio, herbam porrexit. Zw. Epp. p. 514.

³ Specimen concipit letam fore ut regnum ipsorum restitutor. Ibid. 514.

⁴ Die Evangelische waren wol *abgeschrien*, nicht aber *abdisputiert* worden. Hotting. Helv. K. Gesch. iii. 320.

⁵ Von gemeiner Kytchen ausgestossen. Bull. Chr. p. 246.

¹ Piebe Verbt Domini admodum sitiente. Z

² Tiller, Gesch. v. Bern., iii. 242.

³ Proffit hic nobis Bernates tam dextre Berchtoldo suo eglass. Ecol. ad Zw. Epp. p. 2

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the images were removed from church of St. Lawrence after a and the inhabitants sold their nts, their jewels, rings, and gold and almshouses. The Reforma- d, but it was to clothe the poor; ils were those of the reformed

usen the Gospel was preached courage; Thurgovia and the ily approximated more and more Immediately after the disputa- removed the images from its id almost the whole district of ed the Gospel.

vas better calculated to show had really triumphed; and gle, as he looked around him, God. "We have been attacked ys," said he, "but the Lord is ve their threats, but also above selves. In the city and canton re is an admirable agreement in Gospel. We shall overcome all rayer offered up with faith."³ after, addressing Haller, Zwin- Every thing here below has its rude north wind is followed by eeze. After the scorching heat autumn pours forth its treasures. ter severe contests, the Creator , whom we serve, has opened a to the camp of our adversaries. may welcome among us the trine, that dove so long repulsed, ased not to watch for the hour n. Be thou the Noah to receive ."

year, Zurich had made an im- ision. Conrad Pellican, super- ranciscans at Basle, professor of e age of twenty-four, had been ough Zwingle's exertions, to be essor at Zurich. "I have long eed the pope," said he on ar- desired to live to Jesus Christ."⁴ his critical talents, became one useful labourers in the work of tion.

ill excluded from the diet by the ons, wishing to take advantage avourable disposition manifested he confederates, convened, in the ' 1527, a diet to be held in Zurich deputies of Berne, Basle, Schaff- enzell, and St. Gall, attended it. , said the deputies of Zurich, ord of God, which leads us solely cified, should be the only thing ight, and exalted. We abandon doctrines, whatever may have

been the custom of our forefathers; being assured that had they possessed this light of the Divine Word which we enjoy, they would have embraced it with more reverence than we their feeble descendants have done."¹ The deputies present promised to take the representations of Zurich into consideration.

Thus the breach in the walls of Rome was widened daily. The discussion at Baden had been intended to repair it; and from that time, on the contrary, the wavering cantons seemed willing to walk with Zurich. Already the inhabitants of the plain inclined towards the Reformation; already it was hemming in the mountains; already it was invading them, and the primitive cantons, which were as the cradle, and are still the citadel, of Switzerland, shut up in their higher Alps, seemed alone to adhere firmly to the doctrine of their sires. These mountaineers, continually exposed to violent storms, to avalanches, to overflowing torrents and rivers, are compelled all their lives to struggle against these formidable enemies, and to sacrifice every thing to preserve the meadow in which their herds graze, and the cottage where they shelter themselves from the storms, and which the first inundation sweeps away. Accordingly the conservative principle is strongly developed in them, and transmitted from age to age, from generation to generation. To preserve what they have received from their fathers constitutes the whole wisdom of these mountains. These rude Helvetians were then struggling against the Reformation, which aimed at changing their faith and their worship, as they struggle to this day against the torrents that fall in thunder from their snowy peaks, or against the new political ideas that have been established at their very doors in the surrounding cantons. They will be the last to lay down their arms before that twofold power which already raises its banners on all the hills around, and threatens daily and more nearly these conservative districts.

Accordingly these cantons, at the period which I am recording, still more irritated against Berne than against Zurich, and trembling lest this powerful state should desert them, assembled their deputies in Berne itself a week after the conference at Zurich. They called on the council to depose the new teachers, to prosecute their doctrines, and to maintain the ancient and true christian faith, as confirmed by past ages, and confessed by the martyrs. "Convoke all the bailiwicks of the canton," added they; "if you refuse, we will take it upon ourselves." The Bernese replied with irritation: "We have power enough ourselves to speak to those under our jurisdiction."

This reply only increased the anger of the Forest Cantons, and these cantons, which

s officis suis restitutos. Zw. Epp. p. 51a. sider, Kleinodien, Ring, Ketten, &c. frey. Hotk. III. p. 32a.

ratione omnia superabimus. Zw. Epp. p. apor remanenti et Christo vivere consuevit.

¹ Mit höherem Werth und mehr Dankbarkeit dann wir angenommen. Zurich. Archiv, Absch. Sonntag nach Licht. messe.

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had been the cradle of the political freedom of Switzerland, alarmed at the progress of religious liberty, began to seek, even from without, for allies to destroy it. To combat the enemies of foreign service, that foreign service might reasonably be resorted to; and if the oligarchy of Switzerland could not suffice alone, was it not natural to have recourse to the princes, their allies? In fact, Austria, who had found it impossible to maintain her own authority in the confederation, was ready to interfere to strengthen the power of Rome. Berne learnt with dismay that Ferdinand, brother of Charles V., was making preparations against Zurich and all those who adhered to the Reformation.¹

Circumstances were becoming more critical. A succession of events, more or less unfortunate, the excesses of the anabaptists, the disputes with Luther on the Eucharist, and others besides, appear to have seriously compromised the Reformation in Switzerland. The discussion at Baden had disappointed the hopes of the papal party, and the sword they had brandished against their adversaries had broken in their hands; but this had only increased their vexation and anger, and they were preparing for a fresh effort. Already the imperial power itself was beginning to move; and the Austrian

¹ Berne to Zurich, Monday after *Misericordia*. Kirchhoff. R. Haller, p. 28.

bands which had been routed in the dells of Morgarten and on the heights of Sempach, were ready to enter Switzerland with colours flying to re-establish the tottering power of Rome. The moment was critical; it was no longer possible to halt between two opinions, and be neither "muddy nor clear." Berne and other cantons, which had long hesitated, were now to come to a decision. They must either promptly return to the papacy, or take their stand with fresh courage under the banners of Christ.

A Frenchman from the mountains of Dauphiny, William Farel by name, at this time gave a powerful impulse to Switzerland, decided the Reformation of Roman Helvetia, still immersed in deep slumber, and thus turned the balance throughout the whole confederation in favour of the new doctrines. Farel arrived on the field of battle like those fresh troops which, when the issue of the contest hangs in the balance, rush into the thickest of the fight and decide the victory. He prepared the way in Switzerland for another Frenchman, whose austere faith and commanding genius were to put a finishing hand to the Reformation, and make the work complete. By means of these illustrious men, France took her part in that vast commotion which agitated christian society. It is now time that we should turn our eyes towards that country.

BOOK XII.

THE FRENCH. 1500—1526.

CHAPTER I.

Universality of Christianity—Enemies of the Reform in France—Heresy and Persecution in Dauphiny—A country Mansion—The Farel Family—Pilgrimage to the Holy Cross—Immorality and Superstition—William desires to become a Student.

UNIVERSALITY is one of the essential characteristics of Christianity. It is not so with human religions. They are adapted to certain nations, and to the degree of cultivation at which they have arrived; they keep these nations stationary, or if by any extraordinary circumstance the people attain a fuller growth, their religion is left behind, and by that means becomes useless to them.

There has been an Egyptian, a Grecian, a Latin, and even a Jewish religion; Christianity is the only religion of mankind.

Its starting point in man is sin; and this is a characteristic not peculiar to any one race, but is the heritage of every human

being. Hence the Gospel, as satisfying the universal and most elevated wants of our nature, is received as coming from God by the most barbarous and by the most civilized nations. It does not, like the religions of antiquity, deify national peculiarities; but it does not destroy them as modern communism would do. It does better; it sanctifies, ennobles, and raises them to a holy unity by the new and living principle it communicates to them.

The introduction of Christianity into the world has wrought a great revolution in history. Until then, there had only been a history of nations; now there is a history of mankind; and the idea of a universal education of the human race, accomplished by Jesus Christ, has become the historian's compass, the clue to history, and the hope of the nations.

But Christianity exerts its influence not

nations, but also on every period of history.

moment of its appearance, the like a torch about to become extinguished, Christianity rekindled it with fire.

At last, the barbarian tribes, having entered the Roman empire, had shattered and ended every thing; and Christianity, by its burning that desolating torrent of error, subdued by it the savage nations of the north, and gave society a

element of corruption already lay in religion carried by courageous men to those barbarous tribes. Their minds from Rome almost as much as from the East. This element soon gathered round every where substituted himself,—the essential characteristic of the church; and a renovation of religion necessary. This Christianity ended at the epoch of which we are

history of the Reformation in the fact that we have hitherto surveyed only the new doctrine rejecting the errors of the anabaptists and of the Catholics; but in the country towards which now turn our attention, infidelity which it has to encounter. No colder protests been made against traditions and abuses of the Church: and there been a more striking denial of a certain love of learning, in favour of Christianity, which often ends in France carried in her bosom nations at the same time,—the nation, the other of God. "Two nations in her womb, and two manner were to be separated from her

and, the Reformation had to combat with infidelity as well as superstition: there was a third antagonist which yet encountered, at least in such of the people of German origin: immorality. The scandals in the church were very great; debauchery sat on the throne of Francis I. and Catherine de Medici, and the austere virtues of the past were these "Sardanapalus." There is, no doubt, but especially in the Reformation was of necessity doctrinal and ecclesiastical, but

valent enemies which the Reformation met simultaneously in France, character altogether peculiar. Not so often dwell in dungeons, or resemble primitive Christianity in simplicity, and in the number of its faithful, in the countries of which we have spoken, the Reformation was

more glorious by its triumphs, in that which is now to engage our attention, it was still more so by its defeats. If elsewhere it could point to thrones and sovereign councils, here it might point to scaffolds and "hill-side" meetings. Whoever knows what constitutes the true glory of Christianity upon earth, and the features that assimilate it to its Head, will study with a livelier feeling of respect and love the often blood-stained history that we now proceed to relate.

The majority of the men who have afterwards glittered on the stage of the world were born in the provinces where their minds first began to expand. Paris is a tree that presents many flowers and fruits to the eye, but whose roots spread far and wide into the bosom of the earth, to draw from thence the nutritious juices which they transform. The Reformation also followed this law.

The Alps, which beheld bold and Christian men spring up in every canton and almost in every valley of Switzerland, were destined in France also to cover with their lengthened shadows the infancy of some of the first reformers. For ages they had guarded the treasure more or less pure in their high valleys, among the inhabitants of the Piedmontese districts of Luzerne, Angrogne, and La Peyrouse. The truth, which Rome could not reach there, had spread from these valleys to the other side of those mountains, and along their base to Provence and Dauphiny.

The year after the accession of Charles VIII., son of Louis XI., a sickly and timid child, Innocent VIII. had assumed the pontifical tiara (1484). He had seven or eight sons by different mothers; and hence, according to an epigram of the times, Rome unanimously saluted him with the name of Father.¹

There was at that time on all the slopes of the Dauphinese Alps, and along the banks of the Durance, a new growth of the old Waldensian opinions. "The roots," says an old chronicler, "were continually putting forth new shoots in every direction."² Bold men called the Roman Church the church of devils, and maintained that it was as profitable to pray in a stable as in a church.

The priests, the bishops, and the Roman legates uttered a cry of alarm, and on the 5th kalends of May (27th April) 1487, Innocent VIII., the father of the Romans, issued a bull against these humble Christians. "To arms," said the pontiff, "and trample these heretics under foot as venomous serpents."³

At the approach of the legate, followed by an army of eighteen thousand men and a

¹ Octo nocens pueros genuit totidem puellas.

Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma Patrem.

² In Ebrundensi archiepiscopatu veteres Waldensium hereticorum filios repullularunt. Raynald, Annals Eccles. ad ann. 1487.

³ Armis insurgant, eosque veluti aspidos venenosos..... concutiant. Bull of Innocent VIII. preserved at Cambridge. Leger, ii. 4.

²⁵ as (Henry II.) later scorta. Calvin's Epp.

number of volunteers, who wished to share the spoils of the Waldenses, the latter abandoned their houses and took refuge in the mountains, caverns, and clefts of the rocks, as the birds flee for shelter when the storm begins to lower. Not a valley, nor a wood, nor a rock, escaped their persecutors; every where in this part of the Alps, and particularly on the Italian side, these poor disciples of Christ were hunted down like beasts of prey. At last the pope's satellites were worn out: their strength was exhausted, their feet could no longer scale the steep retreats of the "heretics," and their arms refused to strike.

In these alpine districts, then disturbed by Romish fanaticism, three leagues from the ancient town of Gap,¹ in the direction of Grenoble, not far from the flowery turf that clothes the table-land of Bayard's mountain, at the foot of the Aiguille and near the pass of Glaize, towards the place where the Buzon takes its rise, stood and still stands a group of houses, half hidden by the surrounding trees, and which bears the name of Farel,—or, in the dialect of the country, Fareau.² On an extensive terrace raised above the neighbouring cottages might be seen a house of that class which is denominated *Gentil-homme*, a manor-house. It was surrounded by an orchard which led to the village. Here, in these days of trouble, dwelt a noble family of established piety, known by the name of Farel.³ In 1489, the very year in which the papacy was employing its severest measures in Dauphiny, was born in this modest mansion a son who received the name of William. Three brothers, Daniel, Walter, and Claude, and one sister, grew up with William, and shared his sports on the banks of the Buzon and at the foot of the Bayard.

There William's childhood and early youth were passed. His parents were among the most devoted servants of the papacy. "My father and mother believed every thing," he tells us himself; "and accordingly they brought up their children in all the observances of Romish devotion."

God had bestowed rare qualities on William Farel, such as were fitted to give him a great ascendancy over his fellows. Possessing a penetrating mind and lively imagination, sincere and upright, having a greatness of soul that never allowed him, at whatever risk, to betray the convictions of his heart, he was remarkable also for ardour, fire, in-

domitable courage, and daring, which shrunk from any obstacle. But, at the same time, he had all the defects allied to these qualities; and his parents were compelled to check his impetuosity.

William threw himself with his usual impetuosity into the superstitious habits of his family. "I am horror-struck," he said, "when I consider the hours, the days, and the divine honours, which I have offered and caused others to offer to other such things."⁴

Four leagues to the south of Tallard, on a hill that rises above the petuous stream of the Durance, was in great repute, named Sainte Croix (cross). William was only seven years old when his father and mother resolved to take him thither on a pilgrimage. "The cross in that place," they said, "is made of the very wood on which Christ was crucified."

The family began their journey, and last reached the highly venerated spot, where they all fell prostrate, gazing for a time on the sacred wood of the cross, the latter being the priest told them) of the basin (Christ washed his apostles' feet, then turned their eyes to a small crucifix to the cross: "When the devil saw and thunder," continued the priest, "the crucifix moves about so violently, seems to get loose from the cross, as if it were running at the devil, at times throwing out sparks of fire, and at times throwing out sparks of fire the storm; if it were not for this it would be left upon earth."⁵

The pious pilgrims were deeply struck by the account of these wonderful things. "No one," continued the priest, "knows aught of these things except this man." The pilgrims turned their heads, and saw a strange-looking man standing near them. "It was for nothing to look at him," said Farel.⁶ He covered the pupils of his eyes, they were there in reality, or he made them appear so." This extraordinary man, whom the incredulous deniers of the priest's wizard, "on being asked by the latter, immediately replied that the prodigy was true."⁷

A new episode completed the picture, mingling a suspicion of criminality with these superstitions. "There was a young woman, intent on other than that of the cross, carrying a bundle wrapped in a cloth. Then she stepped up, took hold of the woman and led her into the chapel. I may assert, that never did dancer take and lead her out more lovingly than

¹ Chief town of the Hautes Alpes.

² Revue du Dauphiné, July 1857, p. 36. As you go from Grenoble to Gap, a quarter of an hour's journey beyond the last post-house, and about a stone's throw to the right of the high-road, may be seen the village of the Farel's. The site of the house inhabited by Farel's father is still shown. It is now occupied only by a cottage, but from its dimensions it may be seen that it could not have belonged to an ordinary house. The present inhabitant bears the name of Farel. I am indebted for this information to M. Blanc, pastor of Mens.

³ Guillemum Farelum, Delphinatensem, nobilit familia ortum. J. Calvin, writing to Cardinal Sadoleto, gets off Farel's disinterestedness—*sorti de si noble maison* (coming from so noble a family). Opuscule, p. 145.

⁴ Du vrai usage de la croix, par Guillaume Farel, p. 227.

⁵ Du vrai usage de la croix, by W. Farel, p. 1.
⁶ J'estoye fort petit et à peine je savoye lire. Le premier pèlerinage auquel j'ay esté a esté crucif. Ibid. p. 230.

⁷ Ibid. p. 230-231.

⁸ Ibid. p. 227.

⁹ Ibid.

was our blindness, that neither their gestures, even when they had in an unseemly manner before us, otherwise than good and holy. It that the woman and my gallant of understood the miracle thoroughly, it a cover to their intercourse."¹

a faithful picture of religion and France at the commencement of nation. Morality and belief were oned, and both required a powerful 1. The greater the value attached d works, the farther men were rem sanctification of heart; dead or had been every where substituted tian life, and a strange but not union had taken place between the idalous debauchery and the most us devotion. Theft had been com ore the altar, seduction practised fessional, poison mingled with the d elements, adultery perpetrated at f the cross. Superstition, by de-elief, had destroyed morality.

were, however, numerous excep-e Christianity of the middle ages. perstitious faith might be sincere, is William Farel is an example. zeal that afterwards urged him to o many different places to spread ledge of Jesus Christ was at this actng him wherever the Church a miracle or claimed any adoration. had its seven wonders, which long the power of striking the imagina-people.² But the beauties of narounded him had also their in-raising his soul to the Creator. gnificent chain of the Alps, those covered with eternal snow,—those , here rearing their sharp peaks to ere stretching their immense and ges high above the clouds, as if an i suspended in the air,—all these f creation, which were at this time he soul of Ulrich Zwingli in the g, were appealing also in mute but anguage to the heart of William g the mountains of Dauphiny. He r life, for knowledge, and for light; red to be something great;—he aission to study.

a great blow to his father, who at a young noble ought to know eyond his rosary and his sword. ne fame was trumpeting the prow-outhful countryman of William Dauphinese like himself, named l, but better known as Bayard, e battle of the Tar, on the other Alps, had just given a signal dis-urage. "Such sons," it was ob-are like arrows in the hand of a a. Blessed is the man that hath

his quiver full of them!" Accordingly, Farel's father opposed the taste which Wil liam manifested for learning. But the young man was not to be shaken. God destined him for nobler conquests than those of Bayard. He persevered in his entreaties, and the old gentleman gave way at last.¹

Farel immediately applied to study with surprising ardour. The masters whom he found in Dauphiny were of little help to him, and he had to contend with bad methods and the incapability of his teachers.² These difficulties excited instead of discouraging him, and he soon surmounted these obstacles. His brothers followed his example. Daniel afterwards entered on the career of politics, and was employed in important negotiations concerning religion.³ Walter gained the entire confidence of the Count of Furstemberg.

Farel, eager in the pursuit of knowledge, having learnt all that could be acquired in his province, turned his eyes elsewhere. The renown of the university of Paris had long filled the christian world. He desired to see "that mother of all learning, that true lamp of the Church which never knew eclipse, that clear and polished mirror of the faith, dimmed by no cloud, and spotted by no touch."⁴ He obtained the permission of his parents, and set out for the capital of France.

CHAPTER II.

Louis XII. and the Assembly of Tours—Francis and Margaret—Learned Men—Lefevre—His Courses at the University—Meeting between Lefevre and Farel—Farel's Hesitation and Researches—First Awakening—Lefevre's Prophecy—Teaches Justification by Faith—Objections—Disorder of the Colleges—Effects on Farel—Election—Sanctification of Life.

ONE day in the year 1510, or shortly after, the young Dauphinese arrived in Paris. The province had made him an ardent follower of the papacy; the capital was to make him something very different. In France the Reformation was not destined to go forth, as in Germany, from a small city. All the movements that agitate the people proceed from the metropolis. A concurrence of providential circumstances made Paris, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a focus whence a spark of life might easily escape. The young man from the neighbourhood of Gap, who arrived there humble and ignorant, was to receive that spark in his heart, and share it with many others.

¹ Cum a parentibus vix impetrassem ad litteras concussum, (Farel, Natall Galeote, 1527. MS. letters belonging to the consistory of Neuchâtel.)

² A præceptoribus principis in Latina lingua ineptissimè institutus. Farel's Epist.

³ Vie de Farel. MS. at Geneva.

⁴ Universitatem Parisiensem matrem omnium scientiarum....speculum fidelitatis et pietatis....Prima Apollis, Universit. an. 1394, Balaus, iv. p. 94.

sage de la croix, par Guillaume Farel. p. 235. ag spring, the cisterns of Basenage, the upon, &c.

and night, in serving the devil," said he, "after the fashion of that man of sin, the pope. I had my Pantheon in my heart, and such a troop of mediators, saviours, and gods, that I might well have passed for a papal register."

The darkness could not grow deeper; the morning star was soon to arise, and it was destined to appear at Lefevre's voice. There were already some gleams of light in the doctor of Etaples; an inward conviction told him that the Church could not long remain in its actual position; and often, at the very moment of his return from saying mass, or of rising from before some image, the old man would turn towards his youthful disciple, and grasping him by the hand would say in a serious tone of voice: "My dear William, God will renew the world, and you will see it!"¹ Farel did not thoroughly understand these words. Yet Lefevre did not confine himself to this mysterious language; a great change which was then wrought in him, was destined to produce a similar effect on his disciple.

The old doctor was engaged in a laborious task; he was carefully collecting the legends of the saints and martyrs, and arranging them according to the order in which their names are found in the calendar. Two months had already been printed, when one of those beams of light which come from heaven, suddenly illuminated his soul. He could not resist the disgust which such puerile superstitions must ever cause in the heart of a Christian. The sublimity of the Word of God made him perceive the paltry nature of these fables. They now appeared to him no better than "brimstone fit to kindle the fire of idolatry."² He abandoned his work, and throwing these legends aside, turned ardently towards the Holy Scriptures. At the moment when Lefevre, quitting the wondrous tales of the saints, laid his hand on the Word of God, a new era began in France, and was the commencement of the Reformation.

In effect, Lefevre, weaned from the fables of the Breviary, began to study the Epistles of St. Paul; the light increased rapidly in his heart, and he immediately imparted to his disciples that knowledge of the truth which we find in his commentaries.³ Strange doctrines were those for the school and for the age, which were then first heard in Paris, and disseminated by the press throughout the christian world. We may easily understand that the young disciples who listened to

them were aroused, impressed, and changed by them; and that thus, prior to the year 1512, the dawn of a brighter day was preparing for France.

The doctrine of justification by faith, which overthrew by a single blow the subtleties of the schoolmen and the observances of popery, was boldly proclaimed in the bosom of the Sorbonne. "It is God alone," said the doctor, and the vaulted roofs of the university must have been astonished as they re-echoed such strange sounds, "it is God alone, who by his grace, through faith, justifies unto everlasting life."⁴ There is a righteousness of works, there is a righteousness of grace; the one cometh from man, the other from God; one is earthly and passeth away, the other is heavenly and eternal; one is the shadow and the sign, the other the light and the truth; one makes sin known to us that we may escape death, the other reveals grace that we may obtain life."⁵

"What then?" asked his hearers, as they listened to this teaching, which contradicted that of four centuries; "has any one man been ever justified without works?" "One," answered Lefevre, "they are innumerable. How many people of disorderly lives, who have ardently prayed for the grace of baptism, possessing faith alone in Christ, and who, if they died the moment after, have entered into the life of the blessed without works!"—"If, therefore, we are not justified by works, it is in vain that we perform them," replied some. The Paris doctor answered, and the other reformers would not perhaps have altogether approved of this reply: "Certainly not! they are not in vain. If I hold a mirror to the sun, its image is reflected; the more I polish and clear it, the brighter is the reflection; but if we allow it to become tarnished, the splendour of the sun is dimmed. It is the same with justification in those who lead an impure life." In this passage, Lefevre, like Augustine in many, does not perhaps make a sufficient distinction between sanctification and justification. The doctor of Etaples reminds us strongly of the Bishop of Hippo. Those who lead an unholy life have never received justification, and therefore cannot lose it. But Lefevre may have intended to say that the Christian, when he has fallen into any sin, loses the assurance of salvation, and not salvation itself. If so, there is no objection to be made against his doctrine.

Thus a new life and a new teaching had penetrated into the university of Paris. The doctrine of faith, formerly preached in Gaul by Pothinus and Irenæus, was heard there again. From this time there were two parties, two people in this great school of Christendom. Lefevre's lessons and the zeal

¹ A tons seigneur.—See also his letter to Pellican. Ante annos plus minus quadraginta, me manu apprehensum ita alloquebatur: "Guillaume, oportet orbem immutari et tu videris."

² A tons seigneur, peuples et pasteurs.

³ The first edition of his Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul is, if I mistake not, that of 1512. A copy is extant in the Bibliothèque Royale of Paris. The second edition is that from which I quote. The learned Simon says (Observations on the New Testament), that "James Lefevre deserves to be ranked among the most skillful commentators of the age." We should give him greater praise than this.

⁴ Solus enim Deus est qui hanc justitiam per fidem tribuit, qui sola gratia ad vitam justificat eternam. Fabri Comm. in Epp. Pauli, p. 70.

⁵ Illa umbratile vestigium atque signum, hanc lux et veritas est. Fabri Comm. in Epp. Pauli, p. 70.

iples formed the most striking contrast to scholastic teaching of the major doctors, and the irregular and lives of most of the students. In yes, they were far more busily learning their parts in comedies, rading, and in mountebank farces, studying the oracles of God. In the honour of the great, of the king himself, was frequently

The parliament interfered about it; and summoning the principals colleges before them, forbade those masters to permit such dramas to be acted in their houses.¹

more powerful diversion than the parliament suddenly came to correct disorders. Jesus Christ was

Great was the uproar on the part of the university, and the students occupy themselves almost as much with evangelical doctrines as with the of the school or with comedies. those whose lives were the least able, adhered however to the doctors; and feeling that the doctrine condemned their way of living, they that St. James was opposed to St. Lefevre, resolving to defend the one he had discovered, showed the agreement these two apostles: "Does not St. James his first chapter declare that every perfect gift cometh down from above, who will deny that justification is good and perfect gift?.....If we are moving, the respiration that we breathe to us a sign of life. Thus works of the law, but only as signs of a living faith, which is accompanied by justification. The lives or lotions give light to the soul. No! it is the influence of the sun. In these lotions and these eye-our works. The ray that the sun sends above is justification itself."²

He listened earnestly to this teaching. The doctrine of salvation by grace had indeed an indescribable charm for him. The election fell: every struggle ceased. He had Lefevre put forward this doctrine. Farel embraced it with all the strength of his soul. He had undergone many conflicts enough to be aware that he could not save himself. Accordingly, when he saw in the Word that God freely justified, he believed. "Lefevre," said he, "has indicated me from the false opinion of merits, and taught me that every man comes from grace: which I believed as he was spoken."³ Thus by a prompt and decisive as that of St.

Paul was Farel led to the faith,—that Farel who (as Theodore Beza says) undismayed by difficulties, threats, abuse, or blows, won over to Jesus Christ Montbelliard, Neuchâtel, Lausanne, Aigle, and finally Geneva.⁴

Meanwhile Lefevre, continuing his lessons, and delighting, as Luther did, in employing contrasts and paradoxes containing weighty truths, extolled the greatness of the mysteries of redemption: "Ineffable exchange," exclaimed he, "the innocent One is condemned and the criminal acquitted; the blessing is cursed, and he who was cursed is blessed; the Life dies, and the dead live; the Glory is covered with shame, and He who was put to shame is covered with glory."⁵ The pious doctor, going still deeper acknowledged that all salvation proceeds from the sovereignty of God's love. "Those who are saved," said he, "are saved by election, by grace, by the will of God, not by their own. Our own election, will, and works are of no avail: the election of God alone is profitable. When we are converted, it is not our conversion that makes us the elect of God, but the grace, will, and election of God which convert us."⁶

But Lefevre did not confine himself to doctrines alone: if he gave to God the glory, he required obedience from man, and urged the obligations which proceed from the great privileges of the Christian. "If thou art a member of Christ's Church, thou art also a member of his body," said he; "and if thou art a member of Christ's body, thou art full of the Divinity; for in him dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead bodily. Oh! if men could but understand this privilege, how chastely, purely, and holily would they live, and they would look upon all the glory of this world as disgrace, in comparison with that inner glory which is hidden from the eyes of the flesh."⁷

Lefevre perceived that the office of a teacher of the Word is a lofty station; and he exercised it with unshaken fidelity. The corruption of the times, and particularly that of the clergy, excited his indignation, and became the subject of severe rebukes. "How scandalous it is," said he, "to see a bishop asking persons to drink with him, gambling, rattling the dice, spending his time with hawks and dogs, and in hunting, hallooing after rooks and deer, and frequenting houses of ill-fame!"⁸.....O men deserving a severer punishment than Sardanapalus himself!"

¹ Nullis difficultatibus fractus, nullis minis, convitiis, verberibus denique inflectis terribus. Beza Icon.

² O ineffabile commercium!.... Fabri Comm. 143, verso.

³ Inefficax est ad hoc ipsum nostra voluntas, nostra electio; Dei autem electio efficacissima et potentissima est, &c. Ibid. p. 88, verso.

⁴ Si de corpore Christi, divinitate repletus es. Ibid. p. 176, verso.

⁵ Et virgunculas gremio tenentem, cum suavis carmen miscentem. Ibid. p. 208.

Ist. de l'Université, v. 88.
na vira fidel, quam justificatio sequitur. Fabri
p. Fabri. p. 72.
a desuper a sole vibratus, justificatio est. Ibid.
toms seigneur.

CHAPTER III.

Farel and the Saints—The University—Farel's Conversion—Farel and Luther—Other Disciples—Date of the Reformation in France—Spontaneous Rise of the different Reformations—Which was the first?—Lefevre's Place.

Thus taught Lefevre. Farel listened, trembling with emotion; he received all, and rushed suddenly into the new path that was opening before him. There was, however, one point of his ancient faith which he could not as yet entirely renounce; this was the invocation of saints. The best spirits often have these relics of darkness, which they cling to after their illumination. Farel was astonished as he heard the illustrious doctor declare that Christ alone should be invoked. "Religion has but one foundation," said Lefevre, "one object, one Head, Jesus Christ, blessed for evermore: alone hath He trodden the wine-press. Let us not then call ourselves after St. Paul, or Apollos, or St. Peter. The cross of Christ alone openeth the gates of heaven, and shutteth the gates of hell." When he heard these words, a fierce conflict took place in Farel's soul. On the one hand, he beheld the multitude of saints with the Church; on the other, Jesus Christ alone with his master. Now he inclined to one side, now to another; it was his last error and his last battle. He hesitated, he still clung to those venerable men and women at whose feet Rome falls in adoration. At length the decisive blow was struck from above. The scales fell from his eyes. Jesus alone appeared deserving of his worship. "Then," said he, "popery was utterly overthrown; I began to detest it as devilish, and the holy Word of God had the chief place in my heart."¹

Public events accelerated the course of Farel and his friends. Thomas de Vio, who afterwards contended with Luther at Augsburg and at Leipsic, having advanced in one of his works that the pope was the absolute monarch of the Church, Louis XII. laid the book before the university in the month of February 1512. James Allmain, one of the youngest doctors, a man of profound genius and indefatigable application, read before the faculty of theology a refutation of the cardinal's assertions, which was received with the greatest applause.²

What impression must not such discourses have produced on the minds of Lefevre's young disciples! Could they hesitate when the university seemed impatient under the papal yoke? If the main body itself was in motion, ought not they to rush forward as skirmishers and clear the way? "It was necessary," said Farel, "that popery should have fallen little by little from my heart; for it did not tumble down at the first shock."³

He contemplated the abyss of superstition in which he had been plunged. Still the brink, he once more surveyed it with an anxious eye, and shrank back with a feeling of terror. "Oh! what horror feel at myself and my sins, when I see these things!" exclaimed he.⁴ "O," he continued, "would that my soul served thee with a living faith, as obedient servants have done; would that I prayed to and honoured thee as much as I have given my heart to the mass and that enchanted wafer, giving it all up to thee. In such terms did the youthful Dan deplore his past life, and repeat in the same manner what St. Augustine had done before: "Thou art known to me too late; too late have I known Thee!"

Farel had found Jesus Christ; and having reached the port, he was delighted to pose after such terrible storms.⁵ "I," said he, "every thing appears to me in a new and fresh aspect."⁶ Scripture is cleared of its obscurity; prophecy is opened; the apostle sheds a light upon my soul.⁷ A voice, unknown, the voice of Christ, my Master, my Teacher, speaks to me with power.⁸ He was so changed that, "of the murderous heart of a raven he came back," he tells us, "quietly meek and harmless lamb, having been entirely withdrawn from the pope, as to Jesus Christ."⁹

Having escaped from so great an error, he turned towards the Bible,¹⁰ and he studied Greek and Hebrew with much assiduity. He read the Scriptures with ever increasing affection, and lightened him from day to day. He continued to attend the churches of the blished worship; but what found he in the loud voices, interminable chanting words spoken without understanding cordingly, when standing in the midst of the crowd that was passing near an altar, he would exclaim, "Thou art God! thou alone art wise! thou alone art good!"¹¹ Nothing must be taken away from thy holy law, and nothing added. I alone art the Lord, and thou alone must command."

Thus fell in his eyes all men and teachers from the height to which illumination had raised them, and he saw nothing in the world but God and his Word. The other doctors of Paris, by the persecutions of Lefevre had already

¹ Farel. A tous seigneurs.

² Grévier, Hist. de l'Université de Paris, v. xi.

³ Farel. A tous seigneurs.

⁴ Farel. A tous seigneurs.

⁵ Animus per varia jactatus, verum nactus portum. Farel Galat. 3.

⁶ Jam rerum nova facies. Ibid.

⁷ Notior scriptura, apertiores prophete, lucidior tollit. Ibid.

⁸ Agnita pastoris, magistrat, et presceptoris Christi. Ibid.

⁹ Farel. A tous seigneurs.

¹⁰ Legi sacra ut causam inveniam. Farel Gale 3.

¹¹ Life of Farel, Geneva and Choupart MSS.

¹² Clamores multi, cantiones innumera. Farel Neuchâtel MS.

¹³ Vere tu solus Deus. Ibid.

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

; but ere long Lefevre himself, guide, was no more than a man.

He loved and venerated him alone became his master.

Reformers, Farel and Luther are whose early spiritual development known to us, and who had to the greatest struggles. Quick men of conflict and strife, they several trials before attaining is the pioneer of the Reformation and Switzerland; he rushes down, and hews down the aged forest with his axe. Calvin like Melancthon, from whom he in character, but whom he is part as theologian and organizer, two men, who have something with the legislators of antiquity, its graceful, the other in its—built up, settled, and gave territory conquered by the first. If, however, Luther and mate in some of their features, knowledge that the latter reformed Saxon reformer in one aspect his superior genius, Luther it concerned the Church, a wisdom, an acquaintance with comprehensive judgment, and animating faculty, that did not same degree in the Dauphinese

not the only young Frenchman and the new light then beamed. that fell from the lips of the tor of Etaples fermented among listened to his lectures, and in ere trained the daring soldiers our of battle, were to contend of the scaffold. They listened, cursed, and keenly argued on t is probable that among the of scholars who defended the ousing Peter Robert Oliveton, about the close of the fifteenth afterwards translated the Bible om Lefevre's version, and who e been the first to draw the youth of his family, also a yon, to the Gospel, and who ost illustrious chief of the Re-

2, at a time when Luther had session on the world, and was ne on some trifling monkish an epoch when Zwingle had to apply himself earnestly to ig, and was crossing the Alps derates to fight for the pope,—nce were listening to the teach- ital truths from which the Re- ordained to issue; and souls seminate them were drinking holy thirst. Hence Theodore

Beza, speaking of Lefevre, hails him as the man "who boldly began the revival of the pure religion of Jesus Christ;"¹ and remarks that, "as in ancient times the school of Isocrates sent forth the best orators, so from the lecture-room of the doctor of Etaples issued many of the best men of the age and of the Church."²

The Reformation was not, therefore, in France a foreign importation. It was born on French soil; it germinated in Paris; it put forth its first shoots in the university itself, that second authority in Romish Christendom. God planted the seeds of this work in the simple hearts of a Picard and a Dauphinese, before they had begun to bud forth in any other country upon earth. The Swiss Reformation, as we have seen,³ was independent of the German Reformation; and in its turn the Reformation in France was independent of that of Switzerland and of Germany. The work commenced at the same time in different countries, without any communication one with the other; as in a battle all the divisions begin to move at the same moment, although one has not told the other to march, but because one and the same command, issuing from a higher power, has been heard by all. The time had come, the nations were prepared, and God was every where beginning the revival of his Church at the same time. Such facts demonstrate that the great revolution of the sixteenth century was a work of God.

If we look only to dates, we must acknowledge that neither to Switzerland nor to Germany belongs the honour of having begun this work, although, hitherto, these two countries alone have contended for it. This honour belongs to France. This is a truth, a fact that we are anxious to establish, because until now it may possibly have been overlooked. Without dwelling on the influence that Lefevre exercised directly or indirectly on many individuals, and in particular on Calvin himself, as we conjecture, let us reflect on that which he had on one only of his disciples,—on Farel, and on the energetic activity which this servant of God manifested ever afterwards. Can we, after that, resist the conviction, that if Zwingle and Luther had never appeared, there would still have been a reforming movement in France? It is impossible, no doubt, to calculate what might have been its extent; we must even acknowledge that the report of what was taking place on the other side of the Rhine and the Jura afterwards animated and accelerated the progress of the French reformers. But they were the first awakened by the trumpet that sounded from heaven in the sixteenth century, and they were the first on foot and under arms upon the field of battle.

¹ Et purioris religionis instaurationem fortiter aggressus. Beza Icones.

² Ne ex Stapulensis auditorio protestantissimi viri plures prodierint. Ibid.

³ See Vol. II. p. 287.

Nevertheless Luther is the great workman of the sixteenth century, and in the fullest sense the first reformer. Lefèvre is not so complete as Calvin, Farel, and Luther. He is of Wittenberg and Geneva, but there is still a tinge of the Sorbonne; he is the first catholic in the reform movement, and the last of the reformers in the catholic movement. He is to the end a sort of go-between, a mediator not altogether free from mystery, destined to remind us of the connexion between the old things and the new, which seemed for ever separated by an impassable gulf. Though rejected and persecuted by Rome, he still clings to Rome by a slender thread which he has no desire to break. Lefèvre of Etaples has a station apart in the theology of the sixteenth century: he is the link connecting the ancient times with the modern, and the man in whom the transition is made from the theology of the middle ages to the theology of the Reformation.

CHAPTER IV.

Character of Francis I.—Commencement of Modern Times—Liberty and Obedience—Margaret of Valois—The Court—Lefèvre, Count of Montbrun—Lefèvre commends him to the Bible—Francis I. and "his Children"—The Gospel brought to Margaret—Conversion—Adoration—Margaret's Character.

Thus the whole university was in a state of restlessness. But the Reformation in France was not to be a work of the learned only. It was to take its place among the great ones of the world, and even in the court of the sovereign.

The youthful Francis I. of Angoulême had succeeded his father-in-law and cousin Louis XII. His beauty and address, his courage and love of pleasure, made him the first knight of his time. He aspired, however, at being something more: he desired to be a great and even a good king, provided every thing would bend to his sovereign pleasure. Valour, a taste for letters, and a love of gallantry, are three terms that will express the character of Francis and the spirit of his age. Two other illustrious kings, Henry IV. and especially Louis XIV., presented the same features in after-years. But these princes wanted what the Gospel communicates; and although there had always existed in the nation elements of holiness and christian elevation, we may say that these three great monarchs of modern France have in some measure stamped upon their subjects the impress of their own peculiarities, or rather that they themselves were the faithful images of the character of their people. If the Gospel had entered France with the most illustrious of the Valois family, it would have brought the nation what it does not possess,—a spiritual tendency, a christian holiness, a knowledge of divine things, and

would thus have perfected it in what constitutes the real strength and greatness of a people.

It was in the reign of Francis I. that France and Europe passed from the middle ages to modern times. The new world, which was then in the bud, grew up and entered into possession. Two classes of men imposed their influence on the new state of society. On the one hand were the men of faith, men also of wisdom and holiness; and by their side were the courtly writers, friends of the world and of vice, who by the freedom of their principles, contributed as much to the depravation of morals as the former to their reformation.

If Europe in the days of Francis I. had not witnessed the rise of the reformers, and had been handed over by the severe judgment of Providence to the unbelieving innovation, her fate and that of Christianity would have been decided. The danger was great. For some time these two classes of combatants, the antagonists of the pope and the opponents of the Gospel, were mixed up together; and as they both claimed liberty, they appeared to employ the same arms against the same enemies. An unpractised eye could not distinguish between them amid the darts and clouds of the battle-field. If the former had allowed themselves to be carried away by the latter, all would have been lost. The enemies of the hierarchy were passing rapidly to the extremes of impiety, and urging christian society into a frightful abyss; the papacy itself was helping towards this terrible catastrophe, and accelerating by its ambition and its disorders the destruction of the remnants of truth and life still surviving in the Church. But God raised up the Reformation, and Christianity was saved. The reformers who had shouted liberty, soon called for obedience. The very men who had cast down the throne whence the Roman pontiff issued his oracles, fell prostrate before the Word of God. Then a clear and definite separation took place; nay more, the two bodies engaged in war against each other. The one party had desired liberty only for themselves, the others had claimed it for the Word of God. The Reformation became the most formidable enemy of that incredulity towards which Rome is often so lenient. After restoring liberty to the Church, the reformers restored religion to the world. Of these two gifts, the latter was the most needed.

The friends of infidelity hoped, for a while, to reckon among their number Margaret of Valois, duchess of Alençon, whom Francis tenderly loved, and always called "*sa nièce*," his darling, as we learn from Brantôme.¹ The same tastes, the same acquisitions, distinguished both brother and sister. Possessing, like Francis, a handsome person,

¹ Vie des Dames Illustres, p. 333. La Haye, 1786.

combined with those eminent that make great characters those tues that win the affections. In the gay entertainments at the be king and of the emperor, she : a queen, charming, surprising, rating all hearts. Passionately tters, and endowed with a rare e would retire to her closet, and dge in the sweet pleasures of tudy, and learning. But her ruling as to do good and prevent evil. bassadors had been received by hey went and paid their respects et. "They were mightily en-rich her," says Brantôme, "and owing report of her to their own n." And the king would often ers of importance to her, "leaving y to her decision."¹

Celebrated princess was distinguished ictness of her morals; but while fine this austerity to their lips, c in their behaviour, Margaret did ry. Irreproachable in conduct, t altogether free from censure in gs. Instead of being surprised at ight rather wonder that a woman e as Louisa of Savoy should have r so pure as Margaret. While fferent parts of the country with she amused herself with describ-nners of the time, and particularly s of the priests and monks. "I l her," says Brantôme, "thus nar-s to my grandmother, who always ed her in her litter, as lady-in-and who had charge of her ink-

argaret, so beautiful, so full of wit, in the atmosphere of a corrupted one of the first to be carried away igious movement then beginning

But how could the Duchess of e reached by the Reformation in of so profane a court, and of the tales by which it was amused? ed soul felt wants that the Gospel ld satisfy; grace works every d Christianity, which even before : had appeared in Rome, already llowers in the house of Nar-in the court of Nero,² penetrated the period of its renovation, into of Francis I. High-bred dames lords addressed the princes in the of faith; and that sun, then rising ce, shed its earliest beams upon an head, by which they were immed-ected on the Duchess of Alençon. the most distinguished noblemen rt was William of Montbrun, son d Briçonnet of St. Malo, who had e church after the decease of his

wife. Count William, who was fond of study, took holy orders, and became successively bishop of Lodeve and of Meaux. Being twice sent ambassador to Rome, he returned to Paris, unseduced by the flattery and pomps of Leo X.

At the period of his return to France, the sap was every where beginning to move. Farel, then master of arts, was lecturing in the celebrated college of the Cardinal Lemoine, one of the four principal colleges of the theological faculty in Paris, equal in rank to the Sorbonne. Two fellow-countrymen of Lefevre, Arnaud and Gerard Roussel, with several others, increased the circle of liberal and generous minds. Briçonnet, fresh from the gay entertainments and festivities of Rome, was astonished at what had taken place in Paris during his absence. Thirsting for the truth, he renewed his ancient relations with Lefevre, and passed many precious hours with the doctor of the Sorbonne, with Farel, the two Roussels and their friends.³ This illustrious but humble-minded prelate was willing to be instructed by the lowliest Christians, but particularly by the Lord himself. "I am in darkness," said he, "awaiting the grace of the Divine benevolence, from which I am exiled by my demerits." His mind was dazzled, as it were, by the brilliancy of the Gospel. His eyelids drooped before its unequalled brightness. "The eyes of all men," added he, "are insufficient to receive the whole light of this great luminary."⁴

Lefevre had recommended the Bishop to the Bible; he had pointed to it as the clue which ever leads men back to the primitive truth of Christianity,—to what it was when schools, sects, ordinances, and traditions were unknown, and as the powerful medium by which the religion of Jesus Christ is renovated. Briçonnet read the Bible. "Such is the sweetness of this Divine food," said he, "that it makes the mind insatiable; the more we taste of it, the more we long for it."⁵ The simple and mighty truth of salvation charmed him: he found Christ,—he found God himself. "What vessel," said he, "is able to receive the exceeding fullness of this inexhaustible sweetness? But the dwelling extends according to our desire to entertain the good guest. Faith is the quartermaster who alone can find room for him, or, more truly, who makes us dwell in him." But at the same time the good bishop, afflicted at seeing this doctrine of life, which the Reformation restored to the world, held in so little estimation at court, in the city, and among the people, exclaimed: "Oh singular and

¹ Histoire de la Révocat. de l'édit. de Nantes, l. 7. Maimbourg, Hist. du Calv. p. 12.

² This passage is taken from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, entitled *Lettres de Marguerite, reine de Navarre*, and marked S. F. 337. I shall have frequent occasion to quote the manuscript, which I had great difficulty in deciphering.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Vie des Dames illustres, p. 337.

⁵ Ibid. p. 346.

⁶ *Revue* xvi. 11; *Philip*. iv. 22.

most worthy innovation, and yet to my fellow-men most unacceptable!"

It is in this way that evangelical opinions made their way into the midst of the frivolous, dissolute, and literary court of Francis I. Many of the men who composed it, and who enjoyed the entire confidence of the king, as John du Bellay, Budæus, Cop the court physician, and even Petit the king's confessor, appeared favourably disposed towards the sentiments of Briçonnet and Lefevre. Francis, who loved learning, who invited into his states learned men inclined to Lutheranism, and who thought (as Erasmus says) "in this manner to adorn and illustrate his age in a more magnificent manner than he could have done by trophies, pyramids, or by the most pompous structures," was himself carried away by his sister, by Briçonnet, and by the literary men of his court and universities. He would often be present at the discussions of the learned, listening with delight to their conversation at table, and calling them "his children." He prepared the way for the Word of God by founding Hebrew and Greek professorships. And hence Theodore Beza, when placing his portrait at the head of the reformers, says: "Pious spectator! do not shudder at the sight of this adversary! Ought he not to have a part in this honour, who expelled barbarism from the world, and with firm hand substituted in its stead three languages and sound learning, to be as it were the portals to the new building that was shortly to be erected?"¹

But there was at the court of Francis I. one soul in particular, which seemed prepared to receive the evangelical influence of the doctor of Etaples and the bishop of Meaux. Margaret, yet hesitating and wavering, in the midst of the depraved society that surrounded her, looked for support, and found it in the Gospel. She turned towards this fresh breath that was reanimating the world, and inhaled it with delight as an emanation from heaven. From some of the ladies of her court she learnt what the new doctors were teaching; they lent her their writings, their little books, called in the language of the time, "tracts;" and spoke to her of the "primitive Church, of the pure Word of God, of worshipping in spirit and in truth, and of christian liberty which shakes off the yoke of superstition and traditions of men to bind them closer to God alone."² Ere long this princess conversed with Lefevre, Farel, and Roussel; their zeal, their piety, their purity of morals,—all in them struck her imagination; but it was the Bishop of Meaux in particular, who had long enjoyed her friendship, that became her guide in the path of faith.

Thus, in the midst of the brilliant court of

Francis I. and of the profligate house Louisa of Savoy, was accomplished those conversions of the heart which, although not thoroughly evangelical, are not those of a mere æsthetical religion. More subsequently recorded in her poems different movements of her soul at this important period of her life; and in them we may trace the path she then trod. We find that sense of sin had taken strong hold, and that she wept over the levity with which she had treated the scandals of the Court. She exclaimed:

Is there a gulf of ill, so deep and wide
That can suffice but e'en a tenth to hide
Of my vile sin!

This corruption, of which she had been ignorant, she discovered every now that her eyes were opened.

Well do I feel within me is the root,
Without are branch and foliage, flower and fruit.

Yet amidst the alarm caused by the state of her soul, she felt that a God of peace appeared to her:

My God, thou hast come down on earth to me
To me, although a naked worm I be.³

And ere long a sense of the love of Christ was shed abroad in her heart.

Margaret had found faith, and her tired soul indulged in holy transports.

Word Divine, Jesus the Saviour,
Only Son of the eternal Father,
The first, the last; of all things renovator,
Bishop and king, and mighty triumphant,
From death by death our liberator,
By faith we're made the sons of the Creator.

From this time a great change took place in the Duchess of Alençon:—

Though poor, and weak, and ignorant I be,
How rich, how strong, how wise I am in Thee!

But the power of sin was not yet subdued. She found a struggle, a discordant soul that alarmed her:⁴

In spirit noble,—but in nature slave;
Immortal am I,—tending to the grave;
Essence of heaven,—and yet of earthly birth;
God's dwelling place,—and yet how little worth!

Margaret, seeking in nature the symbol that might express the wants and affections of her soul, chose for her emblem (Brantôme) the marigold, "which by its petals and leaves has more affinity with the sun and turns wherever he goes."⁵—She used this device:—

*Non inferiore secutus,
I seek not things below.*

"as a sign," adds the courtly writer,

¹ Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses, 1547, tome i. Miroir de l'âme pécheresse, p. 18. I have used appears to have belonged to the Queen herself, and some notes that it contains are in her own handwriting. It is now in the possession of a friend of the author's.

² Ibid. pp. 18, 19.

³ Marguerites, &c. Discord de l'esprit et de la vie. (The translator has endeavoured to preserve the sense of the original, both in rhyme and rhythm.)

⁴ Ibid. Miroir de l'âme, p. 52.

⁵ Ibid. Discord de l'esprit, p. 71.

⁶ Vie des Femmes illustres, p. 53.

¹ *Neque rex potentissime potest.... quasi strimense hujus modis futurum. Rector Joannes.—Dispositionibus eorum ipse interruit.* Flor. Ramundi Hist. de ortu hæresum, viii. 2.

² Malmboorg, Hist. de Calvinisme, p. 17.

ed all her actions, thoughts, desires, tions, to that great sun which is hence she was suspected of being to the Lutheran religion."¹

the princess experienced, not long ; truth of the saying, that *all who only in Jesus Christ shall suffer per-*

At the court, they talked of Mar- ew opinions, and the surprise was Vhat! even the sister of the king t with these people! For a moment have been thought that Margaret's certain. She was denounced to

But the king, who was tenderly to his sister, pretended to think as untrue. Margaret's character lessened the opposition. Every her, says Brantôme: "she was , mild, gracious, charitable, affable, alms-giver, despising nobody, and all hearts by her excellent quali-

midst of the corruption and frivolity e, the mind reposes with delight on n soul, which the grace of God had m beneath such a load of vanities leur. But her feminine character back. If Francis I. had felt his nvictions, he would no doubt have hem out. The timid heart of the trembled before the anger of the e was constantly wavering between er and her Saviour, and could e to sacrifice either. We cannot her as a Christian who has he perfect liberty of the children he is a correct type of those eleva- so numerous in every age, parti- among women, who, powerfully towards heaven, have not sufficient to detach themselves entirely from

er, such as she is, she is a pleasing on the stage of history. Neither nor England present her parallel. star, slightly clouded no doubt, but an indescribable and gentle radi- , at the time of which I am treat- ays shine out still more brightly. until later years, when the angry Francis I. denounce a mortal hatred e Reformation, that his frightened l screen her holy faith from the ay. But now she raises her head idist of this corrupted court, and bride of Christ. The respect paid high opinion entertained of her ding and of her heart, plead the the Gospel at the court of France ter than any preacher could have gentle influence of woman gained for the new doctrine. It is per- is period we should trace the incli- the French nobility to embrace tism. If Francis had followed his

sister, if all the nation had opened its gates to Christianity, Margaret's conversion might have been the saving of France. But while the nobles welcomed the Gospel, the king and the people remained faithful to Rome; and there came a time when it was a cause of serious misfortune to the Reformation to count a Navarre and a Condé among its ranks.

CHAPTER V.

Enemies of the Reformation—Louisa—Duprat—Concordat of Bologna—Opposition of the Parliament and the University—The Sorbonne—Beda—His Character—His Tyranny—Benign, the most learned of the Nobility—The Intriguers of the Sorbonne—Heresy of the three Magd- lene—Luther condemned at Paris—Address of the Sor- bonne to the King—Lefevre quits Paris for Meaux.

Thus already had the Gospel made illustri- ous conquests in France, Lefevre, Briçon- net, Farel, and Margaret joyfully yielded in Paris to the movement that was already beginning to shake the world. Francis I. himself seemed at that time more attracted by the splendour of literature, than repelled by the severity of the Gospel. The friends of the Word of God were entertaining the most pleasing expectations; they thought that the heavenly doctrine would be disseminated without obstacle over their country, at the very moment when a formidable opposi- tion was organizing at court and in the Sor- bonne. France, which was to signalize itself among Roman-catholic states for nearly three centuries by its persecutions, rose with pitiless severity against the Reformation. If the seventeenth century was the age of a bloody victory, the sixteenth was that of a cruel struggle. Probably in no place did the reformed Christians meet with more merci- less adversaries on the very spot where they raised the standard of the Gospel. In Ger- many, it was in the Romish states that their enemies were found; in Switzerland, in the Romish cantons; but in France, it was face to face. A dissolute woman and a rapacious minister then headed the long list of the ene- mies of the Reformation.

Louisa of Savoy, mother of the king and of Margaret, notorious for her gallantries, absolute in her will, and surrounded by a train of ladies of honour whose licentiousness began at the court of France a long series of immorality and scandal, naturally took part against the Word of God; she was the more to be feared as she had always preserved an almost unbounded influence over her son. But the Gospel met with a still more formid- able adversary in Louisa's favourite, Anthony Duprat, who by her influence was nominated chancellor of the kingdom. This man, whom a contemporary historian calls the most vicious of all bipeds,¹ was more rapacious

¹ *Femmes Illustres*, p. 22.

² *Ibid.* p. 242.

³ *Bipedum omnium nequissimus. Bellerophon*, xv. 625.

than Louisa was dissolute. Having first enriched himself at the expense of justice, he desired subsequently to increase his wealth at the expense of religion, and entered holy orders to gain possession of the richest livings.

Lust and avarice thus characterized these two persons, who, being both devoted to the pope, endeavoured to conceal the disorders of their lives by shedding the blood of the heretics.¹

One of their first acts was to deliver up the kingdom to the ecclesiastical dominion of the pope. The king, after the battle of Marignan, met Leo X. at Bologna, and there was sealed the famous *concordat*, in virtue of which these two princes divided the spoils of the Church between them. They annulled the supremacy of councils to give it to the pope; and depriving the churches of their right to fill up the vacant bishoprics and livings, conferred it on the king. After this, Francis I., supporting the pontiff's train, proceeded to the minster-church of Bologna to ratify this negotiation. He was sensible of the injustice of the concordat, and turning to Duprat, whispered in his ear: "It is enough to damn us both."² But what was salvation to him? Money and the pope's alliance were what he wanted.

The parliament vigorously resisted the concordat. The king made its deputies wait several weeks at Amboise, and then calling them before him one day, as he rose from table, he said: "There is a king in France, and I will not have a Venetian senate formed in my dominions." He then commanded them to depart before sunset. Evangelical liberty had nothing to hope from such a prince. Three days after, the high-chamberlain La Tremouille appeared in parliament, and ordered the concordat to be registered.

Upon this the university put itself in motion. On the 18th of March 1518, a solemn procession, at which all the students and the bachelors with their hoods were present, repaired to the Church of Saint Catherine of the Scholars, to implore God to preserve the liberties of the Church and of the kingdom.³ "The colleges were closed, strong bodies of the students went armed through the city, threatening and sometimes maltreating the exalted personages who were publishing and carrying out the said concordat by the king's orders."⁴ The university eventually tolerated the execution of this edict: but without revoking the resolutions on which it had declared its opposition; and from that time, says the Venetian ambassador Correro, "the king began to give away the bishoprics with a liberal hand at the solicitation of the court ladies, and to bestow abbeys on his soldiers; so that at the court of France a trade was

carried on in bishoprics and abbey Venice in pepper and cinnamon."¹

While Louisa and Duprat were preying on the Gospel by the destructive liberties of the Gallican Church, a bold and powerful party was forming against the Bible. Christian truth has always encountered two powerful adversaries, the pravity of the world and the fanaticism of the priests. The scholastic Sorbonne and the profligate court were now to march hand in hand against the confessors of Christ. In the early days of the Church, the unbelieving Sadducees and the hypocritical Pharisees were the fiercest enemies of Christianity: and so they have remained to every age. Erelong from the dark cloisters the schools emerged the most pitiless enemies of the Gospel. At their head stood Noel Bédier, commonly called Bédard, of Picardy and syndic of the Sorbonne, reputed to be the greatest brawler and factious spirit of his day. Educated in the dry maxims of scholasticism, matured in theses and antitheses of the Schoolmen, having a greater veneration for the traditions of the school than for the Word of God, he was transported with anger against those daring mouths ventured to propose other doctrines. Of a restless disposition, unable to enjoy any repose, always engaged in new pursuits, he was a torment to all around him: confusion was his native element, seemed born for contention; and when he had no adversaries he fell foul of his own. This impetuous quack filled the streets with stupid and violent declamations of literature, against the innovations of the times, and against all those who were not of his opinion, sufficiently earnest in rejecting them. Many smiled as they listened, but others gave credit to the invective of the blustering orator, and the violent character secured him a tyrannical reputation at the Sorbonne. He must always have a new enemy to fight, some victim to the scaffold; and accordingly he had heretics before any existed, and had for the burning of Merlin, vicar-general of Paris, for having endeavoured to reform Origen. But when he saw the new heresy appear, he bounded like a wild beast, suddenly perceives an easy prey within reach. "There are three thousand in one Bédard," said the cautious Erasmus.

These excesses, however, were not to his cause. "What!" said the wise of the age, "does the Roman Church throw the shoulders of such an Atlas as Whence comes all this disturbance, from the absurdities of Bédard himself?"

In effect, the very invectives that enervated weak minds, disgusted more g

¹ Bismond, *Hist. des Français*, xvi. 307.

² Mathieu, i. 18.

³ Olevier, v. 110.

⁴ Fontaine, *Hist. Cathol.*, Paris, 1682, p. 14.

¹ Raumer, *Geach. Europ.* i. 270.

² In uno Bédard sunt tria milia monachorum.

Epp. p. 373.

³ Talibus Atlantibus nititur Ecclesia Romana

1112.

At the court of Francis I. was a man of Artois, named Louis de Berquin about thirty years of age, and never married. The purity of his profound knowledge, which procured him the title of "the most learned of his age,"¹ the openness of his disposition, his care for the poor, and his unfeigned attachment to his friends, distinguished him above his equals.² There was no devout observer of the ceremonies of church, fasts, festivals, and masses;³ held in the greatest horror all that was tainted heretical. It was a matter of shame to witness so much devotion in a man.

Not as if nothing could make such an impression on the side of the Reformation; but, however, one or two features in his character that might lead him to the Reformation.

He abhorred every kind of dissimulation, and, as he never desired to injure himself, he could not bear to see them in others. The tyranny of Bédas and his bickerings and persecutions, their generous soul with indignation as he never did things by halves, accustomed wherever he went, in the court, "even among the highest in the kingdom,"⁴ to inveigh with utmost vehemence against the errors of these doctors, and attack "in their nests," says Theodore Beza, "those ornaments who were then the terror of the court."⁵

He did not stop here: opposition to injustice led him to inquire after truth. He knew that holy Scripture, so dear to him against whom Bédas and his creatures were raging; and he had scarcely begun to read the book, before it won his heart. He immediately joined Margaret, Leçonnet, and all those who loved the truth in their society, and tasted of the fruits of it. He felt that he had something to do besides opposing the Sorbonne, and he had loved to communicate the fruits of his soul to all France. He immediately began to write and translate Christian books into French. It was to him that every man ought to adhere and embrace the truth as he had done himself. That independence which Bédas had exerted in the defence of human traditions, Berquin entered into the service of the Word of God. Younger than the syndic of the Sorbonne, less prudent, and less skilful, he was in favour the noble enthusiasm of the Reformation. They were two strong wrestlers

about to try which should throw the other. But Berquin had another object in view than a triumph over Bédas: he would have desired to pour forth floods of truth over all his countrymen. And hence Theodore Beza says, that France might have found a second Luther in Berquin, if he had found a second elector in Francis I.⁶

Numerous obstacles were destined to impede his efforts. Fanaticism finds disciples every where; it is a fire that spreads far and near. The monks and ignorant priests took part with the syndic of the Sorbonne. A party-spirit pervaded the whole troop, which was governed by a few intriguing and fanatical leaders, who cleverly took advantage of the insignificance or vanity of their colleagues, to infect them with their own prejudices. At all their meetings these chiefs were the only speakers: they domineered over their party by their violence, and reduced the moderate and weak-minded to silence. Hardly had they made any proposition, before these ringleaders exclaimed: "We shall soon see now who are of the Lutheran faction."⁷ Did any one give utterance to a reasonable sentiment, a shuddering fell upon Bédas, Lecouturier, Duchesne, and the whole band; and all cried out at once: "He is worse than Luther." This manoeuvre was successful; the timid minds that prefer peace to disputation, those who are ready to give up their own opinions for their own advantage, those who do not understand the simplest questions, and, lastly, those who are always carried away by the clamour of others,—all became the willing tools of Bédas and his satellites. Some were silent, others shouted, all submitted to that influence which a proud and tyrannical mind exercises over vulgar souls. Such was the state of this association, which was regarded as so venerable, and which was at that time the most violent enemy of evangelical Christianity. It would often be sufficient to cast a single glance upon the most celebrated bodies to estimate at its just value the war they wage upon truth.

Thus the university which, under Louis XII., had applauded Allmain's aspirations after independence, abruptly plunged once more, under Duprat and Louisa of Savoy, into fanaticism and servility. If we except the Jansenists and a few other doctors, a noble and real independence has never existed among the Gallican clergy. They have never done more than oscillate between servility to the court and servility to the pope. If under Louis XII. or Louis XIV. they had some appearance of liberty, it was because their master in Paris was at strife with their master at Rome. And thus we have an explanation of the change we have pointed out.

¹ *immensus quidem impudicitiam aut unquam in se. Fr. Epp. p. 127A.*

² *Flot. de François I. mérites le com- et amicos. Fr. Epp. p. 123A. stitutum ac ritum ecclesiasticorum observantia.*

³ *Martyre de Crespin. p. 101. Hinc omnium tunc detestandos crabrones in ipsa. Beza Icones.*

⁴ *Galila fortassis alterum esset Lutherum nacia. Beza Icones.*

⁵ *Ille, inquit, apparebit qui sint Lutherane factionis. Fr. Epp. p. 129.*

The university and the bishops forgot their rights and duties as soon as the king ceased to enjoin their observance.

For a long period Buda had been incensed against Lefevre; the renown of the Picard doctor's lectures irritated his compatriot and ruffled his pride; he would gladly have silenced him. Once already Buda had attacked the doctor of Etaples, and as yet little able to distinguish the evangelical doctrines, he had assailed his colleague on a point which, however strange it may appear, was near sending Lefevre to the scaffold.¹ This doctor had asserted that Mary, the sister of Lazarus, Mary Magdalen, and the "woman which was a sinner," of whom Saint Luke speaks in the seventh chapter of his Gospel, were three distinct persons. The Greek fathers had distinguished them: the Latin fathers had confounded them together. This terrible *heresy* of the three Magdalens set Buda and all his host in motion; Christendom was roused; Fisher, bishop of Rochester, one of the most distinguished prelates of the age, wrote against Lefevre, and the whole Church then declared against an opinion now admitted by every Roman-catholic. Already Lefevre, condemned by the Sorbonne, was prosecuted by the parliament as a heretic, when Francis I., pleased at the opportunity of striking a blow at the Sorbonne, and of humbling the monks, rescued him from the hands of his persecutors.

Buda, enraged at seeing his victim snatched from his grasp, resolved to take better aim another time. The name of Luther was beginning to be heard in France. The reformer, after the dispute with Dr. Eck at Leipsic, had agreed to acknowledge the universities of Erfurth and Paris as his judges. The zeal displayed by the latter university against the concordat, no doubt led him to hope that he should find impartial judges in its members. But the times were changed, and the more decided the theological faculty had been against the encroachments of Rome, the more it was bent on showing its orthodoxy. Buda accordingly found it quite disposed to enter into his views.

On the 20th of January 1520, the treasurer of the French nation² bought twenty copies of the conference between Luther and Eck for distribution among the members of the commission who were to make a report on the matter. More than a year was employed in this investigation. The German Reformation was beginning to create a strong sensation in France. The universities, which were then truly catholic institutions, to which students resorted from every country in Christendom, brought Germany, France, Switzerland, and England, into closer and speedier relation with each other, as regards

theology and philosophy, than at present day. The reports pre Paris of Luther's successes streng hands of such men as Lefevre, and Farel. Each of his victories their courage. Many of the Sorbors were struck by the admir they found in the writings of t berg monk. There had already a bold confession; but there had terrible resistance. "All Eur Crévier, " was waiting for the dec university of Paris." The conte doubtful. At length Buda prevail April 1521, the university decree ther's works should be publicly the author compelled to retract.

This was not enough. In fa disciples had crossed the Rhine r ily even than his writings. " time," says the Jesuit Maimbourg, versity was filled with foreign cause they knew a little Hebruv Greek, acquired a reputation, themselves into the houses of per lity, and claimed an insolent libe preting the Bible."¹ The faculty appointed a deputation to bear tl strances to the king.

Francis I., caring little for the theologians, was continuing his pleasure; and passing from castl with his gentlemen and the l posing his mother's and his sis he indulged in every species c far from the troublesome obs the citizens of the capital. He his progresses through Britta Guienne, Angoumois, and Poit the same sumptuous life in vi forests, as if he had been at l palace of Tournelles. It was or tournaments, sham-fights, m costly entertainments, and banq even those of Lucullus (as Bran could not equal.²

For a moment, however, he the course of his pleasures to grave deputies of the Sorbonne; only men of learning in those faculty pointed out as heretics prince who boasted of having pu of France *hors de page* (out of leadi bend his head before a few fanatic He replied: "I will not have tl molested. To persecute those w would prevent able scholars from our country."³

The deputation left the king's great wrath. What will be the coi The disease grows stronger o already the heretical opinions a nated "the sentiments of men the devouring flame is stealing in

¹ Galliard, *Hist. de François I.* iv. 226.

² It was formerly the custom in the university of Paris to assign its members into four nations, viz.: France, Picardy, Normandy, and Germany.—Ta.

¹ *Hist. du Calvinisme*, p. 10.

² *Vie des Hommes illustres*, L. 3.

³ Maimbourg, p. 11.

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esses; ere long the conflagration broke forth, and throughout France the faith will fall with a terrible

and his party, failing to obtain the mission to erect their scaffolds, persecutions of a more invidious there was no kind of annoyance to evangelical teachers were not Fresh reports and fresh denunciations followed each other daily. The aged, mented by these ignorant zealots, repose. The pious Briçonnet, who sitting in his veneration for the Etaples,¹ offered him an asylum. He left Paris and retired to Meaux. The first victory gained over the and it was then seen that if the Rom- cannot succeed in engaging the on its side, there is a secret and police, by means of which it is obtain its end.

CHAPTER VI.

In his Diocese—Reform—The Doctors perse-
cuted—Philibert of Savoy—Correspondence be-
tween Farel and Briçonnet.

was beginning to rise against the on, and to trace the outlines of that lation which was destined for more centuries to bar the entrance of ed worship. It had been God's he first beams of light should shine apital; but men immediately arose ish them; the spirit of the *Sixteen*² ly fermenting in the metropolis, cities were about to receive the h Paris rejected. et, on returning to his diocese, had l the zeal of a Christian and of a le had visited every parish, and, g the deans, the incumbents, and es, with the church-wardens and arishioners, had inquired into the d lives of the preachers. At col- e (they answered) the Franciscans begin their rounds; a single ill visit four or five parishes in a s delivering the same sermon, not souls of his hearers, but to fill his purse, and his convent.³ Their e replenished, their end is gained, s are over, and the monks do not d in the churches until the time : collection has arrived. The only

business of these shepherds is to shear their sheep.¹

The majority of the parish priests spent their stipends at Paris. "Alas!" exclaimed the pious bishop, finding a presbytery deserted that he had gone to visit, "are they not traitors who thus desert the service of Jesus Christ?"² Briçonnet resolved to apply a remedy to these evils, and convoked a synod of all his clergy for the 18th of October 1519. But these worldly priests, who troubled themselves but little about the remonstrances of their bishop, and for whom Paris had so many charms, took advantage of a custom in virtue of which they might substitute one or more curates to tend their flocks in their absence. Out of one hundred and twenty-seven of these curates, there were only fourteen of whom Briçonnet could approve upon examination.

Worldly-minded priests, imbecile curates, monks who thought only of their belly;—such was then the condition of the Church. Briçonnet interdicted the Franciscans from entering the pulpit;³ published a mandate on the 27th of October 1520, in which he declared "traitors and deserters all those pastors who, by abandoning their flocks, show plainly that what they love is their fleece and their wool; selected others who were found to be capable, and gave them to the poor sheep, ransomed by the most holy blood of Jesus Christ;"⁴ and feeling convinced that the only means of providing able ministers for his diocese was to train them himself, he determined to establish a theological school at Meaux, under the direction of pious and learned doctors. It was necessary to find them, and Beda soon provided them.

This fanatic and his band did not relax their exertions; and, bitterly complaining of the toleration of their government, declared that they would make war on the new doctrines with it, without it, and against it. In vain had Lefevre quitted the capital; did not Farel and his friends remain behind? Farel, it is true, did not preach, for he was not in holy orders; but at the university and in the city, with professors and priests, students and citizens, he boldly maintained the cause of the Reformation. Others, inspired by his example, were inculcating the Gospel more openly. A celebrated preacher, Martial Mazurier, president of St. Michael's college, threw aside all reserve, depicted the disorders of the age in the darkest and yet truest colours, and it seemed impossible to resist the torrent of his eloquence.⁵ The

aria benedicta, pro tantis ad studia commodis.
aria Reg. Pauli.

time (1570) a popular society, more violent in was formed among the Leaguers, and which *Mémoires* (Hesse), from the number of its direct-
ers, each of whom became a religious agitator
arsers of Paris. White's Universal History,

seueri quæ ad conuictum illorum ac ventrem
rimarent. Acta Mart. p. 334.

¹ MS. of Meaux. I am indebted to the kindness of M. Ladevèze, pastor at Meaux, for a copy of this manuscript, which is preserved in that city.

² MS. of Meaux.

³ His in universa diocesi sua predicationem interdixit.
Act. Mart. p. 334.

⁴ Histoire Générale de la maison des Briconnets, by Eug. Briconneau, published in 1821, and quoted in the *Revue* of 4th May 1842.

⁵ Frequentissimas de reformatis hominum moribus
conclusiones habuit. Lannoi, Navarre gymnasi Hist. p. 202.

anger of Beda and his theological friends was at its height. "If we tolerate these innovators," said he, "they will invade the whole body, and all will be over with our teaching, our traditions, our places, and the respect felt towards us by France and the whole of Christendom!"

The divines of the Sorbonne were the stronger party. Farel, Mazurier, Gerard Roussel, and his brother Arnold, soon found their active exertions every where thwarted. The Bishop of Meaux entreated his friends to come and join Lefevre; and these excellent men, hunted down by the Sorbonne, and hoping to form, under Briçonnet's protection, a sacred phalanx for the triumph of the truth, accepted the bishop's invitation, and repaired to Meaux.¹ Thus the light of the Gospel was gradually withdrawn from the capital, where Providence had kindled its earliest sparks. *And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.*² It is impossible not to discover that Paris then drew down upon its walls the judgment of God pointed out in these words of Jesus Christ.

Margaret of Valois, successively deprived of Briçonnet, Lefevre, and their friends, felt anxious at her lonely position in the midst of Paris and the licentious court of Francis I. A young princess, Philiberta of Savoy, her mother's sister, lived in close intimacy with her. Philiberta, whom the King of France had given in marriage to Julian the Magnificent, brother to Leo X., in confirmation of the concordat, had repaired to Rome after her nuptials, when the pope, delighted at so illustrious an alliance, had expended 150,000 ducats in sumptuous festivities on the occasion.³ Julian, who then commanded the papal army, died, leaving his widow only eighteen years of age. She became attached to Margaret, who by her talents and virtues exercised a great influence over all around her. Philiberta's grief opened her heart to the voice of religion. Margaret imparted to her all she read; and the widow of the lieutenant-general of the Church began to taste the sweets of the doctrine of salvation. But Philiberta was too inexperienced to support her friend. Margaret often trembled as she thought of her exceeding weakness. If the love she bore the king and the fear she had of displeasing him led her to any action contrary to her conscience, trouble immediately entered into her soul, and turning sorrowfully towards the Lord, she found in him a brother and a master more compassionate and dearer to her heart than Francis himself. It was then she said to Jesus Christ:—⁴

Sweet brother, who, when thou might'st
Thy foolish sister, tak'st her to thy side;
And grace and love giv'st her in recompence
Of murmurings, injury, and great offences,
Too much, too much, dear brother, thou hast
Too much, alas! for such a worthless one

Margaret seeing all her friends: Meaux, looked sadly after them amidst of the festivities of the court thing appeared to be deserting her. Her husband, the Duke of Alençon, setting out for the army; her young Philiberta was going to Savoy. They turned to Briçonnet.

"Monsieur de Meaux," wrote saying that One alone is necessary, you, entreating you to be, by means that He will be pleased to condescending to His holy will, M. d'Alençon by command of the king is settling lieutenant-general in his army, will not be disbanded without a word thinking that, besides the public kingdom, you have a good title to ever concerns his salvation and minister for your spiritual aid. To-morrow of Nemours departs for Savoy. I am to meddle with many things that much fear. Wherefore, if you should that master Michael could undertake hither, it would be a consolation which I beseech only for the honour

Michael of Aranda, whose aid sought, was one of the members of the Gelical society of Meaux, who subjected himself to many dangers in the Gospel.

This pious princess beheld with opposition against truth becoming midable every day. Duprat and tures of the government, Beda and the Sorbonne, filled her with terror, to encourage her, replied: "war which the gentle Jesus told: Gospel he came to send on earth.... the fire.....the great fire that true earthliness into heavenliness. I do all my heart to aid you, madam, my own nothingness expect nothing will. Whoso hath faith, hope, hath all he requires, and needeth support.....God alone is all in all of him can nothing be found. To fight with you that great giant.....love able.....The war is led on by love demandeth the presence of the heart: is the man who withdraws from him fighteth in person is sure of vict often faithless who fighteth by other

The Bishop of Meaux was beginning by personal experience what fight for the Word of God. The monks and monks, irritated by the asylum to the friends of the Reformation him with such violence that his br

¹ Ce fut la persécution qui se suscita contre eux à Paris en 1523, qui les obligea à quitter cette ville. Vie de Farel, par Champard.

² John III. 19.

³ Guichenon, Hist. gén. de Savoie, II. 180.

⁴ Miroir de l'âme pécheresse. Marguerite de la Marguerite, t. 33.

¹ Letters of Margaret, Queen of Navarre, to her brother at Paris, B. F. 337 (1521).

² Lettres de Marguerite, M.S. B. F. 15th June

St. Malo, came to Paris to inquire matter.¹ Hence Margaret was cheered by the consolations that Bridgman addressed to her, and she replied with assistance.

"any thing," she wrote, "you think a pleasure you or yours, I pray you that every trouble will turn to my

May everlasting peace be yours so long wars you are waging for the which battle you desire to die.....

"Wholly your daughter,

"MARGARET."²

lamented that Briçonnet did not contest. Yet he was then full of liberty of Nemours, respected by her sincere devotion, her liberality the poor, and the great purity of her with increasing interest the writings transmitted to her by the of Meaux. "I have all the tracts have sent me," wrote Margaret to him, "of which my aunt of Nemours part, and I will forward her the last; in Savoy at her brother's wedding, no slight loss to me; wherefore I you have pity on my loneliness." Philipbert did not live long to declare herself openly in favour of religion. She died in 1524 at the Virieu le Grand, in Bugey, at the eighty-six.³ This was a severe blow to her. Her friend, her sister, she could not fully comprehend her, was taken

There was perhaps only one indignant brother, whose death would have done her more sorrow than this:

*floods of tears fall from my eyes,
hide from view both earth and skies.⁴*

ret, feeling her inability to resist and the seductions of the court, en-Briçonnet to exhort her to the love and the humble bishop replied:—

the mild and gentle Jesus, who alone is able to effect what he wills, in his infinite mercy visit thee, exhorting you to love him with all thy being. Other than he, madam, the power to do this; you must not turn from darkness, or warmth from him attracting he kindles; and by his attracts to follow him, enlarging

Madam, you write to me to have you, because you are alone. I do stand that word. Whoso lives in the world and has his heart there, is alone; and evil go together. But she part sleeps to the world, and is the meek and gentle Jesus, her loyal husband, is truly alone, for on the one thing needful; and yet

she is not alone, not being forsaken by him who fills and preserves all things. Pity I cannot, and must not, such loneliness, which is more to be esteemed than the whole world, from which I am persuaded that the love of God has saved you, and that you are no longer its child.....Abide, madam, alone in your only One.....who has been pleased to suffer a painful and ignominious death and passion.

"Madam, in commending myself to your good graces, I entreat you not to use any more such words as in your last letters. Of God alone you are the daughter and bride; other father you should not seek.....I exhort and admonish you, that you will be such and as good a daughter to him, as he is a good Father to you.....and forasmuch as you cannot attain to this, because the finite cannot correspond to infinity, I pray that he will vouchsafe to increase your strength, that you may love and serve him with your whole heart."¹

Notwithstanding these exhortations, Margaret was not consoled. She bitterly regretted the spiritual guides whom she had lost; the new pastors forced upon her to bring her back did not possess her confidence, and whatever the bishop might say, she felt herself alone in the midst of the court, and all around her appeared dark and desolate. "As a sheep in a strange country," wrote she to Briçonnet, "wandering about, not knowing where to find its pasture, through lack of knowing its new shepherds, naturally lifts its head to catch the breeze from that quarter where the chief shepherd was once accustomed to give her sweet nourishment, in such sort am I constrained to pray for your charity.....Come down from the high mountain, and in pity regard, among this benighted people, the blindest of all thy fold.

"MARGARET."²

The Bishop of Meaux, in his reply, taking up the image of the stray sheep under which Margaret had depicted herself, uses it to describe the mysteries of salvation under the figure of a wood: "The sheep entering the forest, led by the Holy Ghost," said he, "is immediately enchanted by the goodness, beauty, straightness, length, breadth, depth, and height, and the fragrant and invigorating sweetness of this forest.....and when it has looked all around, has seen only Him in all, and all in Him;³ and moving rapidly through its depths, finds it so pleasant, that the way is life, and joy, and consolation."⁴ The bishop then shows her the sheep searching in vain for the limits of the forest (an image of the soul that would fathom the mysteries of God), meeting with lofty mountains, which it endeavours to scale, finding every where "inaccessible and in-

leaux.

¹ MS. Bibl. Roy. de la Bibl. Royale.

² Hist. de la maison de Savoie, II. 151.

³ spirituelle après la mort du Roi. Marguerites,

¹ MS. Bibl. Roy. S. F. 337, dated 10th July.

² Ibid.

³ All in Christ.

⁴ MS. S. F. 337. Bibl. Roy.

comprehensible infinity." He then teaches her the road by which the soul, inquiring after God, surmounts all these difficulties; he shows how the sheep in the midst of the hirelings finds "the cabin of the great Shepherd," and "enters on the wing of meditation by faith;" all is made smooth, all is explained; and she begins to sing: "I have found him whom my soul loveth."

Thus wrote the Bishop of Meaux. At that period he was burning with zeal, and would gladly have seen all France regenerated by the Gospel.¹ Often would his mind dwell especially on those three great individuals who seemed to preside over the destinies of its people,—the king, his mother, and his sister. He thought that if the royal family were enlightened, all the people would be so, and the priests, stirred to rivalry, would at last awaken from their lethargy. "Madam," wrote he to Margaret, "I humbly entreat Almighty God, that he will be pleased of his goodness to kindle a fire in the hearts of the king, of his mother, and in your ownso that from you there may go forth a light burning and shining on the rest of the nation; and particularly on that class by whose coldness all others are frozen."

Margaret did not share these hopes. She speaks neither of her brother nor of her mother; they were subjects she dared not touch upon; but, replying to the bishop in January 1522, with a heart wrung by the indifference and worldliness of those around her, she said: "The times are so cold, my heart so icy;" and signs her letter, "your frozen, thirsty, and hungry daughter,"

"MARGARET."

This letter did not discourage Briçonnet, but it made him ponder; and feeling how much he, who desired to re-animate others, required to be animated himself, he commended himself to the prayers of Margaret and of Madam de Nemours. "Madam," wrote he, with great simplicity, "I beseech you to awaken the poor slumberer with your prayers."²

Such in 1521 were the sentiments interchanged at the court of France. A strange correspondence, no doubt, and one which, after more than three centuries, a manuscript in the Royal Library has revealed to us. Was this influence of the Reformation in such high places a benefit to it or a misfortune? The sting of truth penetrated the court; but perhaps it only served to arouse the drowsy beast, and exciting his rage, caused it to spring with deadlier fury on the humblest of the flock.

¹ Studio veritatis alibi declaranda inflammatus. Act. Martyrum, p. 224.
² Mss. Bibl. Royale.

CHAPTER VII.

Beginning of the Church at Meaux—The Scriptures in French—The Artisans and the Bishop—Evangelical Harvest—The Epistles of St. Paul sent to the King—Lefevre and Roma—The Monks before the Bishop—The Monks before the Parliament—Briçonnet's first fall—Lefevre and Farel—Persecution—Francis Lambert—His Noviciate and Apostolic Labour—His Early Struggles—His quiet Avignon.

THE time was indeed approaching when the storm should burst upon the Reformation; but it was first to scatter a few more seeds and to gather in a few more sheaves. This city of Meaux, renowned a century and a half later by the sublime defender¹ of the Gallican system against the autocratic pretensions of Rome, was called to be the first town of France where regenerated Christianity should establish its dominion. It was then the field on which the labourers were prodigal of their exertions and their seed, and where already the ears were falling before the reapers. Briçonnet, less sunk in slumber than he had said, was animating, inspecting, and directing all. His fortune equalled his zeal; never did man devote his wealth to nobler uses, and never did such noble devotedness promise at first to bear such glorious fruits. The most pious teachers, transferred from Paris to Meaux, from that time acted with more liberty. There was freedom of speech, and great was the stride then taken by the Reformation in France. Lefevre energetically expounded that Gospel with which he would have rejoiced to fill the world. He exclaimed: "Kings, princes, nobles, people, all nations should think and aspire after Christ alone."² Every priest should resemble that archangel whom John saw in the Apocalypse, flying through the air, holding the everlasting Gospel in his hand, and carrying it to every people, nation, tongue, and king. Come near ye pontiffs, come ye kings, come ye generous hearts!.....Nations, awake to the light of the Gospel, and inhale the heavenly life.³ The Word of God is all-sufficient."⁴

Such in truth was the motto of that school: THE WORD OF GOD IS ALL-SUFFICIENT. In this device the whole Reformation is embodied. "To know Christ and his Word," said Lefevre, Roussel, and Farel, "is the only living and universal theology.....He who knows that, knows every thing."⁵

The truth was making a deep impression at Meaux. Private meetings took place at first; then conferences; and at last the Gospel was preached in the churches. But a new effort inflicted a still more formidable blow against Rome.

¹ Bossuet.
² Reges, principes, magnates omnes et subinde cunctum nationum populi, ut nihil aliud cogitent.....ne Christum. Fabri. Comm. in Evang. Pref.
³ Ubique gentium expurgatissimi ad Evangelium homines. Ibid.
⁴ Verbum Dei sufficit. Ibid.
⁵ Hoc est universa et sola vivifica Theologia.....Christus et verbum eius esse cuncta. Ibid. in Ev. Joann. p. 21.

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desired to enable the Christians of the north to read the Holy Scriptures. On the 15th of May 1522, he published a French version of the four Gospels; on the 6th of June 1523, the remaining books of the New Testament; on the 12th October 1524, all together, at the house of Collin and in 1525, a French version of the Bible.

Thus was begun in France, at the same time as in Germany, that dissemination of the Scriptures in French which, three centuries ago, was so wonderfully developed in the world. In France, as on the Rhine, the Bible had a deacon. Experience had taught men, that when they sought to do things, doubt and obscurity lay on every side. In how many and perhaps years in their life they been tempted to regard the truths as mere delusions! We come from heaven to enlighten our eyes. Such was the ejaculation of many of the epoch of the Reformation. With such as these, numbers received the books from the hands of Lefevre; read in their families and in prisons; and the Bible became a friend to those souls so dark as the centre and the sun of all. No longer did they require deacons to prove that Scripture was true; they knew it, for by it they had emerged from darkness to light.

The course by which so many persons in France attained a knowledge of God. But there were yet more common paths, if such can be found; many of the lower classes were the truth. The city of Meaux was wholly inhabited by artisans and labourers. "There was engendered in this city a chronicler of the sixteenth century, an ardent desire of knowing the truth, that artisans, fullers, and so on, took no other recreation, as with their hands, than conversing with each other on the Word of God, and enjoying themselves with the same. On holidays especially were devoted to the reading of Scripture, and inquiring into the pleasure of the Lord."¹ He rejoiced to see piety take the place of idleness in his diocese. "Lefevre, the renown of his great learning," says an imaginary historian, "contrived and circumvented Messire Guilleminet with his plausible talk, that him to turn aside grievously, so as to be impossible up to this day to the diocese of Meaux from that doctrine, where it has so marvelled. The misleading that good

bishop was a great injury, as until then he had been so devoted to God and to the Virgin Mary."²

Yet all were not so grievously turned aside as the Franciscan says, whom we have just quoted. The city was divided into two parties. On the one side were the monks of St. Francis and the friends of the Romish doctrine; on the other, Briçonnet, Lefevre, Farel, and all those who loved the new preaching. A man of the poorer classes, by name Leclerc, was one of the most servile adherents of the monks; but his wife and two sons, Peter and John, had received the Gospel with eagerness, and John, who was a wool-carder, soon distinguished himself among the new Christians. James Pavanne, a learned and youthful Picard, "a man of great sincerity and uprightness," whom Briçonnet had invited to Meaux, showed an ardent zeal for the Reformation. Meaux had become a focus of light. Persons called thither by business heard the Gospel, and carried it back to their homes. It was not in the city alone that men were examining the Scriptures; "many of the villages did the same," says a chronicle, "so that in this diocese an image of the renovated Church was seen to shine forth."

The environs of Meaux were covered with rich crops, and at harvest season a crowd of labourers flocked thither from the surrounding countries. Resting from their toils in the middle of the day, they conversed with the people of the place, who spoke to them of other seed-times and other harvests. Many peasants from Thierache, and particularly from Landouzy, persevered, on their return home, in the doctrines they had heard, and ere long an evangelical church was formed in this district, which is one of the oldest churches in the kingdom.³ "The renown of this great blessing spread through France," says the chronicler.⁴ Briçonnet himself proclaimed the Gospel from the pulpit, and endeavoured to scatter around him "that infinite, sweet, mild, true, and only light (to use his own words) which dazzles and enlightens every creature capable of receiving it, and which, while it enlightens him, raises him by adoption to the dignity of a son of God."⁵ He besought his flock to lend no ear to those who would turn them aside from the Word. "Though an angel from heaven," said he, "should preach any other Gospel, do not listen to him." Sometimes gloomy thoughts would prey upon his soul. He was not sure of himself: he shrunk back in alarm, as he dwelt upon the fatal consequences of his unfaithfulness; and forewarning his hearers, he said to them:

¹ Histoire Catholique de notre temps, par Fontaine, de l'Ordre de St. Francois. Paris, 1622.

² These particulars are derived from some old and much discoloured papers, found in the church of Landouzy-la-Ville, in the department of Aisne, by M. Colant, while pastor of that place.

³ Act. Mort. p. 128.

⁴ Mss. Bibl. Roy. S. P. No. 207.

"Even should I, your bishop, change my language and my doctrine, beware of changing like me."¹ At that moment nothing seemed to indicate the possibility of such a misfortune. "Not only was the Word of God preached," says the chronicle, "but it was followed; all works of charity and love were practised there; the morals were reformed and superstitions laid low."²

Still clinging to the idea of gaining over the king and his mother, the bishop sent to Margaret "the epistles of St. Paul, translated and splendidly illuminated, most humbly entreating her to present them to the king; which cannot but be most pleasing from your hands," added the good bishop. "They are a royal dish," continued he, "fattening without corruption, and healing all manner of sickness. The more we taste them, the more we hunger after them with desire unsatiable, and that never cloy."³

What more welcome message could Margaret receive? The moment seemed favourable. Michael Aranda was at Paris, detained by order of the king's mother, for whom he was translating portions of the Holy Scripture.⁴ But Margaret would have preferred that Briçonnet should present this book himself to her brother. "You would do well to come here," wrote she, "for you know the confidence that Madam and the king place in you."⁵

Thus, probably, was the Word of God placed at that time (in 1522 and 1523) under the eyes of Francis I. and Louisa of Savoy. They came into contact with that Gospel which they were afterwards to persecute. We do not find that this Word produced any salutary effect upon them. An impulse of curiosity led them to open that Bible which was then making so much noise; but they closed it as soon as they had opened it.

Margaret herself found it hard to contend against the worldliness by which she was every where surrounded. Her tender affection towards her brother, the obedience she owed to her mother, and the flatteries lavished on her by the court, all seemed to conspire against the love she had vowed to Christ. Christ was alone against many. Sometimes Margaret's soul, assailed by so many adversaries, and stunned by the noise of the world, turned aside from its Master. Then, becoming sensible of her faults, the princess would shut herself up in her apartments, and giving way to her sorrow, utter cries very different from the joyous sounds with which Francis and the young lords, the companions of his debauchery, filled the royal palaces in the midst of their entertainments and festivities:—

Left you I have, to follow pleasure's
Left you I have, and for an evil cho
Left you I have, and whither am I

Then turning towards Meaux would exclaim in her anguish: you, to M. Fabry (Lefevre) gentlemen, beseeching you, by y to obtain of the unspeakable N rum for the poor weak and sl arouse her from her heavy and ber."⁶

Thus had Meaux become a f the light of the Gospel emar friends of the Reformation indu tering illusions. Who could rel pel if the power of Francis clear The corrupting influence of the then be changed into a holy in France would acquire a moral s would render her the benefac world.

But, on their side, the friends taken the alarm. Among thos was a Jacobin monk named Rou as Lefevre, Farel, and their frien ing with him and some other partisans, Lefevre could not antcipations. "The Gospel is ing the hearts of the great and said he, "and in a short time, over France, it will every where the inventions of men." The was animated; his eyes sparkle out voice grew sonorous; one compared him to the aged Sime thanks to the Lord, because I seen His salvation. Lefevre's fi in his emotion: their amazed op dumb. On a sudden Roma stat tuously, and exclaimed in the to lar tribune: "Then I and all t gioners will preach a crusade; the people; and if the king preaching of your Gospel, we w from his kingdom by his own s

Thus did a monk venture to ri the knightly monarch. The applauded this language. Th allow the doctor's prophecy to Already the friars were returni diminished offerings. The Fr alarm went about among priv "These new teachers are he they; "they attack the holiest and deny the most sacred mysti growing bolder, the most inc them issued from their cloister, to the bishop's residence. On ted, they said to the prelate: heresy, or else the pestilence, wh desolating the city of Meaux, over the whole kingdom."

Briçonnet was moved, and f disturbed by this attack, but he

¹ Hist. Catholique de Fontaine.

² Act. Mart. p. 192.

³ MS. Bibl. Roy. S. F. No. 337.

⁴ Par le commandement de Madame & qui il a lyvré quelque chose de la sainte Escriptrue qu'elle désire par faire. Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Les Marguerites. l. 40.

⁷ MS. Bibl. Roy. S. F. No. 337.

⁸ Farel, Epître au Duc de Lorraine.

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st too much contempt for these monks and their interested class went into the pulpit, justified and called the monks pharisees and

Still this opposition had already able and conflict in his soul; he encourage himself by the persuasive spiritual combats were necessary this warfare," said he, in his mystical language, "we arrive at death, and by continually mortifying die living, and live dying." "I could have been surer if, casting on the Saviour, as the apostles led by the winds and waves, he had "Lord, help me! or I perish."

icks of Meaux, enraged at their reception by the bishop, re- carry their complaints before a council. An appeal lay open to the bishop will not give way, he needed to compliance. Their leaders

Paris, and concerted measures and Duchesne. They hastened parliament, and denounced the heretical teachers. "The city neighbourhood," said they, "are in heresy, and its polluted waters are episcopal palace."

France begin to hear the cry of raised against the Gospel. The and the civil power, the Sorbonne parliament, grasped their arms,— were to be stained with blood. had taught mankind that there and rights anterior to all civil ; it had emancipated the religion promoted liberty of conscience, a great change in society; for which contemplated the citizen and the man no where, had on a mere matter of state. But of liberty had scarcely been given, ere the papacy corrupted them; otism of the prince it had substituted despotism of the priest; and not y it had raised both prince and ast the christian people. A new on was needed; it took place in th century. Wherever the Reformation established itself, it broke the yoke and the religious mind was again d. But so rooted in the nature of disposition to tyrannize over truth, ; many protestant nations, the rated from the arbitrary power st, has again in our days fallen oke of the civil power; destined, ider, to be bandied from one des- othor, to pass from Caiaphas to from Pilate to Caiaphas.

t had not the courage necessary ice. He would not yield every what he did concede satisfied We may well do without Luther's

writings," he thought, "if we keep the Gospel; we may easily accede to a certain invocation of the Virgin, if we add that it is only by the mediation of Jesus Christ that she possesses any influence." If beside the truth we place the power of error, the papacy is satisfied. But the sacrifice which Briçonnet felt the deepest, and which yet was required of him, was the loss of his friends. If the bishop would escape, he must sacrifice his brethren. Of timid character, but little prepared to give up his riches and his station for Christ's sake, already alarmed, shaken, and cast down, he was still further led astray by treacherous advisers: if the evangelical doctors should quit Meaux (said some), they will carry the Reformation elsewhere. His heart was torn by a painful struggle. At last the wisdom of this world prevailed; he gave way, and on the 15th of October 1523, published three mandates, the first of which enjoined prayers for the dead, and the invocation of the Virgin and of the saints; the second forbade any one to buy, borrow, read, possess, or carry about with him Luther's works, and ordered them to be torn in pieces, to be scattered to the winds, or to be burnt; and the last established in express terms the doctrine of purgatory. Then, on the 13th of November in the same year, Briçonnet forbade the parish priests and their curates to permit the "Lutherans" to preach.¹ This was not all. The first president of the Parliament of Paris, and Andrew Verjus, councillor in the same court, and before whom Briçonnet had shortly afterwards to appear, arrived at Meaux during Lent 1524, no doubt to satisfy themselves of the bishop's proceedings. The poor prelate did all he could to please them. Already on the 29th of January he had taken the images of the saints under his especial protection; he now began to visit his churches, to preach, and to struggle hard in the presence of the first president and of councillor Verjus to "weed out the heresies that were there shooting up."² The deputies of the Parliament returned to Paris fully satisfied. This was Briçonnet's first fall.

Lefevre was the special object of hostility. His commentary on the four Gospels, and particularly the "Epistle to Christian Readers," prefixed to it, had inflamed the anger of Beda and his allies. They denounced this writing to the faculty. "Does he not dare recommend all the faithful to read the Scriptures?" said the fiery syndic. "Does he not say therein that whoever loves not Christ's Word is not a Christian;"³ and that the Word of God is sufficient to lead to eternal life?"

But Francis I. looked on this accusation as a mere theological squabble. He appointed a commission: and Lefevre, having justified

¹ Hist. Généalogique de Briçonnet, ad annum.

² MS. Bibl. Roy. S. F. No. 337.

³ Qui verbum eius hoc modo non diligunt, quo pacto Christiani essent. *Trat. Comm. in Evang.*

himself before it, came off from this attack with all the honours of war.

Farel, who had not so many protectors at court, was compelled to leave Meaux. It would appear that he first repaired to Paris;¹ and that, having unsparingly attacked the errors of Rome, he could remain there no longer, and was forced to retire to Dauphiny, whither he was eager to carry the Gospel.

At the time of the dispersion of the Christians at Meaux, another Frenchman, quitting his native country, crossed the threshold of the Augustine convent at Wittenberg, where Luther resided. This was in January 1523.

Farel was not the only man in the south of France whom God had prepared for his work. A little further to the south than Gap, on the banks of the Rhone, in that city of Avignon called by Petrarch "the third Babylon," may still be seen the walls of the "apostolic palace," which the popes and cardinals had long filled with their luxury and debauchery, and which a Roman legate now inhabited, lonely and dejected in the midst of this deserted city, whose narrow filthy streets were seldom trod but by the feet of monks and priests.

The little court of the legate was, however, sometimes enlivened by a beautiful, amiable, and laughing boy, who gambolled about its halls.² This was Francis Lambert, son of the secretary of the apostolic palace, born in 1487, two years before Farel. The child was at first astonished at the irreligion and crimes of these prelates,—"crimes so numerous and so enormous," says he, "that I cannot describe them."³ He became habituated to them, however, by degrees, and it would appear that he was himself seduced by bad example.⁴ Yet God had implanted in his heart a desire for holiness. His father being dead, his mother had the charge of his education, and, according to the custom of the times, intrusted him to the care of the Franciscans. The sanctified air of these monks imposed on Francis, and his timid looks followed them respectfully, as he saw them clad in coarse garments, barefoot, or with rude sandals only, moving to and fro, begging in the city and calling on his mother; and if at any time they chanced to smile upon him, he fancied himself (he tells us) almost in heaven.⁵ The monks worked upon this disposition, and Francis, attracted by them, assumed the cowl at the age of fifteen. "It was God's pleasure," said he in after-years, "that I should make known to the world the impurity of these whited sepulchres."

¹ Farel, après avoir sublésté tant qu'il put à Paris. Beza, Hist. Ecol. l. 6.

² In palatio sumpsit versatus, quod genitor meus legationis secretarius esset. Lamb. Epistola ad Gallie Regem.

³ Impietates et horrenda scelera tam multa et enormia.

⁴ Sed seductus et peccator. Ibid.

⁵ Rationes propter quas minoritarum conversationem, etiamque rebocebat. Wittenberg, 1523.

During the year of his novitiate thing went on smoothly; he was kept in the dark; but no sooner pronounced his vows, than the monks themselves in all their deformity, halo of sanctity that he had discovered their heads faded away, and he repressed, alarmed, and dejected. Farel began to feel a secret strength within that drove him forcibly towards Scriptures,¹ and bound him to believe the Word of God. In 1523, nominated apostolical preacher (convent, and instead of running about colleagues after "fat presents and tables," he employed himself in passing through the deserted country, teaching those ignorant people to convert the fire and sincerity of his language in crowds around him. But wasting several months in passing the Comtat Venaissin and the surrounding districts, he returned exhausted. He went on a mule that had been given to carry his weakened frame, and was a brief repose in his poor cell, as monks received him with coldness and raillery, and a third party was and they hastened to sell the animal they all agreed in saying was the best of these evangelical journeys.

One day, as brother Francis was in a certain town, with a gravity, solemn and the vivacity of a native south: "Kindle a fire," exclaimed before this sacred porch, and then the spoils of your luxury, your mindlessness, and your debauchery, diately the whole assembly was in motion; some lighted up a fire; they entered their houses and returned with playing-cards, and obscene pictures, then, like the Christians of Ephesus, preaching of St. Paul, cast all into the fire. A great crowd was gathered round, and among them some Franciscan, conceiving an indecent drawing of female, cunningly drew it away, and under one of their frocks, "to save their own flames," says Lambert, not escape the eye of brother Francis. Holy indignation kindled within him, he boldly addressing the monks, he against their lubricity and theft. At being discovered, they sunk the picture, but swore vengeance.

Lambert, surrounded with derision and become an object of hatred to all, felt from time to time an ardent return into the world, which appeared infinitely more holy than the cloister he found something still better.

¹ Urgebat me vehementer latens quidam non aliena Domini spiritus ad sacramentum studii Exegesis in S. Johannis Apocalypsa, pref.

² Lambert von Avignon, by Professor Baum.

led to the fairs of Lyons, descended and reached his cell. They were from him and burnt; but it was the spirit that animated the Au-
Wittenberg had passed into the of Avignon: he was saved. Then had he resorted to frequent
ly had he slept sitting on a ally had he shunned the looks of
haircloth next his skin, scourged so weakened his body that he
ely hold himself upright, and even fainted in the churches and
e was preaching to the people. tells us, could not extinguish the
banish the thoughts that preyed and it was only in faith on the
f God and in the sanctity of a that he found purity and peace.²
e of those numerous examples; that marriage, being of Divine
t, is a means of grace and holi- hat the celibacy of priests and
invention of man, is one of the al agents to foster impurity, sul-
tion, disturb the peace of fami- l society with innumerable dis-

a friar had made up his mind; t the convent, he will abandon
will leave France. He will go reams of the Gospel flow abun-
re, and he will there plunge into nench the fires that are consum-
since all his efforts are unavail- go to Wittenberg, to that great
od, whose name alone conjures the devil, in order that he may

He took advantage of some were to be carried to one of the
the order, and having donned itted the Franciscan convent of
the spring of 1522, after twenty ggle. He ascended the Rhone,
ons, and crossed the forests that iver ridges of the Jura. This
n graceful monk still wore the order, and rode on an ass, his
most touching the ground. We seen him pass through Geneva,
erne, and Zurich.³ In the be- 523, he was at Wittenberg, and
uther. But let us return to o the Church of Meaux.

remuise multo tempore quam in scamno
Lamb. de sacro conjugio.
lum altissimi jussionem conjux factus est.

etiam nesciret ali. Ibid.
habeam scorta et multis modis niterer ad
uquam pacem habui. Ibid.

CHAPTER VIII.

Lefevre and Farel persecuted—Difference between the Lu-
theran and Reformed Churches—Leclerc posts up his
Placards—Leclerc branded—Berquin's Zeal—Berquin be-
fore the Parliament—Rescued by Francis I.—Mazurier's
Apostasy—Fall and Remorse of Paranne—Mez—Agrappa
and Chatelain—Lambert at Wittenberg—Evangelical
Press at Hamburg—Lambert marries—He longs to return
to France—The Lots—Peter Toussaint becomes atten-
tive—Leclerc breaks the images—Leclerc's Condemnation
and Torture—Martyrdom of Chatelain—Flight.

LEFEVRE intimidated, Briçonnet drawing back, Farel compelled to fly—here was a be-
ginning of victory. They already imagined at the Sorbonne that they had mastered the
movement; the doctors and monks congra-
tulated each other on their triumphs. But this was not enough; blood had not flowed. They set to work again; and blood, since it
must be so, was ere long to gratify the fan-
aticism of Rome.

The evangelical Christians of Meaux, see-
ing their leaders dispersed, sought to edify
one another. The wool-carder, John Le-
clerc, whom the lessons of the doctors, the
reading of the Bible, and some tracts, had
instructed in the christian doctrine,¹ signa-
lized himself by his zeal and facility in ex-
pounding Scripture. He was one of those
men whom the Spirit of God fills with cou-
rage,² and soon places at the head of a reli-
gious movement. It was not long before
the Church of Meaux regarded him as its
minister.

The idea of a universal priesthood, such a
living principle among the first Christians,
had been re-established by Luther in the six-
teenth century.³ But this idea seems then
to have existed only in theory in the Lu-
theran church, and to have been really acted
upon solely among the reformed Christians.
The Lutheran Churches (and here they agree
with the Anglican Church) perhaps took a
middle course between the Romish and the
Reformed Churches. Among the Lutherans,
every thing proceeded from the pastor or the
priest; and nothing was counted valid in the
Church that did not flow regularly through
its chiefs. But the Reformed Churches,
while they maintained the Divine appoint-
ment of the ministry, which some sects deny,
approached nearer to the primitive condition
of the apostolical communities. From the
times of which we are speaking, they recog-
nised and proclaimed that the christian
flocks ought not simply to receive what the
pastor gives; that the members of the Church,
as well as its leaders, possess the key of that
treasure whence the latter derive their in-
struction, for the Bible is in the hands of
all; that the graces of God, the spirit of
faith, of wisdom, of consolation, of light, are
not bestowed on the pastor only; that every
man is called upon to employ the gift he has

¹ *Allis pauculis libellis diligenter lectis. Bessæ Iconom.*
² *Animosus fidei plenus. Ibid.*
³ *See vol. II. p. 168.*

received for the good of all; and that a certain gift, necessary to the edification of the Church, may be refused to a minister, and yet granted to one of his flock. Thus the passive state of the Church was then changed into a state of general activity; and in France, especially, this revolution was accomplished. In other countries, the reformers were almost exclusively pastors and doctors; but in France men of learning had from the very beginning pious men of the people for their allies. In that country God selected for his first workmen a doctor of the Sorbonne and a wool-comber.

The wool-comber Leclerc began to visit from house to house, confirming the disciples. But not stopping short at these ordinary cares, he would fain have seen the edifice of popery overthrown, and France, from the midst of these ruins, turning with a cry of joy towards the Gospel. His unguarded zeal may remind us of that of Hottinger at Zurich, and of Carlstadt at Wittenberg. He wrote a proclamation against the Antichrist of Rome, announcing that the Lord was about to destroy it by the breath of his mouth. He then boldly posted his "placards" on the gates of the cathedral.¹ Presently all was in confusion around that ancient edifice. The faithful were amazed; the priests exasperated. What! a fellow whose employment is wool-combing dares measure himself with the pope! The Franciscans were outrageous, and demanded that this once at least a terrible example should be made. Leclerc was thrown into prison.

His trial was finished in a few days, under the eyes of Briçonnet himself, who was now to witness and tolerate all that was done. The carder was condemned to be whipped three days successively through the city, and on the third to be branded on the forehead. This sad spectacle soon began. Leclerc was led through the streets with his hands bound, his back bare, and the executioners inflicted on him the blows he had drawn upon himself by rising up against the Bishop of Rome. An immense crowd followed in the track marked by the martyr's blood. Some yelled with rage against the heretic; others by their silence gave him no unequivocal marks of their tender compassion. One woman encouraged the unhappy man by her looks and words: she was his mother.

At last, on the third day, when the blood-stained procession was ended, they halted with Leclerc at the usual place of execution. The hangman prepared the fire, heated the iron that was to stamp its burning mark on the evangelist, and approaching him, branded him on the forehead as a heretic. A shriek was heard, but it did not proceed from the martyr. His mother, a spectator of the

dreadful scene, and wrung with a endured a bitter strife: it was the asasm of faith struggling in her heart maternal love; faith prevailed at last she exclaimed with a voice that made her adversaries tremble: "Glory to Jesus and to his witnesses!"² Thus did a Frenchwoman of the sixteenth century the commandment of the Son of God that loveth his son more than himself worthy of me." Such boldness, and a moment, merited signal punishment; this christian mother had appalled the both of priests and soldiers. All this was controlled by a stronger arm than The crowd, respectfully making way, the martyr's mother slowly to her humble dwelling. The monks, and town-sergeants, gazed on her with indignation. "Not one of her enemies dare hands upon her," said Theodore Beza at this execution, Leclerc, being set at retired to Rosay in Brie, a small town about six leagues from Meaux, and thence to Metz, where we shall meet him again.

The adversaries were triumphant. Cordeliers having re-captured the propagated their lies and trumpery as usual. But the poor workmen of the city, pained from hearing the Word in regular sermons, "began to meet in secret,"³ the chronicler, "after the manner of the prophets in the time of Ahab, as Christians of the primitive Church; opportunity offered, they assembled in a house, at another in some vineyard or in a field. There, he amongst them who versed in the Holy Scriptures exhorted; and this done, they all prayed with great courage, supporting each by the hope that the Gospel would be revived in France, and that the tyrant Antichrist would come to an end."⁴ is no power that can arrest the progress of truth.

But one victim only was not enough if the first against whom the persecution was let loose was a wool-comber, there was a gentleman of the court. It was necessary to frighten the nobles as well as the people. Their reverences of the Sorbonne could not think of being outdone by the Franciscans of Meaux. "the most learned of the nobles," revived fresh courage from the Holy Scriptures and after having attacked "the heretics of the Sorbonne" in certain epigrams, had accused them of impiety.⁵

Beda and Duchesne, who had not been so ready to reply in their usual manner to

¹ Cet hérétique écrivit des pancartes qu'il attachait aux portes de la grande église de Meaux (M^s. de Meaux). See also Beza Icones; Crespin Actes des Martyrs, &c.

² Hist. Eccles. de Th. de Bèze, p. 4. Hist. des Crespin, p. 92.

³ Actes des Martyrs, p. 123.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Impietatis etiam accusatos, tum voce, tum Beza Icones.

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

the king's gentleman, changed their
oon as they discovered that beneath
nvictions lay these attacks. Ber-
become a Christian: his ruin was
ion. Beda and Duchesne, having
e of his translations, found in them
to burn more heretics than one.
tains," said they, "that it is wrong
the Virgin Mary in place of the
st, and to call her the source of all
le inveighs against the practice of
our hope, our life, and says that
s belong only to the Son of God."
e other matters besides these. Ber-
dy was like a bookseller's shop,
orks of corruption were circulated
he whole kingdom. The *Common-*
Melancthon, in particular, served,
gance of their style, to shake the
e literary men in France. This
e, living only amidst his folios and
had become, out of christian
ranslator, corrector, printer, and
.....It was essential to check this
torrent at its very source.

y, as Berquin was quietly seated
lies, among his beloved books, his
s suddenly surrounded by the
at-arms, who knocked violently at
They were the Sorbonne and its
no, furnished with authority from
ment, were making a domiciliary
la, the formidable syndic, was at
, and never did inquisitor perform
better; accompanied by his satel-
ntered Berquin's library, told him
ss, ordered a watchful eye to be
him, and began his search. Not
aped his piercing glance, and an
ntory of the whole was drawn up
ers. Here was a treatise by Me-
there a book by Carlstadt; farther
of Luther's. Here were hereti-
translated from Latin into French
himself; there, others of his own
n. All the works that Beda seized,
, were filled with Lutheran errors.
house, carrying off his booty, and
d than ever was general laden with
of vanquished nations.²

saw that a great storm had burst
; but his courage did not falter.
ed his enemies too much to fear
anwhile Beda lost no time. On
f May 1523, the parliament issued
at all the books seized in Berquin's
uld be laid before the faculty of
*The opinion of the Sorbonne was
ounced; on the 25th of June it
l all the works, with the exception
already mentioned, to be burnt as
and ordered that Berquin should
errors. The parliament ratified
on.

Beatam Virginem invocari pro Spiritu Sancto.
279.
Hist. de François I. iv. 241. Crévier, Univ. de

The nobleman appeared before this formid-
able body. He knew that the next step
might be to the scaffold; but, like Luther at
Worms, he remained firm. Vainly did the
parliament order him to retract. Berquin
was not one of those *who fall away after hav-*
ing been made partakers of the Holy Ghost.
Whosoever is begotten of God, keepeth himself,
*and that wicked one toucheth him not.*¹ Every
fall proves that the previous conversion has
been only apparent or partial; but Berquin's
conversion was real. He replied with firm-
ness to the court before which he stood. The
parliament, more severe than the Diet of
Worms had been, ordered its officers to seize
the accused, and take him to the prison of
the Conciergerie. This was on the 1st of
August 1523. On the 5th the parliament
handed over the heretic to the Bishop of
Paris, in order that this prelate might take
cognizance of the affair, and that, assisted
by the doctors and councillors, he should
pronounce sentence on the culprit. He was
transferred to the episcopal prison.²

Thus was Berquin passed from court to
court, and from one prison to another. Beda,
Duchesne, and their cabal had their victim
in their grasp; but the court still cherished
a grudge against the Sorbonne, and Francis
was more powerful than Beda. This tran-
saction excited great indignation among the
nobles. Do these monks and priests forget
what the sword of a gentleman is worth?
"Of what is he accused?" said they to
Francis I.; "of blaming the custom of in-
voking the Virgin in place of the Holy
Ghost? But Erasmus and many others
blame it likewise. Is it for such trifles that
they imprison a king's officer?"³ This attack
is aimed at literature, true religion, the
nobility, chivalry, nay the crown itself."
The king was glad to have another oppor-
tunity of vexing the whole company. He
issued letters transferring the cause to the
royal council, and on the 8th of August an
usher appeared at the bishop's prison with
an order from the king to set Berquin at
liberty.

The question now was whether the monks
would give way. Francis I., who had anti-
cipated some resistance, said to the agent
commissioned to execute his orders: "If you
meet with any resistance, I authorize you to
break open the gates." This language was
clear. The monks and the Sorbonne sub-
mitted to the affront, and Berquin being
restored to liberty appeared before the king's
council, by which he was acquitted.⁴

Thus did Francis I. humiliate the Church.
Berquin imagined that France, under his
reign, might emancipate herself from the
papacy, and had thoughts of renewing the

¹ Hebrews vi. 4; 1 John v. 18.

² Ductus est in carcerem, reus hereseos periclitatus.
Erasm. Epp. 1279; Crévier; Gaillard; loc. cit.

³ Ob hujusmodi venias. Erasm. Epp. 1279.

⁴ At judges, ubi viderunt causam esse nullius momenti,
absolverunt hominem. Ibid.

war. For this purpose he entered into communication with Erasmus, who at once recognised him as a man of worth.¹ But, ever timid and temporizing, the philosopher said to him: "Beware of treading on a hornet's nest, and pursue your studies in peace."² Above all, do not mix me up with your affair; that would serve neither you nor me."³

This rebuff did not discourage Berquin; if the mightiest genius of the age draws back, he will put his trust in God who never falters. God's work will be done either with or without the aid of man. "Berquin," said Erasmus, "had some resemblance to the palm-tree; he rose up again, and became proud and towering against those who sought to alarm him."⁴

Such were not all who had embraced the evangelical doctrine. Martial Mazurier had been one of the most zealous preachers. He was accused of teaching very erroneous opinions,⁵ and even of having committed certain acts of violence while at Meaux. "This Martial Mazurier, being at Meaux," says a manuscript of that city, which we have already quoted, "going to the church of the reverend Grayfriars, and seeing the image of St. Francis, with the five wounds, outside the convent-gate, where that of St. Roch now stands, threw it down and broke it in pieces." Mazurier was apprehended, and sent to the Conciergerie,⁶ where he suddenly fell into deep reflection and severe anguish. It was the morality rather than the doctrine of the Gospel that had attracted him to the ranks of the reformers; and morality left him without strength. Alarmed at the prospect of the stake, and decidedly of opinion that in France the victory would remain on the side of Rome, he easily persuaded himself that he would enjoy more influence and honour by returning to the papacy. Accordingly he retracted what he had taught, and caused doctrines the very opposite of those he had previously held to be preached in his parish;⁷ and subsequently joining the most fanatical doctors, and particularly the celebrated Ignatius Loyola, he became from that time the most zealous supporter of the papal cause.⁸ From the days of the Emperor Julian, apostates, after their infidelity, have always become the most merciless persecutors of the doctrines they had once professed.

Mazurier soon found an opportunity of showing his zeal. The youthful James Pavanne had also been thrown into prison. Martial hoped that by making him fall like

himself, he might cover his own. The youth, amiability, learning, and piety of Pavanne, created a general in his favour, and Mazurier imagined would himself be less culpable, if I persuade Master James to follow him. He visited him in prison, and he manoeuvred by pretending that he advanced further than Pavanne in the ledge of the truth: "You are more than James," he often repeated to him have not gone to the depths of the science, only know the surface of the waters. Nothing was spared, neither sophistry, nor threats. The unhappy youth, so agitated, and shaken, sunk at last these perfidious attacks, and published his pretended errors on the day of Christmas-day 1524. But from that spirit of dejection and remorse was Pavanne by the Almighty. A deep preyed upon him, and he was constantly sighing. "Alas!" repeated he, "nothing but bitterness for me in life wages of unbelief!"

Nevertheless, among those who received the Word of God in France, were of more intrepid spirit than Mazurier Pavanne. About the end of the year Leclerc had withdrawn to Metz in Lorraine, and there, says Theodore Beza, he followed the example of Saint Paul at (who, while working at his trade as a maker, persuaded the Jews and the Gauls, still pursuing his occupation of wool-carder, instructed the people of condition; and many of them had been converted. Thus did the humble art the foundation of a church which afterwards became celebrated.

Leclerc was not the first individual who had endeavoured to shed the new light of the Gospel over Metz. A scholar, renowned that age for his skill in the occult sciences, Master Agrippa of Nettesheim, "a most learned clerk, of small stature, had spent much time in travel, where every language, and had studied science,"⁹ had fixed his residence at Metz, and had even become syndic of the city. Agrippa had procured Luther's works, and communicated them to his friends among others to Master John, of Sainte-Croix, himself a great clerk, at whom Master Agrippa was very in debt. Many of the clergy, nobility, and citizens, stirred by the courage Luther had shown, were gained over to his cause. Worms, were gained over to his cause already in March 1522, an evangelical card extolling what Luther had done posted in large letters on a corner

¹ Ex epistola visus est mihi vir bonus. Erasmus, Epist. 1279.

² Sinceret crabrones et suis se studiis oblectaret. Ibid.

³ Define ne me involucres cum causis. Ibid.

⁴ Ille, ut habebat quiddam cum palma commune, adversus deterrentem tollebat animos. Ibid. There is probably an allusion to Pilny's Natural History, xvi. 42.

⁵ Hist. de l'Université, par Crévier, p. 203.

⁶ Gaillard, Hist. de François I. v. 254.

⁷ "Comme il était homme adroit, il esquivait la condamnation," says Crévier, p. 203.

⁸ Cum Ignatio Loyola in amicitiam. Launo, Navarrese gymnasi historici, p. 621.

⁹ Actes des Martyrs, p. 39.

¹⁰ Acts of the Apostles, xviii. 3. 4.—Apostoli ad tholos exemplum accutus. Bezae Icones.

¹¹ Les chroniques de la ville de Metz. Metz, 1522.

¹² Apud Metenses mihi nonnulli Lutheranos cum dignatus est. Amicus ad Agrippam, Epist. lib. iii. 14.

¹³ Lambert von Avignon, by Prof. Baum, p. 25.

palace, and excited much public

But when Leclerc arrived, the instant overpowered, sprung renewed energy. In the council-hall of the chapter, and in the citizens, the conversation perpetually on the Lutheran business great clerks and learned per-daily questioning, discussing, and this matter, and for the most part her side, and already preaching aiming that accursed sect."¹

the evangelical cause received a reinforcement. "About this same (4)," says the chronicle, "there Metz an Augustine friar named Chatelain (Chatelain), a man decli-ars, and of agreeable manners, a sacher and very eloquent, a won-derful to the poorer sort. By which gained the good-will of most of the (of all), especially of the majority priests and great rabbins, against said friar John preached daily, rth their vices and their sins, say- they abused the poor people, by at animosity was stirred up."²

Chatelain, an Augustine monk of and doctor of divinity, had been o the knowledge of God³ by his e with the Augustines of Antwerp. ne of Christ, when preached by d in chasuble and stole, appeared ordinary to the inhabitants of Metz, a it fell from the lips of a poor arti- laid aside the comb with which he wool, to explain a French version spel.

thing was fermenting in Metz at famous Lent of 1524, when a nacter appeared on the stage, a loctor, an ex-friar, and (what had been seen in France or Lorraine) wife with him.⁴ This was Lam- nignon.

Lambert's arrival at Wittemberg, I been the object of his journey on he convent, he was well received r, and the reformer had hastened to ad to Spalatin and to the elector who "on account of persecution, n poverty and exile.....He pleases respects," added Luther.⁵ Lambert n to lecture on the prophet Hosea iversity, before an auditory who conceal their surprise at hearing gs from the mouth of a Gaul.⁶ And h eyes ever turned towards his id. he had begun to translate into

French and Italian several evangelical pamphlets published by Luther and other doctors. He was not the only Frenchman at Wittemberg: he there met with counts, knights, nobles, and others come from France to see the elector and to converse with Luther, "the overseer of the works that were accomplishing in the world."¹ These Frenchmen mutually encouraged each other, and, as is usual with emigrants, exaggerated the state of affairs, imagining that a speedy revolution would lead to the triumph in their own country of the cause which they had so much at heart. "Almost the whole of Gaul is stirring," wrote Lambert to the Elector of Saxony. "Although in France the truth has no master and no leader, its friends are very numerous."²

One thing alone checked these Frenchmen at Wittemberg: the printing of the pamphlets intended for their countrymen. "Would that I could find some one," exclaimed Lambert, "that could print not only in Latin, but in French and even in Italian."³ This was the posture of affairs when certain strangers appeared: they were from Hamburg. "We come to ask you for some French treatises," said they to Lambert; "for we have some one in Hamburg who will print them carefully."⁴ It would appear that there were also a number of French emigrants at Hamburg, and a printer among the rest. Lambert could not restrain his joy; but there was still another difficulty: "And how," said he, "can we convey these books into France from the banks of the Elbe?"—"By sea; by the vessels that sail to and fro," replied the Hamburgers.⁵ "Every necessary arrangement has been made." Thus the Gospel had hardly been restored to the Church, before the ocean became an instrument of its dissemination. *The Lord maketh a way in the sea.*⁶

Yet this could not suffice; every Frenchman returning into France was to carry a few books with him, although the scaffold might be the reward of his enterprise. *Nep* there is more talking, *then* there was more action. A young French nobleman, Claude of Taureau, who left Wittemberg in May 1523, took with him a great number of evangelical treatises and letters which Lambert had written to many of the most conspicuous men of France and Savoy.⁷

On the 13th of July 1523, Lambert, then at the age of thirty-six, "determined (in his

¹ Veniunt passim Wittembergam Comites, Equites, Nobiles, et alii etiam e Gallia nostra ut te inclytum locum (the Elector) videant, et Fructum Operum, M. Lutherum. Comment. in Oseam pref.

² Gallia pene omnis commota est, et absque magistro sincerus habet veritatis director. Schelhorn. Amon. iv.

³ Si inveniat qui imprimat non tantum Latine sed Gallice et Italice, huc atque alia tradam. Ibid.

⁴ Quod ad me ex Ambrugo nuntii advenierint tractatus Gallicos postulantes; aiant enim quod illis aut qui ea lingua climatisimos posset cedere libros. Ibid. p. 341.

⁵ Quos demum navigio in Galliam mittit. Ibid.

⁶ Isaiah xliii. 16.

⁷ Occupatus multis scriptis potissimum que pluribus in Gallia misi. Junior quippe nobilis Claudius de Tauro locut. Ibid.

ses de Metz, anno 1523.

ad cognitionem Dei. Act. Mart. p. 180.

ing, se disant docteur, qui premier avait esté à présent estait marié. Chroniques de Metz,

autorem aut atque pauper factus; mihi per vir. L. Kpp. li. 32.

nostrum Martini consilio exordiar, vel Oseam vel Psalmos, vel Lucam, vel aliquid tale. Lamentationes liti. iv. 324.

own words) to flee the paths of impurity as he had always done," entered into the holy bonds of wedlock, two years before Luther, and the first of the French monks or priests. When married, he called to mind that he ought not to think "how he might please his wife, but how he might please the Lord." Christina, the daughter of a worthy citizen of Herzberg, was ready to be the companion of his sufferings. Lambert told his Wittenberg friends that he intended returning to France.

Luther and Melancthon were terrified at the thought. "It is rather from France to Germany," said Luther, "than from Germany to France, that you should go."¹ Lambert, all whose thoughts were in France, paid no attention to the reformer's advice.²

And yet Luther's sentiments could not fail to make some impression on him. Should he go to Zurich, whither Luther urges him? or to France or Lorraine, where Farel and, as he believes, Christ himself are calling him? He was in great perplexity.³ At Zurich he would find peace and safety; in France peril and death.⁴ His rest was broken, he could find no repose;⁵ he wandered through the streets of Wittenberg with downcast eyes, and his wife could not restore him to serenity. At last he fell on his knees, and called upon the Lord to put an end to his struggle, by making known His will in the casting of lots.⁶ He took two slips of paper; on one he wrote *France*, on the other *Switzerland*; he closed his eyes and drew; the lot had fallen on France.⁷ Again he fell on his knees: "O God," said he, "if thou wilt not close these lips that desire to utter thy praise, deign to make known thy pleasure."⁸ Again he tried, and the answer still was *France*. And some hours after, recollecting (said he) that Gideon, when called to march against the Midianites, had thrice asked for a sign from heaven near the oak of Ophrah,⁹ he prayed God a third time, and a third time the lot replied *France*. From that hour he hesitated no longer, and Luther, who could not put such confidence in the lot, for the sake of peace, ceased urging his objections, and Lambert, in the month of February or March 1524, taking his wife with him, departed for Strasburg, whence he repaired to Metz.

He soon became intimate with Chatelain, whom he called "his Jonathan," and appear-

ing before a meeting commissioned into his doctrines: "Suffer me to be public," said the man of Avignon, "I will forthwith publish one hundred theses explanatory of which I will defend against all persons."

The Chamber of XIII., the clerks, and messeigneurs of justice, to whom Lambert had been called, listened at such a request, and refutation; and shortly after, the whole of Antichrist was in commotion, sacristans, monks, inquisitors, the officials, and all their partisans, entered and throw him into the same cloister.¹ The magistrat Lambert, but intimated that he leave the city. Lambert obeyed, "said he to his Master, 'blessed be thy name! Whenever I have good pleasure, I will endure death with thy hands; I flee, and yet I flee the flight which becometh all things made perfect."² Lambert had spent fortnight in Metz. He was told by God makes known his will by the drawing of lots. It was France that this monk from the Rhone was destined; we shall find him playing an important part as reformer of Hesse. He returned, leaving Chatelain and Lec

Owing to the zeal of these two the light of the Gospel spread more through the whole city. A woman, named Toussaint, of low rank, had a son called Peter, who in the midst of his sports, she would converse in a serious strain. Even in the homes of the townspeople, something extraordinary was expected of the child, indulging in the natural to his age, was riding in his mother's room, when the lady, sitting with her friends on the table, said to them with an agitated voice, "Christ will soon come with great glory to destroy those who have been in the preaching of Elias."³ This being frequently repeated attracted attention, and he recollected the Peter Toussaint was no longer the doctor of theology and the were preaching the Gospel at relations and friends, surprised and full genius, hoped to see him on an eminent station in the Church

¹ Potius ad nos illinc, quam ad vos hinc, cuiquam migrandum esse. L. Epp. ad Gerbellum Strasburg. II. 438.

² Nec audit meum consilium, sic occupatus suo proprio. Ibid. 437.

³ In gravissima perplexitate. Lambert de Fidelium vocatione, cap. 22.

⁴ In prior vocatione erat pax et serenitas; in alia vero multa et eadem gravissima, etiam mortis pericula erant.

⁵ Nulla erat misero requies, ut quidem vixit somnium caperet. Ibid.

⁶ Graviter Dominum, ut hanc contradictionem sorte dirimeret. Ibid.

⁷ Et sors cecidit super vocatione secunda. Ibid.

⁸ Ut non clauderetur os eius, ut Deum laudare volens. Ibid. I agree with Professor Baum in thinking that Lambert's narrative refers to this circumstance.

⁹ Judges vi. 20-40.

¹ Sed mox insanavit tota Antichristi canonici, monachi, inquisitor, officialis, et ex parte eorum et me capere voluerunt. I ciscum regem.

² In manu tua sum, sic forgo quod non fuga omnibus perfectissimis conveniens. Ibid. cap. 15.

³ Cum equitabam in arundinis longa, mea mea a matre venturum Antichristum cum perditurumque eos qui essent ad Elias pri versal. Toussaint Farello, 4th September concubine of Neuchâtel.

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his father's brother, was dean of was the highest dignity in the The Cardinal John of Lorraine, ke René, who maintained a large ent, testified much regard for the is nephew. The latter, notwithstanding youth, had just obtained a pren he began to lend an attentive Gospel. Might not the preaching in and Leclerc be that of Elias? antichrist already arming against y quarter. But it matters not. ft up our heads to the Lord," said e will come and will not tarry."³ gelical doctrine was making its the first families of Metz. The D'Esch, a man highly respected, an's intimate friend, had just been The friends of the Gospel re-The knight, our worthy master," ed Peter, adding with noble can-; however, we are permitted to ster upon earth."⁴

Metz was about to become a focus hen the imprudent zeal of Leclerc arrested this slow but sure pro-aroused a storm that threatened to the rising church. The com-e of Metz continued walking in superstitions, and Leclerc's heart at seeing this great city plunged ry." One of their great festivals icking. About a league from the a chapel containing images of the l of the most celebrated saints of y, and whither all the inhabitants re in the habit of making a pilgricertain day in the year, to wor-nages and to obtain the pardon of

of the festival had arrived: Le-us and courageous soul was vio-ated. Has not God said: *Thou ow down to their gods; but thou y overthrow them, and quite break images?*⁵ Leclerc thought that and was addressed to him, and nsulting either Chatelain, Esch, hose who he might have suspected e dissuaded him, quitted the city in g, just as night was coming on, ached the chapel. There he pon-while sitting silently before the He still had it in his power to but.....to-morrow, in a few hours, city that should worship God alone eling down before these blocks of stone. A struggle ensued in the er's bosom, like that which we many Christians of the primitive Church. What matters it to him

that what he sees are the images of saints, and not of heathen gods and goddesses? Does not the worship which the people pay to these images belong to God alone? Like Polyeucte before the idols in the temple, his heart shudders, his courage revives:

*Ne perdons plus de temps, le sacrifice est prêt.
Allons y du vrai Dieu soutiens l'intérêt;
Allons fouler aux pieds ce peuple trop crédule,
Dont arme un bois pourri ce foudre ridicule;
Allons en éclairer l'aveuglement fatal,
Allons briser ces dieux de pierre et de métal;
Abandonnons nos jours à cette ardeur céleste—
Faisons triompher Dieu —qu'il dispose du reste.
Cormille, Paigette.*

Leclerc arose, approached the images, took them down and broke them in pieces, indignantly scattering their fragments before the altar. He doubted not that the Spirit of the Lord had excited him to this action, and Theodore Beza thought the same.⁶ After this, Leclerc returned to Metz, which he entered at daybreak, unnoticed save by a few persons as he was entering the gates.⁷

Meanwhile all were in motion in the ancient city; bells were ringing; the brotherhoods were assembling; and the whole population of Metz, headed by the canons, priests, and monks, went forth in solemn procession; they recited prayers or sung hymns to the saints they were going to adore; crosses and banners moved on in due order, and instruments of music or drums responded to the voices of the faithful. At length, after nearly an hour's march, the procession reached the place of pilgrimage. But what was the astonishment of the priests, when advancing, censor in hand, they discovered the images they had come to worship mutilated and covering the earth with their fragments. They recoiled with horror, and announced this sacrilegious act to the crowd. Suddenly the chanting ceased, the instruments were silent, the banners lowered, and the whole multitude was in a state of indescribable agitation. The canons, priests, and monks endeavoured to inflame their minds, and excited the people to search for the criminal, and demand his death.⁸ But one cry burst from every lip: "Death, death to the sacrilegious wretch!" They returned to Metz in haste and in disorder.

Leclerc was known to all; many times he had called the images idols. Besides, had he not been seen at daybreak returning from the direction of the chapel? He was seized; he immediately confessed his crime, and conjured the people to worship God alone. But this language still further exasperated the fury of the multitude, who would have dragged him to instant death. When led before his judges, he boldly declared that Jesus Christ, God manifest in the flesh, should alone be adored. He was sentenced to be

Paris, 21st July 1536.
sterum capite nostro ad Dominum qui venit
1. Ibid. 4th September 1536.
an illam equitem.....cul multum familiarita-
1. cum primo corio Metensi, patruo meo. Ibid.

July 1536. MS. of Neuchâtel.
41. 2281. 24.

¹ What many admire in verse they condemn in history.

² Divini spiritus affatu impulsus. Beza Icones.

³ Hanc apud urbem portas deprehensus.

⁴ Totam civitatem concitavit ad necem ejus instanti querendum. Act. Mart. Lat. p. 129.

burnt alive, and taken out to the place of execution.

Here a fearful scene awaited him. The cruelty of his persecutors had been contriving all that could render his punishment more horrible. Near the scaffold men were heating pincers that were to serve as the instruments of their rage. Leclerc, firm and calm, heard unmoved the wild yells of the monks and people. They began by cutting off his right hand; then taking up the burning pincers, they tore off his nose; after this, they lacerated his arms, and when they had thus mangled them in several places, they concluded by burning his breasts.¹ While his enemies were in this manner wreaking their vengeance on his body, Leclerc's mind was at rest. He recited solemnly and with a loud voice² these words of David: *Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not; they have ears, but they hear not; noses have they, but they smell not; they have hands, but they handle not; feet have they, but they walk not; neither speak they through their throat. They that make them are like unto them; so is every one that trusteth in them. O Israel, trust thou in the Lord; he is their help and their shield.* (Psalm cxv. 4-9.) The sight of such fortitude daunted the enemies, and strengthened the faithful;³ the people, who had before shown so much anger, were astonished and touched with compassion.⁴ After these tortures Leclerc was burnt by a slow fire, in conformity with his sentence. Such was the death of the first martyr of the Gospel in France.

But the priests of Metz were not satisfied. In vain had they endeavoured to shake the constancy of Chatelain. "He is deaf as an adder," said they, "and refuses to hear the truth."⁵ He was seized by the creatures of the Cardinal of Lorraine and carried to the castle of Nommeny.

He was then degraded by the bishop's officers, who stripped him of his priestly vestments, and scraped his fingers with a piece of glass, saying: "By this scraping, we deprive thee of the power to sacrifice, consecrate, and bless, which thou receivedst by the anointing of hands."⁶ Then, throwing over him a layman's dress, they surrendered him to the secular power, which condemned him to be burnt alive. The pile was soon erected, and the minister of Christ consumed by the flames. "Lutheranism spread not the less through the whole district of Metz," says the authors of the history of the Galli-

can Church, who in other respects approve of this severity.

As soon as this storm began the Church at Metz, tribulation into Toussaint's family. His dean, without taking an active measure directed against Leclerc, shuddered at the thought that his nephew was one of their party. The alarm was greater still. The moment to lose; the liberty a man who had lent their ear to the endangered. The blood that had shed had only increased more scaffolds would ere long Peter Toussaint, the knight Es others, hastily quitted Metz, refuge at Basle.

CHAPTER IX.

Farel and his Brothers—Farel expels preachers in the Fields—The Knight At The Minorite—Anemond quits France Duke of Savoy—Farel quits France.

Thus violently did the storm of rage at Meaux and at Metz. France rejected the Gospel: it gave way. But the only changed its ground; and of the south-east became the scene.

Farel, who had taken refuge the Alps, was there labouring activity. It was of little moment to enjoy the sweets of domestic life of his family. The rumour taken place at Meaux and at Paris his brothers with a certain degree but an unknown power was directed towards the new and admiral which William conversed with latter besought them with all that of his zeal to be converted to and Daniel, Walter, and Claude won over to that God whom announced. They did not at the religious worship of their but, when persecution arose, they sacrificed their friends, and their country, to worship Jesus freedom.² The brothers of Le Zwingli do not appear to have cidedly converted to the Gospel Reform from its very commencement more tender and domestic character.

Farel did not confine his ex his brethren; he proclaimed the relations and friends at Gap and bourhood. It would even appear credit a manuscript, that, pro

¹ Naso candentibus forcipibus abrepto, huiusmodi brachio utroque ipsiusque mamma crudelissime percutis. *Ibid.* Icones; MS. de Meaux Crespin, &c.

² Altissima voce recitans. *Ibid.* Icones.

³ Adversarius terribilis, plus magno opere confirmatis. *Ibid.*

⁴ Nemo qui non commoveretur, attonitus. *Act. Mart.*

Lat. p. 189.

⁵ Instar aspidis serpentis aures omni surditate affectas.

Ibid. p. 193.

⁶ Utriusque manus digitos lamina vitrea erasit. *Ibid.* p.

¹ Choupart MS.

² Farel, gentilhomme de condition, dont le-quel il perdit tout pour sa religion, at autres siens frères. Geneva MS.

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certain clergymen, he began to espel in several churches;¹ but ities positively declare that he is time ascend the pulpit. How- y be, the doctrine he professed agitation. The multitude and esired to silence him. "What nge heresy is this?" said they; ie practices of piety be counted s neither monk nor priest: he ss to preach."²

ll the civil and ecclesiastical p combined against Farel. He y an agent of that sect which ountry is opposing. "Let us brand of discord far from us," ied. Farel was summoned to ly treated, and violently expelled³

, however, abandon his native re there not in the fields, the banks of the Durance, of the d of the Isère, many souls that d of the Gospel? and if he in- danger, could he not find an ose forests, caverns, and steep had so often traversed in his began, therefore, to go through reaching in private houses and lds, and seeking an asylum in nd on the brink of torrents.⁴ hool in which God trained him ours. "The crosses, persecu- chinations of Satan, of which I ed, have not been wanting," ey are even much severer than borne of myself; but God is my has provided and always will he strength which I require."⁵ ber of the inhabitants of these s received the truth from his he persecution that had driven aris and from Meaux, contri- spread of the Reformation in of the Saone, of the Rhone, and

Every age has witnessed the the saying of Scripture: *They ttered abroad went every where Word.*⁶

s Frenchmen who were at that ver to the Gospel was a gentle- biny, the chevalier Anemond de r son of the auditor of Coct, lord

He was active, ardent, and ely pious, and a foe to relics, and the clergy; he received the octrine with great alacrity, and tiredly devoted to it. He could ms in religion, and would gladly

have abolished all the ceremonies of the Church. The religion of the heart, the in- ward worship, was in his view the only true one. "Never," said he, "has my spirit found any rest in externals. The sum of Christia- nity is comprised in these words: *John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost; ye must put on the new man.*"¹

Coct, endued with all the vivacity of a Frenchman, spoke and wrote at one time in Latin, at another in French. He read and quoted Donatus, Thomas Aquinas, Juvenal, and the Bible! His style was abrupt, pass- ing suddenly from one idea to another. Ever in motion, he presented himself wherever a door seemed open to the Gospel, or a cele- brated doctor was to be heard. By his cor- diality he won the hearts of all his acquaint- ances. "He is distinguished by rank and learning," said Zwingle at a later period, "but more distinguished still for piety and affability."² Anemond is the type of many of the reformed Frenchmen. Vivacity, simple-heartedness, zeal sometimes carried even to imprudence, are the qualities often found in those of his fellow-countrymen who embraced the Gospel. But at the opposite extreme of the French character we find the serious features of Calvin, a weighty counter- poise to the levity of Coct. Calvin and Anemond are the two poles between which revolves the whole religious world in France.

No sooner had Auemond received the knowledge of Jesus Christ from Farel,³ than he sought himself to gain converts to that doctrine of spirit and of life. His father was dead; his elder brother, of harsh and haughty temper, disdainfully repelled him. Law- rence, the youngest of the family, and who loved him sincerely, seemed but half to understand him. Anemond, finding himself rejected by his own kindred, turned his activity to another quarter.

Hitherto the awakening in Dauphiny had been confined solely to the laity. Farel, Anemond, and their friends, desired to see a priest at the head of this movement, which seemed as if it would shake the provinces of the Alps. There dwelt at Grenoble a mino- rite priest, Peter Sebville by name, a preacher of great eloquence, of an honest and good heart, not taking counsel with flesh and blood, whom God was gradually attracting to him.⁴ Sebville soon became aware that there is no infallible teacher but the Word of God; and, abandoning the doctrines that are supported on human testimony alone, he determined in his own mind to preach the Word "purely, clearly, and holily."⁵ In

utile publiquement avec une grande liberté.

es Evêques de Nîmes, 1736.

voire fort rudement, tant par l'évêque que s. Chopard MS. in memoribus, in aquis vaga- d Capit. de Bucer. Basil, 25th Oct. 1526. schætel.

crucis, persecutio, et Satane machina- tiocis.

¹ Nunquam in externis quiescit spiritus meus. Coctus Farello MS. in the conclave of Neuchâtel.

² Virum esse genere, doctrinæque clarum, ita pietate hu- manitatisque longe clariorum. Zw. Epp. p. 218.

³ In a letter to Farel he subscribes himself: *John true Anemond*. 2d September 1524.

⁴ Pater celestis animum ac tuum ad se trahit. Zwingle's Sebville, Epp. p. 350.

⁵ Nitida, pura, sanctoque predicare in animum deducit. Ibid.

these three words the whole of the Reformation is summed up. Coet and Farel were delighted as they heard this new preacher of grace raising his eloquent voice in their province, and thought that their own presence would henceforward be less necessary.

The more the awakening spread, the more violent became the opposition. Anemond, desirous of becoming acquainted with Luther and Zwingle, and of visiting those countries where the Reformation had originated, and indignant at the rejection of the Gospel by his fellow-countrymen, resolved to bid farewell to his home and his family. He made his will, disposing of his property, at that time in the hands of his elder brother, the lord of Châtellard, in favour of his brother Lawrence;¹ and then quitting Dauphiny and France, he made his way with all the impetuosity of the south, through countries which it was no easy matter in that age to traverse, and passing through Switzerland, hardly stopping at Basle, he arrived at Wittenberg, where Luther was residing. This was shortly after the second Diet of Nuremberg. The French gentleman accosted the Saxon doctor with his usual vivacity; talked with him enthusiastically about the Gospel, and eagerly laid before him the plans he had formed for the propagation of the truth. The gravity of the Saxon smiled at the southern imagination of the chevalier;² and Luther, notwithstanding certain prejudices against the French character, was fascinated and carried away by Anemond. He was affected by the thought that this gentleman had come from France to Wittenberg for the sake of the Gospel.³ "Assuredly," said the reformer to his friends, "this French knight is an excellent, learned, and pious man."⁴ The young noble produced the same impression on Zwingle and on Luther.

Anemond, seeing what Luther and Zwingle had done, thought that if they would turn their attention to France and Savoy, nothing could resist them. Accordingly, as he could not prevail on them to go thither, he begged them at least to write. In particular, he requested Luther to address a letter to Duke Charles of Savoy, brother to Louisa and Philiberta, and uncle to Francis I. and Margaret. "This prince," said he to the doctor, "feels great attraction towards piety and true religion,⁵ and loves to converse on the Reformation with some of the persons about his court. He is just the man to understand you; for his motto is this: *Nihil deest timens Deum*,⁶ and this device is yours also.

Injured in turns by the empire, humiliated, vexed, and always heart stands in need of God and all that he wants is a powerful he were won to the Gospel, by an immense influence on Switz and France. Write to him, I

Luther was wholly German and would have found himself of Germany; yet, animated by licism, he stretched out his hand he saw brethren, and in ever there was any word of exh given, he took care that it sh He sometimes wrote on the sa farthest parts of Europe, to t tries, to Savoy, and to Livonia

"Assuredly," replied he to quest, "a love for the Gospel and an inestimable jewel in a he addressed a letter to the Anemond probably carried as land.

"May your highness pardon Luther, "if I, a weak and I presume to address you; or I this boldness to the glory of th I cannot see that glorious lig shining in any quarter witho the joyful sight.....It is my d Lord Jesus Christ should gai by the example of your most ness. And for this reason I do doctrine before you.....We be commencement of salvation as Christianity is faith in Chris blood alone, and not by our w atonement for sin, and put an minion of death. We believe is a gift of God, and that it is Holy Ghost in our hearts, and our own labours. For faith is a which spiritually begetteth t maketh him a new creature."

Luther then proceeded to the of faith, and showed how it co sessed without sweeping aw scaffolding of false doctrines works that the Church had raised. "If grace," said he, "Christ's blood, it is not by ou This is the reason why all the the cloisters are unavailing, a tutions should be abolished, t rary to the blood of Jesus leading men to trust in their ow Ingrafted in Christ, nothing r but to do good, for having trees, we should bear witness fruits.

"Gracious prince and lord, in conclusion, "may your high made so happy a beginning, I

¹ Mon frère Anemond Coet, chevalier, au partir du pays me restait son héritier. MS. letters in the library at Neuchâtel.

² Miro ardens in Evangelium, says Luther to Spalatin. Epp. II. 340; Sehr brünstig in der Herrlichkeit des Evangelii, said he to the Duke of Savoy. Ibid. 401.

³ Evangelii gratia huc profectus e Gallia. L. Epp. II. 340. ⁴ Hic Gallus eques....optimus vir est, eruditus ac pius. Ibid.

⁵ Ein grosser Liebhaber der wahren Religion und Gottseligkeit. Ibid. 401.

⁶ Nothing is wanting to those who fear God. Hist. Gén. de la Maison de Savoie, par Guichenon, II. 226.

¹ Eine seltsame Gabe und hohes Klein ten. L. Epp. II. 401.

² Der Glaube ist ein lebendig Ding. Th is wanting.

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CHAPTER X.

Catholicity of the Reformation—Friendship between Farel and Œcolampadius—Farel and Erasmus—Altercation—Farel demands a Disputation—Theses—Scripture and Faith—Discussion.

ctrine, not by the power of the h would injure the Gospel, but into your states learned doctors reach the Word. It is by the s mouth that Jesus will destroy in order that, as Daniel says ver. 25), he may be broken d. For this reason, most serene your highness fan the spark n kindled in your heart; may a h from the house of Savoy, as in s from the house of Joseph;¹ ice be consumed like stubble be; may it burn, blaze, and purify, illustrious kingdom may truly st christian, for which it is in o this hour, solely to the rivers l in the service of Antichrist."

Luther endeavour to diffuse the ance. We are ignorant of the sed on the prince by this letter; t learn that he ever showed any arate from Rome. In 1522, he rian VI. to stand godfather to 1; and, shortly after, the pope arinal's hat for his second son. fter making an effort to see the : Elector of Saxony, and having tter from Luther for this pur ed to Basle, more decided than e his life for the Gospel. In his uld have rejoiced to possess the ing the whole of France. "All said he, "all that I shall be, all all that I shall have, I am de onsecrate to the glory of God."² found his compatriot Farel at ond's letters had excited in him a o see the reformers of Switzerland . Moreover, Farel required a tivity in which he could more his strength. He therefore

France which already offered scaffolds and the stake for the he unadulterated Gospel. Fol ds and concealing himself in e escaped, although with diffi ie hands of his enemies. Often his way. At last he reached n the beginning of 1524. There ed to spend his life in the ser Gospel, and it was then that i to send into Helvetia those evangelists who were to esta formation in Switzerland Ro to give it a new and powerful ther parts of the confederation ole world.

The catholicity of the Reformation is a noble feature in its character. The Germans pass into Switzerland; the French into Germany; in latter times men from England and Scotland pass over to the continent, and doctors from the continent into Great Britain. The reformers in the different countries spring up almost independently of one another; but no sooner are they born than they hold out the hand of fellowship. There is among them one sole faith, one spirit, one Lord. It has been an error, in our opinion, to write, as hitherto, the history of the Reformation for a single country; the work is one, and from their very origin the Protestant Churches form "a whole body, fitly jointed together."¹

Many refugees from France and Lorraine at this time formed at Basle a French Church, whose members had escaped from the scaffold. They had spoken there of Farel, of Lefevre, and of the occurrences at Meaux; and when the former arrived in Switzerland, he was already known as one of the most devoted champions of the Gospel.

He was immediately taken to Œcolampadius, who had returned to Basle some time before. Rarely does it happen that two men of more opposite character are brought together. Œcolampadius charmed by his mildness, Farel carried away his hearers by his impetuosity: but from the first moment these two men felt themselves united for ever.² It was another meeting of a Luther and Melancthon. Œcolampadius received Farel into his house, gave him an humble chamber, a frugal table, and introduced him to his friends; and it was not long before the learning, piety, and courage of the young Frenchman gained every heart. Pellican, Imeli, Wolfhard, and other ministers of Basle felt themselves strengthened in the faith by his energetic language. Œcolampadius was at that time much depressed in spirit: "Alas!" said he to Zwingle, "I speak in vain, and see not the least reason to hope. Perhaps among the Turks I might meet with greater success!"....."Alas!" added he with a deep sigh, "I lay the blame on myself alone." But the more he saw of Farel, the more his heart was cheered, and the courage he received from the Dauphiness became the ground-work of an undying affection. "O my dear Farel," said he, "I hope that the Lord will make our friendship immortal, and if we cannot live together here below, our joy will only be the greater when

¹ von dem Hause Sophou ausgeh. L. Epp. clarn et faciem Principis nostr. Ibid.

² habeo, ero, habebore, ad Del gloriam . Coet. Epp. MS. of Neuchâtel. rt of Switzerland, comprising the cantons Neuchâtel, and part of those of Friburg.

¹ Ephes. iv. 16.

² Aulicum semper habui a primo colloquio. Farel to Bulliog. 27th May 1536.

³ Fortasse in mediis Turcis felicius docuissim. Ev. et Œcol. Epp. p. 209.

we shall be united at Christ's right hand in heaven."¹ Pious and affecting thoughts! Farel's arrival was for Switzerland evidently a succour from on high.

But while this Frenchman was delighted with Ecclampadius, he shrank coldly and with noble pride from a man at whose feet all the nations of Christendom fell prostrate. The prince of the schools, he from whom every one coveted a word or a look, the master of the age—Erasmus—was neglected by Farel. The young Dauphinese had refused to go and pay homage to the old sage of Rotterdam, despising those men who are only by halves on the side of the truth, and who, though clearly aware of the consequences of error, are full of forbearance towards those who propagate it. Thus we witness in Farel that decision which has become one of the distinctive characters of the Reformation in France and French Switzerland, and which some have called stiffness, exclusiveness, and intolerance. A controversy, arising out of the commentaries of the doctor of Etaples, had begun between the two great doctors of the age, and at every entertainment the guests would take part with Erasmus against Lefevre, and Lefevre against Erasmus.² Farel hesitated not to take his master's side. But what had especially annoyed him was the cowardice of the philosopher of Rotterdam with regard to the evangelical Christians. Erasmus shut his door against them. Good! Farel will not go and beg for admission. This was a trifling sacrifice to him, as he felt that Erasmus possessed not that piety of heart which is the foundation of all true theology. "Frobenius's wife knows more of theology than he does," said Farel; and indignant at the conduct of Erasmus, who had written to the pope advising him how to set about extinguishing the Lutheran conflagration, he boldly affirmed that Erasmus desired to stifle the Gospel.³

This independence in young Farel exasperated the illustrious scholar. Princes, kings, doctors, bishops, popes, reformers, priests, men of the world—all were ready to pay him their tribute of admiration; even Luther had treated him with a certain forbearance; and this Dauphinese, unknown to fame and an exile, dared brave his power. Such insolent freedom caused Erasmus more annoyance than the homage of the whole world could give him pleasure; and accordingly he neglected no opportunity of venting his ill humour on Farel; besides, by attacking so notorious a heretic, he was clearing himself in the eyes of the Romanists from all suspicion of heresy. "I have never met with any thing more false, more violent, and more

seditions than this man,"⁴ said heart is full of vanity, his tongue with malice."⁵ But the Erasmus was not confined to Farel rected against all the French Basle, whose frankness and decided him. They had little respect and if the truth was not open they cared not for the man, how might be his genius. They were wanting in some measure in the Gospel; but their fidelity to the vigour of the ancient proph gratifying to meet with men bow down before what the Erasmus, amazed at this lofty d plained of it to every one. "W he to Melancthon, "shall we re and bishops, to have more cruel furious tyrants in their place;... is that France has sent us Frenchmen," wrote he to the tary, in a letter accompanying *Free Will*, "are still more out than even the Germans. The expressions always in their mouth *Word of God, Faith, Christ, Hol yet I doubt whether they be not the spirit of Satan.*"⁶ Instead o would often write *Fallicus*, thus one of the frankest men of his e epithets of cheat and deceiver.

The vexation and anger of Erasmus at their height, when it was reported that Farel had called him a *Bu* believed that Erasmus, like t allowed himself (perhaps uncon be swayed by presents to cur of God. The learned Dutch longer to contain himself, resolve the impudent Dauphinese; and Farel was talking with several f doctrines of Christianity in the Erasmus, the latter, rudely inter said: "Why do you call me Farel, at first astonished by so al tion, soon recovered himself at that it was not he who had giv title. On being pressed to name he said it was Du Blet of Lyon at Basle like himself.⁶ "It ma made use of the word," replied "but it was you who taught then, ashamed of having lost hi quickly turned the conversatio subject. "Why," said he to Fa assert that we ought not to invok Is it because it is not enjoined i ture?"—"Yes!" replied the F "Well then!" resumed Eras

¹ Mi Farelle, spero Dominum conservaturum amicitiam nostram immortalem; et si hic conjungi nequimus, tanto beatius alibi apud Christum erit contubernium. Zw. et Eccl. Epp. p. 201.

² Nullum est pene convivium. Er. Epp. p. 179.

³ Consilium quo ale extinguatur incendium Lutheranicum. Ibid.

⁴ Quo nihil vidi mendacius, virulentius Er. Epp. p. 790.

⁵ Acide lingua et vanissimus. Ibid. p. 212

⁶ Scabiosos....rabiosos....nam nuper 2 Ibid. 320.

⁷ Non dubitem quin agantur spiritus Sati

⁸ Direm disputatorem. Ibid. p. 804.

⁹ Ut diceret negotiatorem quemdam De

lase. Ibid. p. 212.

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to prove by Scripture that we ought to be Holy Ghost." Farel made this true reply: "If He is God, we see Him."¹ "I dropt the conversys Erasmus," for night was come.

From that hour, whenever the Farel fell from his pen, he represented as a hateful person, who ought to be shunned. The reformer's the contrary, are full of moderation. Erasmus. The Gospel is milder sophy, even in the most fiery

angelical doctrine already counted as in Basle, both in the council of the people; but the doctors of the university opposed it to the utmost effort. Ecolampadius, and Stör pastor had maintained some theses against the thought it his duty also to Switzerland the great principle of the school of Paris and of Meaux: "of God is all-sufficient. He remission of the university to maintain theses, "the rather to be redded he, "if I am in error, than yours;"² but the university refused. Farel addressed the council; the council issued a public notice that a man, named William Farel, having profanation of the Holy Ghost drawn articles in conformity with the law had given him leave to maintain in Latin. The university forbade and students to be present at the council; but the council sent out a protest to the contrary effect.

Following are some of the thirteen articles put forth by Farel: "God has given us the most perfect rule; one has the right to take any thing, or to add any thing thereto. According to any other precepts of Christ, leads directly to im-

perfect ministry of priests is to attend ministering of the Word; and for this is no higher dignity. To drive the glad-tidings of Christ of the world, is to destroy them. No man hopes to be justified by his own merits, and not by himself up as God.

Christ, whom all things obey, is our Lord, and the only star that we ought to follow. This "Frenchman stand up in the world: was a child of the mountains of

Dauphiny, brought up in Paris at the feet of Lefevre, who thus boldly set forth in that illustrious university of Switzerland, and in the presence of Erasmus, the great principles of the Reformation. Two leading ideas pervaded Farel's theses: one, that of a return to Holy Scripture; the other, of a return to faith: two things which the Papacy at the beginning of the 18th century distinctly condemned as impious and heretical in the famous constitution *Unigenitus*, and which, closely connected with each other, do in fact subvert the whole of the papal system. If faith in Christ is the beginning and end of Christianity, it follows that we must cleave to the Word of Christ, and not to the voice of the Church. Nay more: if faith in Christ unites souls, where is the necessity of an external bond? Is it with croziers, bulls, and tiaras, that their holy unity is formed? Faith joins in spiritual and true unity all those in whose hearts it takes up its abode. Thus vanished at a single blow the triple delusion of meritorious works, human traditions, and false unity; and these are the sum of Roman-catholicism.

The disputation began in Latin.¹ Farel and Ecolampadius set forth and proved their articles, calling repeatedly on their adversaries to reply; but not one of them appeared. These sophists, as Ecolampadius terms them, acted the braggart,—but in dark holes and corners.² The people, therefore, began to despise the cowardice of the priests, and to detest their tyranny.³

Thus Farel took his stand among the defenders of the Reformation. They were greatly delighted to see a Frenchman combine so much learning and piety, and already began to anticipate the noblest triumphs. "He is strong enough," said they, "to destroy the whole Sorbonne single-handed."⁴ His candour, sincerity, and frankness captivated every heart.⁵ But amidst all his activity, he did not forget that every mission should begin with our own souls. The gentle Ecolampadius made a compact with the ardent Farel, by which they mutually engaged to practise humility and meekness in their familiar conversations. These bold men, even on the field of battle, were fitting themselves for the duties of peace. It should be observed, however, that the impetuosity of a Luther and a Farel were necessary virtues. Some effort is required when the world is to be moved and the Church renovated. In our days we are too apt to forget this truth, which the meekest men then acknowledged. "There are certain men," wrote Ecolampadius to Luther when intro-

¹ Inquit, invocandus es. Er. Epp. p. 304.
 ² Apud tamen magnos interim thrasones sed in angulis lucifuge. Ibid.
 ³ Incipit tamen plebs paulatim illorum ignaviam et tyrannidem verbo Dei agnoscere. Ibid.
 ⁴ Ad totam Sorbonicam affligendam si non et pendendam. Ecol. Luthero, Epp. p. 200.
 ⁵ Farello nihil candidius est. Ibid.

gelehrt werde, ob er irre. Füssli Beytr. iv.
 ¹ Die heiligen Geistes ein christlicher
 ² Farelus Christianis lectoribus, die Martii
 ³ Füssli Beytr. iv. 247. Füssli does not
 ⁴ conclusionum a Gallo illo. Zw. Epp. p. 333.

ducing Farel to him, "who would have his zeal against the enemies of the truth more moderate; but I cannot help seeing in this same zeal an admirable virtue, which, if seasonably exerted, is no less needed than gentleness itself."¹ Posterity has ratified the judgment of Ecclampadius.

In the month of May 1524, Farel, with some friends from Lyons, visited Schaffhausen, Zurich, and Constance. Zwingle and Myconius gladly welcomed this exile from France, and Farel remembered their kindness all his life. But on his return to Basle he found Erasmus and his other enemies at work, and received orders to quit the city. In vain did his friends loudly give utterance to their displeasure at such an abuse of authority; he was compelled to quit the territory of Switzerland, already, at this early period, the asylum and refuge of the persecuted. "It is thus we exercise hospitality," said the indignant Ecclampadius, "we true children of Sodom!"²

At Basle, Farel had contracted a close friendship with the Chevalier Esch, who resolved to bear him company, and they set out with letters for Luther and Capito from Ecclampadius, to whom the doctor of Basle commended Farel as "that William who had toiled so much in the work of God."³ At Strasburg, Farel formed an intimacy with Capito, Bucer, and Hedio; but it does not appear that he went so far as Wittemberg.

CHAPTER XI.

New Campaign—Farel's Call to the Ministry—An Outpost—Lyons—Seville at Grenoble—Conventicles—Preaching at Lyons—Margret in Prison—Margaret intimidated.

God usually withdraws his servants from the field of battle, only to bring them back stronger and better armed. Farel and his friends of Meaux, Metz, Lyons, and Dauphiny, driven from France by persecution, had been retempered in Switzerland and Germany among the elder reformers; and now, like an army at first dispersed by the enemy, but immediately rallied, they were turning round and marching forward in the name of the Lord. It was not only on the frontiers that these friends of the Gospel were assembling; in France also they were regaining courage, and preparing to renew the attack. The bugles were already sounding the reveillé; the soldiers were girding on their arms, and gathering together to multiply their attacks; their leaders were planning the order of battle; the signal,

"Jesus, his Word, and his gra tent in the hour of battle than warlike music, filled all hearts with enthusiasm; and every thing was in France for a second campaign, nalized by new victories, and new reverses.

Montbéliard was then calling in the Gospel. The youthful of Wurtemberg, a violent and having been dispossessed of his Swabian league in 1519, had taken this earldom, his only remaining In Switzerland he became acquainted with the reformers; his misfortunes salutary to him; and he took to the Gospel.¹ Ecclampadius intim that a door was opened at Montbéliard secretly repaired to Basle.

Farel had not regularly entered the ministry of the Word; but we at this period of his life, all that to constitute a minister of the Gospel, not lightly and of his own power the service of the Church. "my weakness," said he, "I should dare preach, waiting for the more suitable persons."² But time addressed him in a threefold soon as he had reached Basle, he touched with the wants of France him to devote himself to it. "he, "how little is Jesus Christ those who speak the French language you not give them some instruction in your own tongue, that they may understand the Scriptures?"³ At the people of Montbéliard invite them, and the prince gave his call.⁴ Was not this a triple call? "I did not think," said he, lawful for me to resist. I obey name."⁵ Concealed in the house of Ecclampadius, struggling against inability offered to him, and yet submit to so clear a manifestation of God, Farel accepted this challenge. Ecclampadius set him apart, calling him the name of the Lord,⁶ and addressed him in language full of wisdom. "you are inclined to violence," "more should you practise gentle your lion's courage with the me dove."⁷ Farel responded to this all his soul.

Thus Farel, once the zealous of the old Church, was about to be the servant of God in the new. If the Gospel truly requires in a valid or

¹ Verum ego virtutem illam admirabilem et non minus placiditate, et tempestive fuerit, necessariam. Eccl. L. u. liero, Epp. p. 200.

² Ad hoc hospitium habemus rationem, veri Sodomitis. Zw. Epp. p. 43.

³ Guillemus ille qui tam probe navavit operam. Zw. et Eccl. Epp. p. 175.

¹ Le prince qui avoit connoissance de l' Sommaire, c'est à dire, brève déclaration de la conclusion part.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Etant requis et demandé du peuple et du prince, Sommaire.

⁵ Farel, Sommaire.

⁶ Avec l'invocation du nom de Dieu. Ibid.

⁷ Leoninam magnanimitatem columbis gas. Eccl. Epp. p. 196.

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of the hands of a bishop who den the apostles in uninterrupted it is because she places human above the Word of God. In every are the authority of the Word is te, some other authority must ought. And then, what is more in to ask of the most venerated of sters, that which they cannot find self? If we do not speak in the sus Christ, is it not something at ak in the name of Saint John or ul? He who speaks in the name y is stronger than the rationalist s only in his own name. But the nister has a still higher autho- reaches, not because he descends hrysostom or St. Peter, but be- Word that he proclaims comes God himself. The idea of suc- nerable as it may appear, is not uman system, substituted for the God. In Farel's ordination there man succession. Nay more: we in it that which is necessary in fold, where every thing should be ly and in order, and whose God is f confusion. He was not regularly y the Church: but extraordinary ify extraordinary measures. At rable epoch God himself inter- a consecrated by marvellous dis- those whom he called to the on of the world; and this conse- quite as valid as that of the In Farel's ordination we see the Word of God, given to a man of e might bear it to the world,—the and of the people,—the consecra- e heart; and perhaps no minister r of Geneva was ever more legiti- apart for the holy ministry. Farel parture for Montbéliard in com- Esch.

us found himself stationed as it in advanced post. Behind him, Strasburg supported him with their their printing-presses; before him ovinces of Franche Comté, Bur- raine, the Lyonnais, and the rest where men of God were beginning e against error in the midst of pro- cess. He immediately began to us Christ, and to exhort the faith- permit themselves to be turned n the Holy Scriptures either by stratagems. Beginning, long be- , the work that this reformer was ish on a much larger scale, Farel ntbeliard, like a general on a hill, ring eye glances over the field of e cheers those who are actively v the enemy, rallies the ranks e impetuosity of the charge has nd animates by his courage those e back.¹ Erasmus immediately arison is employed by one of Farel's friends

wrote to his Roman-catholic friends, that a Frenchman, escaped from France, was making a great disturbance in these regions.¹

Farel's labours were not unfruitful. "On every side," wrote he to a fellow-countryman, "men are springing up who devote all their powers and their lives to extend Christ's kingdom as widely as possible."² The friends of the Gospel gave thanks to God that his blessed Word shone brighter every day in all parts of France.³ The adversaries were astounded. "The *faction*," wrote Erasmus to the Bishop of Rochester, "is spreading daily, and is penetrating Savoy, Lorraine, and France."⁴

For some time Lyons appeared to be the centre of evangelical action within the kingdom, as Basle was without. Francis I., marching towards the south on an expedition against Charles V., had arrived in this city with his mother, his sister, and the court. Margaret brought with her many gentlemen devoted to the Gospel. "All other people she had removed from about her person," says a letter written at this time.⁵ While Francis I. was hurrying through Lyons an army composed of 14,000 Swiss, 6000 French, and 1500 lances of the nobility, to repel the invasion of the imperialists into Provence; while this great city re-echoed with the noise of arms, the tramp of horses, and the sound of the trumpet, the friends of the Gospel were marching to more peaceful conquests. They desired to attempt in Lyons what they had been unable to do in Paris. Perhaps, at a distance from the Sorbonne and from the parliament, the Word of God might have freer course. Perhaps the second city in the kingdom was destined to become the first for the Gospel. Was it not there that about four centuries previously the excellent Peter Waldo had begun to proclaim the Divine Word? Even then he had shaken all France. And now that God had prepared every thing for the emancipation of his Church, might there not be hopes of more extended and more decisive success? Thus the people of Lyons, who were not generally, indeed, "poor men," as in the twelfth century, were beginning more courageously to handle "the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God."

Among those who surrounded Margaret was her almoner, Michael d'Arande. The duchess caused the Gospel to be publicly preached at Lyons; and Master Michael

during his stay at Montbéliard. *Strenuum et oculatum imperatorem, qui his etiam animum facias qui in acie versantur. Tossanus Farello, MS. in the conclave of Neuchâtel, 2d September 1524.*

¹ Tumultuatur et Burgundia nobis proxima, per Phallium quendam Gallum qui e Gallia profugus. *Er. Epp. p. 209.*

² Supplulare qui omnes conatus afferant, quo possit Christi regnum quam latissime patere. *Neuchâtel MS., 2d August 1524.*

³ Quod in Gallis omnibus sacrosanctum Dei verbum in dies magis ac magis efflorescat. *Ibid.*

⁴ Factio crescit in dies latius, propagata in Sabaudiam, Lothoringiam, Franciam. *Erasm. Epp. p. 232.*

⁵ De Seville to Coot, 25th December 1524. *Neuchâtel MS.*

proclaimed the Word of God with courage and purity before a great number of hearers, attracted partly by the charm that attends the glad tidings wherever they are published, and partly also by the favour in which the preaching and the preacher were held by the king's beloved sister.¹

Anthony Papillon, a man of highly cultivated mind, an elegant Latin scholar, a friend of Erasmus, "the first in France for knowledge of the Gospel,"² accompanied the princess also. At Margaret's request he had translated Luther's work on monastic vows, "in consequence of which he had much ado with those Parisian vermin," says Seville;³ but Margaret had protected him against the attacks of the Sorbonne, and procured him the appointment of head-master of requests to the dauphin, with a seat in the Great Council.⁴ He was not less useful to the Gospel by his devotedness than by his prudence. A merchant, named Vaugris, and especially a gentleman named Anthony du Blet, a friend of Farel's, took the lead in the Reformation at Lyons. The latter person, a man of great activity, served as a bond of union between the Christians scattered throughout those countries, and placed them in communication with Basle. While the armed hosts of Francis I. had merely passed through Lyons, the spiritual soldiers of Jesus Christ halted there with Margaret; and leaving the former to carry the war into Provence and the plains of Italy, they began the fight of the Gospel in Lyons itself.

But they did not confine their efforts to the city. They looked all around them; the campaign was opened on several points at the same time; and the Christians of Lyons encouraged by their exertions and their labours all those who confessed Christ in the surrounding provinces. They did more: they went and proclaimed it in places where it was as yet unknown. The new doctrine ascended the Saone, and an evangelist passed through the narrow and irregular streets of Macon. Michael d'Arande himself visited that place in 1524, and, aided by Margaret's name, obtained permission to preach in this city,⁵ which was destined at a later period to be filled with blood, and become for ever memorable for its *sauteries*.⁶

After exploring the districts of the Saone, the Christians of Lyons, ever on the watch, extended their incursions in the direction of the Alps. There was at Lyons a Dominican named Maigret, who had been compelled to

quit Dauphiny, where he had boldly preached the new doctrine, and who earnestly requested that some one would go and courage his brethren of Grenoble and Capillon and Du Blet repaired thither.¹ A violent storm had just broken out against Seville and his preaching. The Dominicans had moved heaven and earth; and maddened at seeing so many evangelists escape them (as Farel, Anemond, and Maigret), they would fain have crushed those who remained within their reach.² They therefore called for Seville's arrest.³

The friends of the Gospel in Grenoble were alarmed; must Seville also be taken from them!.....Margaret interceded with her brother; many of the most distinguished personages at Grenoble, the king's advocate among others, open or secret friends to the Gospel, exerted themselves in behalf of the evangelical grayfriar, and at length their united efforts rescued him from the fury of his adversaries.⁴

But if Seville's life was saved, his mouth was stopped. "Remain silent," said they, "or you will be led to the scaffold."—"Silence has been imposed on me," he wrote to Anemond de Coet, "under pain of death."⁵ These threats alarmed even those of whom the most favourable hopes had been entertained. The king's advocate and other friends of the Gospel now showed nothing but coldness.⁶ Many returned to the Romish worship, pretending to adore God secretly in their hearts, and to give a spiritual significance to the outward observances of Romanism—a melancholy delusion, leading from infidelity to infidelity. There is no hypocrisy that cannot be justified in the same manner. The unbeliever, by means of his systems of myths and allegories, will preach Christ from the christian pulpit; and a philosopher will be able, by a little ingenuity, to find in an abominable superstition among the pagans, the type of a pure and elevated idea. In religion the first thing is truth. Some of the Grenoble Christians, among whom were Amadeus Galbert, and a cousin of Anemond's, still clung fast to their faith.⁷ These pious men would meet secretly with Seville at each other's houses, and talk together about the Gospel. They repaired to some secluded spot; they visited some brother by night; or met in secret to pray to Christ, as thieves lurking for a guilty purpose. Often would

¹ Elle a une docteur de Paris appelé maître Michel, Elymominarius, lequel ne prêchoit devant elle que purement l'évangile. Neuchâtel MS.

² Ibid. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Arandus prêche à Macon. Coet to Farel, December 1524, *ibid*.

⁶ After the taking of Macon in 1522, the governor, St. Pont, amused the dissolute women who were invited to his table, by taking several Huguenots from prison, and compelling them to leap (sauter) from the bridge over the Saone into the river. It is added that he did not confine his savage cruelty to the Huguenots, but would seize other persons, untainted with heresy, and put them to the same inhuman death.

¹ Il y a en deux grands personnages à Grenoble. Neuchâtel MS. The title of *Messire*, given to Du Blet in Coet's letter, indicates a person of rank. I am inclined to think that the epithet *negotiator*, elsewhere applied to him, refers to his activity; it is possible, however, that he may have been a great merchant of Lyons.

² Conflicere potes ut post Macretum et me in Sebrillans exarserint. Anemond to Farel, 7th September 1524. Neuchâtel MS.

³ Les Thomistes ont voulu procéder contre moi par insultation et captation de personne. Letter from Seville. *Ibid*.

⁴ Si ce ne fut certains amis secrets, je estois mis entre les mains des Pharisiens. Letter from Seville, Neuchâtel MS.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Non solum tepidi sed frigidi. Neuchâtel MS.

⁷ Tuo cognato, Amadeo Galberto exceptis. *Ibid*.

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arm disturb the humble assembly. The curates consented to wink at these ventricles; but they had sworn that should be the lot of any one who to speak of the Word of God in

as the state of affairs when Du Blet on arrived at Grenoble. Finding he had been silenced, they exhorted and preach the Gospel at Lyons. of the following year would pre-
 1. a numerous crowd. Michael Maigret, and Seville, proposed to be head of the Gospel army. Every s thus preparing for a striking tion of evangelical truth in the y of France. The rumour of this d Lent extended as far as Switzer-
 2. Seville is free, and will preach the ons at Saint Paul's in Lyons," wrote to Farel.² But a great disaster, ew all France into confusion, inter-
 3. prevented this spiritual combat. g peace that the conquests of the e achieved. The defeat of Pavia, k place in the month of February, ed the daring project of the re-

ne, without waiting for Seville, ad begun early in the winter to lvation by Jesus Christ alone, in the strenuous opposition of the monks of Lyons.³ In these ser- e was not a word of the worship of re, of saints, of the virgin, of the he priesthood. The great mystery ss, "God manifest in the flesh," proclaimed. The old heresies of men of Lyons are reappearing, it and in a more dangerous form than it notwithstanding this opposition, continued his ministry; the faith ated his soul found utterance in power: it is in the nature of truth en the hearts of those who have . Yet Rome was destined to pre- ons as at Grenoble. Maigret was notwithstanding Margaret's protec- ged through the streets, and cast n. The merchant Vaugris, who ed the city on his road to Switzer- ad the news every where on his All were astonished and depressed. ht, however, gave confidence to the the Reformation: "Maigret is id they, "but *Madame d'Alençon raised be God!*"⁴
 not long before they were com-
 5. enounce even this hope. The Sor-
 6. condemned several of this faithful
 7. propositions.⁵ Margaret, whose

position became daily more difficult, found the boldness of the partisans of the Reforma- tion and the hatred of the powerful increas- ing side by side. Francis I. began to grow impatient at the zeal of these evangelists: he looked upon them as mere fanatics whom it was good policy to repress. Margaret, thus fluctuating between desire to serve her brethren and her inability to protect them, sent them word to avoid running into fresh dangers, as she could no longer intercede with the king in their favour. The friends of the Gospel believed that this determina- tion was not irrevocable. "God has given her grace," said they, "to say and write only what is necessary to poor souls."¹ But if this human support is taken away, Christ still remains. It is well that the soul should be stripped of all other protection, that it may rely upon God alone.

CHAPTER XII.

The French at Basle—Encouragement of the Swiss—Fears of Discord—Translating and Printing at Basle—Bibles and Tracts disseminated in France.

THE exertions of the friends of the Gospel in France were paralyzed. The men in power were beginning to show their hostility to Christianity; Margaret was growing alarmed; terrible news would soon be coming across the Alps and plunging the nation into mourn- ing, filling it with one thought only—of sav- ing the king, of saving France. But if the Christians of Lyons were checked in their labours, were there not soldiers at Basle who had escaped from the battle, and who were ready to begin the fight again. The exiles from France have never forgotten her. Driven from their country for nearly three centuries by the fanaticism of Rome, their latest descendants have been seen carrying to the cities and fields of their ancestors those treasures of which the pope still deprives them.² At the very moment when the sol- diers of Christ in France were mournfully laying down their arms, the refugees at Basle were preparing for the combat. As they saw the monarchy of Saint Louis and of Charle- magne falling from the hands of Francis I., shall they not feel urged to lay hold of a kingdom which cannot be moved."³

Farel, Anemond, Eech, Toussaint, and their friends formed an evangelical society in Switzerland with the view of rescuing their country from its spiritual darkness. In- telligence reached them from every quarter, that there was an increasing thirst for God's

n parler publiquement, il n'y pend que le feu.
 8. i des Quatre-Temps. Dec. 1584. Ibid.

Maigret a prêché à Lion, maugré les prêtres
 114.

10. François I. par Gaillard, iv. 223.

¹ Peter Toussaint to Farel, Basle, 17th December 1584. Neuchâtel M.S.

² The General Committee of the Evangelical Society of Geneva, which sends a hundred missionaries and coadjutors into France, is composed almost entirely of the descendants of French refugees.

³ Hebrews xii. 28.

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Word in France; ¹ it was desirable to take advantage of this, and to sow and water while it was yet seedtime. (Ecolampadius, Zwingle, and Oswald Myconius, were continually exhorting them to do this, giving the right hand of fellowship, and communicating to them a portion of their own faith. In January 1526, the Swiss schoolmaster wrote to the French chevalier: "Banished as you are from your country by the tyranny of Antichrist, even your presence among us proves that you have acted boldly in the cause of the Gospel. The tyranny of christian bishops will at length induce the people to look upon them as deceivers. Stand firm; the time is not far distant when we shall enter the haven of repose, whether we be struck down by our tyrants, or they themselves be struck down; ² all then will be well for us, provided we have been faithful to Christ Jesus."

These encouragements were of great value to the French refugees; but a blow inflicted by these very Christians of Switzerland and Germany, who sought to cheer them, cruelly wrung their hearts. Recently escaped from the scaffold or the burning pile, they saw with dismay the evangelical Christians on the other side of the Rhine disturbing by their lamentable differences the repose they enjoyed. The discussions on the Lord's Supper had begun. Deeply moved and agitated, and feeling strongly the necessity of brotherly unity, the French would have made every sacrifice to conciliate these divided sentiments. This became their leading idea. At the epoch of the Reformation, none had greater need than they of christian unity; of this Calvin was afterwards a proof. "Would to God," said Peter Toussaint, "that I might purchase peace, concord, and union in Jesus Christ at the cost of my life, which in truth is of little worth."³ The French, whose discernment was correct and prompt, saw immediately that these rising dissensions would check the work of the Reformation. "All things would go on more prosperously than many persons imagine, if we were but agreed among ourselves. Numbers would gladly come to the light; but when they see these divisions among the learned, they stand hesitating and confused."⁴

The French were the first to suggest conciliatory advances. "Why," wrote they from Strasburg, "is not Bucer or some other learned man sent to Luther? The longer we wait the greater will these dissensions become." Their fears grew stronger every day.⁵ At length, finding all their exertions of no avail, these Christians mournfully

turned their eyes away from fixed them solely upon France.

France—the conversion of which forth exclusively occupied the generous men whom history scribed on her pages the nan individuals vainly puffed up with glory, has for three centuries silence. Thrown on a fore fell on their knees, and daily, obscurity, invoked God in behalf of their forefathers.⁶ The power by which the Gospel: the kingdom, and the great which the conquests of the Re gained.

But these Frenchmen were men of prayer: never has t army contained combatants sacrifice their lives in the They felt the importance of Holy Scriptures and pious country, still overshadowed of superstition. A spirit of breathing over the whole king necessary on all sides to spr the wind. Anemond, ever pr and Michael Bentin, a refuge resolved to unite their zeal their resources, and their la wished to establish a printing and the chevalier, to profit by man he knew, to translate th the Reformers into French. they, rejoicing in their pla God that France were filled w volumes, so that every whe tages of the poor, in the palac in cloisters and presbyteries, most sanctuary of the heart, timony might be borne to the Christ."⁷

Funds were necessary for taking, and the refugees had was then at Basle; on his mond gave him a letter for t Lyons, many of whom abound of this world, and who, altho were faithful to the Gospel; them to send him some assist did not suffice; the French blish several presses at Basle, worked night and day, so France with the Word of God at Metz, and in other places, and powerful enough to sup prise. No one could addre with so much authority as and it was to him that Anem

It does not appear that project was realized, but the

¹ Gallia verborum Dei stititibus. Coet to Farel, 2d Sept. 1524, Neuchâtel MS.

² Non longe abest enim, quo in portum tranquillum perveniamus, &c. Osw. Myc. to Coet. Ibid.

³ Ibid. 31st December 1525.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Multa jam christianis Gallis dolet, quod a Zwinglii altiorumque de Eucharistia sententia dissentias Lutherus. Toussaint to Farel, 14th July 1525.

¹ Quam sollicitè quotidianis precibus, saint to Farel, 2d Sept. 1524, Neuchâtel MS.

² Opto enim Galliam Evangelicis voti Coet to Farel, Neuchâtel MS.

³ Ut pecunie aliquid ad me mittant.

⁴ Ut preia multa erigere possimus.

⁵ An censes inveniri posse Lugdunæ, Gallis qui nos ad hæc jurare velint.

by others. The presses of Basle were constantly occupied in printing French works; they were forwarded to Farel, and by him introduced into France with unceasing activity. One of the first writings sent by this Religious Tract Society was Luther's *Explanation of the Lord's Prayer*. "We are retailing the *Pater* at four deniers of Basle each," wrote Vaugris to Farel, "but we sell them wholesale at the rate of two florins the two hundred, which comes to something less."¹

Anemond sent to Farel from Basle all the useful books that appeared or that arrived from Germany; at one time a work on the appointment of Gospel ministers, at another a treatise on the education of children.² Farel examined these works; he composed, translated or got others to translate them into French, and seemed at one and the same time entirely devoted to active exertions and to the labours of the study. Anemond urged on and superintended the printing; and these epistles, prayers, books, and broad-sheets, were the means of the regeneration of the age. While prodigality descended from the throne, and darkness from the steps of the altar, these unnoticed writings alone diffused throughout the nation beams of light and seeds of holiness.

But it was especially God's Word that the evangelical merchant of Lyons was calling for in the name of his fellow-countrymen. These people of the sixteenth century, so hungering for intellectual food, were to receive in their own tongue those ancient monuments of the first ages of the world, in which the new breath of primitive humanity respires, and those holy oracles of the Gospel times in which shines forth the fulness of the revelation of Christ. Vaugris wrote to Farel: "I beseech you, if possible, to have the New Testament translated by some person who can do it efficiently: it would be a great blessing for France, Burgundy, and Savoy. And if you want proper type, I will have some brought from Paris or Lyons; but if there be any good types at Basle, it will be all the better."

Lefevre had already published at Meaux, but in detached portions, the books of the New Testament in French. Vaugris wished for some one to revise it thoroughly, and to superintend a complete edition. Lefevre undertook to do so, and he published it, as we have already seen, on the 12th of October 1524. An uncle of Vaugris, named Conrard, also a refugee at Basle, immediately procured a copy. The Chevalier Coet happening to be at a friend's house on the 18th of November, there saw the book, and was filled with joy. "Lose no time in reprinting it," said

he, "for I doubt not a great number will be called for."³

Thus was the Word of God offered to France in opposition to the traditions of the Church, which Rome still continues to present to her. "How can we distinguish what is of man in your traditions, and what is of God," said the reformers, "except by the Scriptures of God? The maxims of the Fathers, the decretals of the pontiffs, cannot be the rule of our faith. They show us what was the opinion of these old doctors; but the Word alone teaches us what is the judgment of God. We must submit every thing to the rule of Scripture."

Such were the principal means by which these writings were circulated. Farel and his friends consigned the books to certain pedlars or *colporteurs*, simple and pious men, who, laden with their precious burden, passed from town to town, from village to village, and from house to house, in Franche Comté, Lorraine, Burgundy, and the adjoining provinces, knocking at every door. They procured the books at a low rate, "that they might be the more eager to sell them."⁴ Thus as early as 1524 there existed in Basle a Bible society, a tract society, and an association of *colporteurs*, for the benefit of France. It is a mistake to conceive that these efforts date only from our own age; they go back in essentials not only to the times of the Reformation, but still farther to the primitive ages of the Church.

CHAPTER XIII.

Progress at Montbeliard—Resistance and Commotion—Toussaint leaves Ecolampadius—The image of Saint Anthony—Death of Anemond—Strasbourg—Lambert's Letter to Francis I.—Successive Defeats.

THE attention which Farel bestowed on France did not divert his attention from the place where he was residing. Arriving at Montbeliard about the end of July 1524, he had hardly sown the seed, before the first fruits of the harvest (to use the words of Ecolampadius) began to appear. Farel wrote to his friend with great exultation. "It is an easy thing," replied the doctor of Basle, "to instil a few dogmas into the ears of our auditors; but to change their hearts is in the power of God alone."⁵

The Chevalier de Coet, delighted with this intelligence, ran with his usual vivacity to Peter Toussaint. "I shall set off to-morrow to visit Farel," said he hastily. Toussaint, more calm, was writing to the evangelist of Montbeliard: "Be careful," said he to Farel; "you are engaged in an important cause; it

¹ Vaugris to Farel, Basle, 29th August 1524. Neufchatel MS. The value of the florin is about 1s. 9d. sterling.
² *Mitto tibi librum de instituendis ministris ecclesiarum cum libro de instituendis pueris.* Coet to Farel, 2d September 1524. *Ibid.*

³ Neufchatel MS.

⁴ Vaugris to Farel. *Ibid.*

⁵ *Animum autem immutare, divinum opus est.* Coet. Epp. p. 202.

must not be polluted by the councils of men. The mighty ones promise you their favour, their support, and heaps of gold.....But to put your trust in these things, is deserting Christ and walking in darkness."¹ Toussaint was finishing this letter when the cavalier entered; the latter took it, and departed for Montbeliard.

He found the city in great commotion. Many of the nobles were alarmed, and said as they looked contemptuously at Farel: "What does this sorry fellow want with us? Would to God he had never come! He cannot stay here, for he will ruin us all, as well as himself." The lords who had taken refuge with the duke at Montbeliard, feared that the disturbance, which every where accompanied the Reformation, would attract the attention of Ferdinand and Charles V., and that they would be expelled from their last asylum. But it was the clergy in particular who resisted Farel. The superior of the Franciscans of Besançon had hastened to Montbeliard, and formed a plan of defence in conjunction with the clergy of the place. On the following Sunday, Farel had hardly begun to preach, before they interrupted him, calling him liar and heretic. In an instant the whole assembly was in an uproar. The audience rose up, and called for silence. The duke hurried to the spot, seized both Farel and the superior, and ordered the latter either to prove or to retract his charges. The Franciscan adopted the last alternative, and an official account of the whole affair was published.²

This attack excited Farel all the more; he thought it was now his duty to unmask without scruple those interested priests; and drawing the sword of the Word, he wielded it vigorously. He was more inclined to imitate Jesus when he expelled the money-changers from the temple and overthrew their tables, than when the spirit of prophecy declared of him: *He shall neither strive nor cry, neither shall any man hear his voice in the streets.* Ecclampadius was affrighted. These two men were perfect types of two characters diametrically opposed to each other, and yet both worthy of admiration. "You were sent," wrote Ecclampadius to Farel, "to draw men gently to the truth, and not to drag them with violence; to spread the Gospel, and not to curse them. Physicians resort to amputation only when other means have failed. Act the part of a physician, and not of an executioner. It is not enough, in my opinion, to be gentle towards the friends of the Gospel; you must likewise gain over the adversaries. If the wolves are driven from the sheepfold, let the sheep at least hear the voice of the shepherd. Pour oil and wine into the wounds, and con-

duct yourself as an evangelist, not as a judge or a tyrant."³

The report of these labours spread into France and Lorraine, and the Sorbonne and the Cardinal Guise were beginning to be alarmed at this meeting of refugees at Basle and Montbeliard. They would willingly have broken up a troublesome alliance; for error knows no greater triumph than when attracting some deserter to its standard. Already had Martial Mazurier and others given the papal party in France an opportunity of rejoicing over shameful defections; but if they could succeed in seducing one of these confessors of Christ, who had taken refuge on the banks of the Rhine, and who had suffered so much for the name of the Lord, how great would be the victory for the Roman hierarchy! They therefore planted their batteries, and the youngest of these refugees was the object of their attack.

The dean, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and all those who joined the crowded meetings held in this prelate's mansion, deplored the sad fate of Peter Toussaint, who had once promised so fair. He is at Basle, said they, in the house of Ecclampadius, living with one of the leaders of this heresy! They wrote to him with fervour, and as if they would rescue him from eternal condemnation. These letters were the more painful to the young man, because he could not help recognising in them the marks of sincere affection.⁴ One of his relations, probably the dean himself, urged him to remove to Paris, to Metz, or to any other place in the world, provided it were far away from these Lutherans. This relation, bearing in mind all that Toussaint owed to him, doubted not that he would immediately comply; but when he found his efforts useless, his affection changed into violent hatred. At the same time this resistance exasperated the whole family and all his friends against the young refugee. They went to his mother who was "under the power of the monks;" the priests crowded round her, frightening and persuading her that her son had committed crimes that they could not mention without shuddering. Upon this the afflicted mother wrote a touching letter to her son "full of weeping" (said he), in which she described her misery in heart-rending language. "Oh! wretched mother!" said she "Oh! unnatural son! cursed be the breast that suckled thee, and the knees that bare thee!"⁵

The unhappy Toussaint was distracted. What should he do? He could not return into France. By leaving Basle and going to Zurich or Wittenberg, beyond the reach

¹ Quod Evangelistam, non tyrannicum legislatores preces. (Eccl. Epp. p. 208)

² Me in dies divexari legendis amicorum litteris qui me ab Instituto remorari nituntur. Toussaint to Farel, Sept. 1544, Neuchâtel MS.

³ Jam capulo proxima. Ibid.

⁴ Litteras ad me dedit plenas lacrymis quibus meo et uberibus quo me lactarent, &c. Ibid.

¹ A quibus si pendemus, jam a Christo defectimus. Neuchâtel MS.
² Der Christliche Handel zu Nimpelgard, verlossen mit gründlichen Wahrheit.

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he would only add to their sorrow. Cœlamps advised a middle course: "My house," said he.¹ With a heartiness, he adopted the suggestion, to live with an ignorant and obstinate one well adapted to reassure us. What a change for Toussaint! met his host save at meals, at which they were continually discussing faith; and as soon as the repast Toussaint retired to his chamber, far from noise and controversy, he studied the Word of God. "The ly witness," said he, "that in this ears I have but one desire, that of Christ's kingdom extended, so that my mouth may glorify God."² A circumstance occurred which consoled

The enemies of the Gospel were strong in Metz. At his entrance Chevalier d'Esch departed in the January 1525, to encourage the Christians in this city. He traversed the forests of the Vosges, and reached where Leclerc had laid down his life, with him several books which he had provided him.³ Not only to Lorraine that these men turned their eyes. The Chevalier received letters from one of others, depicting the state of Dauphiné in the gloomiest colours. He cared little showing them lest he should be weak-hearted, and was contentedly seeking from God the support of his hands.⁴ In December 1524, a Dauphinese messenger, returning to Metz, arrived with a letter from Chevalier d'Esch. The Chevalier, with his usual vivacity, immediately returned to France. "If Peter has any money," wrote he to Farel, "if he has brought any letters, open them, and then forward them to me, not, however, sell the horse, but of it, for perchance I may need it. I wish to enter France secretly, and I wish Faber (Lefevre) and Arantius to tell me what you think of

the confidence and open-heartedness which existed between these refugees. I opened the other's letters, and returned money. It is true that Chevalier d'Esch had indebted thirty-six crowns to his purse, but he was always open to his friends. There was more zeal than discretion in Chevalier's desire to re-enter France. It was too imprudent a character not to

expose himself to certain death. This Farel no doubt explained to him. He left Basle, and withdrew to a small town, where he had "great hopes of acquiring the German language, God willing."⁵

Farel continued preaching the Gospel in Montbéliard. His soul was vexed as he beheld the majority of the people in this city entirely given up to the worship of images. It was, in his opinion, a revival of the old pagan idolatry.

Yet the exhortations of Cœlampsadius, and the fear of compromising the truth, would perhaps have long restrained him, but for an unforeseen circumstance. One day about the end of February (it was the feast of Saint Anthony) Farel was walking on the banks of a little river that runs through the city, beneath a lofty rock on which the citadel is built, when, on reaching the bridge, he met a procession, which was crossing it, reciting prayers to St. Anthony, and headed by two priests bearing the image of this saint. Farel suddenly found himself face to face with these superstitions, without, however, having sought for them. A violent struggle took place in his soul. Shall he give way? shall he hide himself? Would not this be a cowardly act of unbelief? These lifeless images, borne on the shoulders of ignorant priests, made his blood boil. Farel boldly advanced, snatched the shrine of the holy hermit from the priest's arms, and threw it over the bridge into the river. And then, turning to the awe-stricken crowd, he exclaimed: "Poor idolaters, will ye never forsake your idolatry!"⁶

The priests and people stood motionless with astonishment. A religious fear seemed to rivet them to the spot. But they soon recovered from their stupor. "The image is drowning," exclaimed one of the crowd; and transports and shouts of rage succeeded their death-like silence. The multitude would have rushed on the sacrilegious wretch who had just thrown the object of their adoration into the water. But Farel, we know not how, escaped their violence.⁷

There is reason, we are aware, to regret that the reformer should have been hurried into the commission of an act that tended rather to check the progress of the truth. No one should think himself authorized to attack with violence any institution sanctioned by the public authority. There is, however, in the zeal of the reformer something more noble than that cold prudence so common among men, which shrinks before the least danger, and fears to make the least sacrifice for the advancement of God's kingdom. Farel was not ignorant that by this

¹ Cœlampsadio consultum.....ut a se secederet. MS.

² eujusdam sacrificiuli. Ibid.

³ regnum quam latissime pateat. Ibid.

⁴ retourne à Metz, là on les ennemis de Dieu nelement contre l'Évangile. Toussaint to c. 1524. Ibid.

⁵ te horam a fratre tuo epistolam quam hic scri, terreteretur enim inferni. Cœt to Farel, rel, Dec. 1525, Neuchâtel MS.

⁶ Cœt to Farel, Jan. 1525.

⁷ Revue du Dauphiné, II. p. 33; Choupart MS.

⁸ M. Kirchhofer, in his Life of Farel, gives this circumstance as an uncertain tradition; but it is related by Protestant writers, and it appears to me quite in harmony with Farel's character and the fears of Cœlampsadius. We must not be blind to the weakness of the reformers.

proceeding he was exposing himself to the fate of Leclerc. But his own conscience bore witness that he desired only to promote the glory of God, and this made him superior to all fear.

After this affair of the bridge, which is a characteristic feature in Farel's history, the reformer was obliged to hide himself, and he quitted the town soon after. He took refuge at Basle with Ecolampadius; but ever preserved that attachment for Montbéliard which a servant of God never ceases to entertain for the first fruits of his ministry.¹

Sad tidings awaited Farel at Basle. If he was a fugitive, his friend Anemond de Coet was seriously ill. Farel immediately sent him four gold crowns; but a letter written by Oswald Myconius on the 25th of March, announced the death of the chevalier. "Let us so live," said Oswald, "that we may enter into that rest into which we hope the soul of Anemond has already entered."²

Thus did Anemond descend to a premature grave; still young, full of activity and strength, willing to undertake every labour to evangelize France, and in himself a host. *God's ways are not our ways.* Not long before, and in the neighbourhood of Zurich, another chevalier, Ulrich Hütten, had breathed his last. There is some similarity in the characters of the German and French knights, but the piety and christian virtues of the Dauphinese place him far above the witty and intrepid enemy of the pope and of the monks.

Shortly after Anemond's death, Farel, unable to remain in Basle, whence he had been once banished, joined his friends Capito and Bucer at Strasburg.

Strasburg, an imperial city, at whose head was Sturm, one of the most distinguished men in Germany, and which contained many celebrated doctors within its walls, was as it were an advanced post of the Reformation, thrown beyond the Rhine, in which the persecuted Christians of France and Lorraine took refuge, and whence they hoped to win these countries to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Lambert's pious ambition was to become for France what Luther was for Germany, and accordingly he had no sooner reached Strasburg after quitting Metz, than he made his preparations, waiting for the moment when he should be enabled to carry the sword of the Gospel into the very heart of that country which he loved so tenderly.³

He first appealed to Francis I. "The

pope," said he, "if he had his way, change every king into a beggar; your ear to the truth, most excellent; and God will make you great as princes of the earth. Woe be to nations whose master is the pope of Avignon, city of my birth, art thou wretched daughter of Babylon? Go to a legate, not of holiness, but of and heresy;⁴—thou seest lewd and modest dances, and adultery within thy walls, and all around are laid waste by daily hunting thy poor labourers oppressed.

"O most christian king, thy people for the Word of God." At the same time, addressing the pope, he said, "Erelong powerful France which thou are wounding thy arm will separate from thee; were Lambert's illusions!"

Finding that his epistle had no effect, he wrote a second in a still more earnest tone. "What," said he, "the Chaldeans, Greeks, and Jews possess the Word of God in their own language; French, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards cannot have it in theirs! Let us speak to the nations in the language of the people, and the empire of pride will be brought into dust."⁵

These anticipations were not realized. Montbéliard and Basle, as at Lyons, ranks of the reformers had suffered of the most devoted combatants taken off by death, others by persecution and exile. In vain did the warrior Gospel mount every where to the every where they were beaten back; if the forces they had concentrated at Meaux, then at Lyons, and after Basle, were dispersed in successive still remained combatants here and there, who in Lorraine, at Meaux, and Paris, struggled more or less openly for the Word of God in France. The Reformation saw its columns broken, had its isolated champions. Again the Sorbonne and the Parliament were to turn their anger. They would remain on the soil of France, a small number of these noble minded men who had taken to plant in it the standard of Christ; and unheard of misfortunes now to be conspiring with the enemies of the Reformation, and to aid them in the accomplishment of their task.

¹ Ingens affectus, qui me cogit Mumpelgardum amare. Farel's Epp.

² Quo Anemundi spiritum jam pervenisse speramus. Myconius to Farel, Neuchâtel MS.

³ Hic operor donec ad ipsos Metenses aut in aliquam urbem Gallicæ revoces. Ad Franc. Reg. Comment. in Cantic.

⁴ Ab hæresis et impietatis latere legatum. J. Francisum G. R. pref. Comm. de Sacra conjugi.

⁵ Est autem in proximo ut aliena fiat a te potestas quam brachium tuum appellare solebas. De Constitutionis, p. 78.

⁶ Epist. ad Franc. R. Pref. Comment. in Cantic.

CHAPTER XIV.

soner at Pavia—Margaret's anxiety for
tegorical Letter—Reaction against the
cisa consults the Sorbonne—Commission
etices—Charges against Briconnet—The
—The Bishop's Alarm—Appeals to the
aplation—His second fall—Consequences
Briconnet and Fénelon—Lefevre accused
and Flight—Lefevre at Strasburg—Louis
ned—Erasmus attacked—He appeals to
Emperor—Each imprisoned—Schuch at
Lyndom—Beda's Struggle with Caroli—
se—His Martyrdom—A Christian Hermit
otre Dame.

tter period of Farel's sojourn at
great events were passing on
the world. Lannoy and Pes-
's generals, having quitted
approach of Francis I., this
ossed the Alps, and blockaded
e 24th of February 1525, he
by Pescara. Bonnivet, La
ulisse, and Lescure died fight-
sir sovereign. The Duke of
aret's husband, the first prince
had fled with the rear-guard,
e of shame and grief at Lyons;
rown from his horse, had sur-
word to Charles Lannoy, vice-
who received it kneeling. The
e was prisoner to the emperor.
seemed the greatest of misfor-
hing is left me but honour and
e king to his mother. But no
er sorrow than Margaret. The
untry tarnished, France with-
and exposed to the greatest
eloved brother the captive of
emy, her husband dishonoured
What bitter thoughts were
: she had a comforter; and
other to console himself *ret-
est perdu, fors l'honneur*, all
nour!" she was able to say:—

seul, mon frère, fils de Dieu!
alone, dear brother, Son of God!

ought that in the hour of trial
receive the Word of God. A
efore, the king had already
ious sentiments on the death
r the Princess Charlotte. The
lençon, having concealed the
s from him, Francis, who no
ed something, dreamed three
that his daughter said to him:
y king, I am going to para-
essed that she was dead, and
"extreme grief," but wrote to
at "he would rather die
have her in this world con-
will of God, whose name be

ought that the terrible disaster
i complete what the first trial
id most earnestly desiring that

the Word of God might be with Francis in
his prison, she wrote a very touching letter,
which deserves to be preserved, to Marshal
Montmorency, who had been taken prisoner
along with the king. It is very probable
that she speaks of herself and Bishop Briçon-
net in the graceful allegory which serves as
an introduction to her request:—

"Dear cousin, there is a certain very de-
vout hermit who for these three years past
has been constantly urging a man whom I
know to pray to God for the king, which he
has done; and he is assured that if it pleases
the king by way of devotion, daily, when in
his closet, to read the epistles of St. Paul, he
will be delivered to the glory of God; for He
promises in His Gospel, that whosoever
loveth the truth, *the truth shall make him free*.
And forasmuch as I think he has them not,
I send you mine, begging you to entreat him
on my part that he will read them, and I
firmly believe that the Holy Ghost, which
abideth in the letter, will do by him as great
things as he has done by those who wrote
them; for God is not less powerful or good
than He has been, and his promises never
deceive. He has humbled you by captivity,
but he has not forsaken you, giving you
patience and hope in his goodness, which is
always accompanied by consolation and a
more perfect knowledge of Him, which I am
sure is better than the king ever knows,
having his mind less at liberty, on account
of the imprisonment of the body.

"Your good Cousin,

"MARGARET."

In such language did Margaret of Valois,
full of anxiety for the salvation of her bro-
ther's soul, address the king after the battle
of Pavia. It is unfortunate that her letter
and the Epistles of St. Paul were not sent
direct to Francis; she could not have selected
a worse medium than Montmorency.

The letters which the king wrote from the
Castle of Pizzighitona, where he was con-
fined, afforded his sister some little consola-
tion. At the beginning of April she wrote
to him: "After the sorrow of the Passion
this has been a Holy Ghost (*i. e.* a Pente-
cost), seeing the grace that our Lord has
shown you." But unhappily the prisoner
did not find in the Word of God that *truth
which maketh free*, and which Margaret so
earnestly desired he might possess.

All France, princes, parliament, and
people, were overwhelmed with consterna-
tion. Erelong, as in the first three ages of
the Church, the calamity that had befallen
the country was imputed to the Christians;
and fanatical cries were heard on every side
calling for blood, as a means of averting still
greater disasters. The moment, therefore,
was favourable; it was not enough to have
dislodged the evangelical Christians from the

rites de la Marguerite, l. 28.
écrites de la reine de Navarre, p. 170.

Lettres de la reine de Navarre à François, l. p. 28.

three strong positions they had taken; it was necessary to take advantage of the general panic, to strike while the iron was hot, and to sweep the whole kingdom clear of that opposition which had become so formidable to the papacy.

At the head of this conspiracy and of these clamours were Beda, Duchesne, and Lecoururier. These irreconcilable enemies of the Gospel flattered themselves they might easily obtain from public terror the victims that had been hitherto refused them. They instantly employed every device; conversations, fanatical harangues, lamentations, threats, defamatory writings, to excite the anger of the nation, and particularly of their governors. They vomited fire and flame against their adversaries, and covered them with the most scurrilous abuse.¹ All means were good in their eyes; they picked out a few words here and there, neglecting the context that might explain the passage quoted; substituted expressions of their own for those of the doctors they criminated, and omitted or added, according as it was necessary to blacken their adversaries' characters.² We have this on the testimony of Erasmus himself.

Nothing excited their wrath so much as the fundamental doctrine of Christianity and of the Reformation,—salvation by grace. "When I see these three men," said Beda, "Lefevre, Erasmus, and Luther, in other respects endowed with so penetrating a genius, uniting and conspiring against meritorious works, and resting all the weight of salvation on faith alone,³ I am no longer astonished that thousands of men, seduced by these doctrines, have learned to say: 'Why should I fast and mortify my body?' Let us banish from France this hateful doctrine of grace. This neglect of good works is a fatal delusion from the devil."

In such language did the Syndic of the Sorbonne endeavour to fight against the faith. He was destined to find supporters in a debauched court, and also in another part of the nation, more respectable, but not less opposed to the Gospel; I mean those grave men, those rigid moralists, who, devoted to the study of laws and forms of jurisprudence, regard Christianity as no more than a system of legislation; the Church as a moral police; and who, unable to adapt to those principles of jurisprudence which absorb their whole thoughts the doctrines of the spiritual inability of man, of the new birth, and of justification by faith, look upon them as fanciful dreams, dangerous to public morals and to the prosperity of the state. This hostile tendency to the doctrine of grace was manifested in the sixteenth cen-

tury by two very different excesses; and Poland by the doctrine of Söci descendant of an illustrious family of at Sienna; and in France by the per decrees and burning piles of the parli

The parliament, in fact, despising the truths of the Gospel which the re announced, and thinking themselves upon to do something in so overwhe catastrophe, presented an address to of Savoy, full of strong remonstra the conduct of the government with to the new doctrine. "Heresy," said "has raised its head among us, and t by neglecting to bring the heretics scaffold, has drawn down the wrath ven upon the nation."

At the same time the pulpits re with lamentations, threats, and maled prompt and exemplary punishment loudly called for. Martial Mazurier ticularly distinguished among the pr of Paris; and endeavouring by his to efface the recollection of his for nexion with the partisans of the Refor he declaimed against the "secret diu Luther." "Do you know the rapid tion of this poison?" exclaimed he you know its potency? Well n tremble for France; as it works with ceivable activity, and in a short ti destroy thousands of souls."⁴

It was not difficult to excite the against the partisans of the Refor Her daughter Margaret, the first pe of the court, Louisa of Savoy herse had always been so devoted to the pontiff, were pointed at by certain as countenancing Lefevre, Berquin, other innovators. Had she not re tracts and their translations of the The queen-mother desired to clear he such outrageous suspicions. Alre had despatched her confessor to the to consult that body on the means t pating this heresy. "The damnable of Luther," said she to the faculty, "day gaining new adherents." The smiled on the receipt of this messag then, its representations had not been to, and now their advice was hum cited in the matter. At length ti within their grasp that heresy they long desired to stifle. They comm Noel Beda to return an immediate a the regent. "Seeing that the serm discussions, the books with which so often opposed heresy, have fai stroying it," said the fanatical synd the writings of the heretics should l bited by a royal proclamation; an means does not suffice, we must force and constraint against the p these false doctors; for those who r

¹ *Prae quam scurrilibus conviciis debacchantes.* Mr. Fran- cisco Reig, p. 1108.

² *Pro meo verbis supponit sua, pratermittit, addit.* Ibid.

³ *Cum itaque carceram tres istos... uno animo in opera meritoria conspirasse.* Natalis Bedæ *Apologia adversus clandestinos Lutheranos*, fol. 41.

⁴ *Mazurier contra occultos Lutheri discipulos ac recentis veneni celeritatem vimque desumens regii Navarra gymnasi historia*, p. 621.

ist be subdued by torture and by

Louis had not waited for this reply. He had scarcely fallen into the hands of the superior when he wrote to the pope his pleasure concerning the heretics, the great importance to Louis's policy of the favour of a pontiff who could Italy against the victor of Pavia, was ready to conciliate him at the little French blood. The pope, de- what he could wreak his vengeance most christian kingdom" against a at he could not destroy either in nd or Germany, gave immediate the introduction of the Inquisition ice, and addressed a brief to the it. At the same time Duprat, whom had created cardinal, and on whom inferred the archbishopric of Sens, a abbey, laboured to respond to the f the court of Rome by the display figable animosity against the here- us the pope, the regent, the doctors orbonne, the parliament, and the r, with the most ignorant and fana- : of the nation, were conspiring to ruin the Gospel and put its con- deth.

liament took the lead. Nothing the first body in the kingdom was o begin the campaign against this and moreover, was it not their pe- iness, since the public safety was

Accordingly the parliament, "in- y a holy zeal and fervour against elties," issued a decree to the effect bishop of Paris and the other pre- lbe bound to commission Mes- lip Pot, president of requests, and Verjus, councillor, and Messieurs Duchesne and Nicholas Leclerc, divinity, to institute and conduct of those who should be tainted with ran doctrine.

that it might appear that these ners were acting rather under the of the Church than of the parla- as pleased his holiness to send his e 20th of May 1525, approving of tment of the said commissioners : nsequence of which, all those who ed Lutherans by the bishop or cal judges to these deputies, were ver to the secular arm, that is to aforesaid parliament, which there- mned them to be burnt alive."³

the language of a manuscript of

as the terrible commission of in- pointed during the captivity of against the evangelical Christians

of France on the ground of public safety. It was composed of two laymen and two eccle- siastics, and one of the latter was Duchesne, after Beda, the most fanatical doctor of the Sorbonne. They had sufficient modesty not to place him at their head, but his influence was only the more secure on that account.

Thus the machine was wound up: its springs were well prepared; death would be the result of each of its blows. It now be- came a question on whom they should make their first attack. Beda, Duchesne, and Le- clerc, assisted by Philip Pot the president, and Andrew Verjus the councillor, met to deliberate on this important point. Was there not the Count of Montbrun, the old friend of Louis XII., and formerly ambassa- dor at Rome,—Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux? The committee of public safety, assembled in Paris in 1525, thought that by commen- cing with a man in so exalted a station, they would be sure to spread dismay throughout the kingdom. This was a sufficient reason, and the venerable bishop was impeached.

It is true that Briçonnet had given guaran- tees of submission to Rome, to the parla- ment, and to the popular superstitions; but it was strongly suspected that he had done so merely to ward off the blow about to fall upon him, and that he was still countenancing heresy in secret. It would appear that, after giving way, he had partly regained his courage;—a circumstance quite in harmony with these irresolute characters, who are tossed about and driven to and fro, as the waves of the sea by the wind. Several acts were ascribed to him in different places that would have been the most signal retracta- tion of his unhappy decrees of 1523 and 1524. The more eminent his rank in the Church and in the State, the more fatal was his example, and the more necessary also was it to obtain from him a striking recanta- tion of his errors, or to inflict upon him a still more notorious punishment. The commis- sion of inquiry eagerly collected the evidence against him. They took account of the kindly reception the bishop had given to the heretics; they stated that, a week after the superior of the Cordeliers had preached in St. Martin's Church at Meaux, conformably to the instructions of the Sorbonne, to restore sound doctrine, Briçonnet himself had gone into the pulpit, and publicly refuted the orator, calling him and the other Grayfriars bigots, hypocrites, and false prophets: and that, not content with this public affront, he had, through his official, summoned the su- perior to appear before him in person.¹ It would even appear from a manuscript of the times that the bishop had gone much farther, and that in the autumn of 1524, accompanied by Lefevre of Etaples, he had spent three months in travelling through his diocese, and had burnt all the images, save the cruci- fix alone. Such daring conduct, which would

de l'Université, par Crévier, v. 196.
gion catholique en France, par de Lescou. MS.
of St. Geneviève, Paris.
uscript in the library of St. Geneviève at Paris.
have quoted this passage, bears the name of
that of Lefevre in the catalogue.

¹ Hist. de l'Univ. par. Crévier, v. 304.

prove Briçonnet to have possessed great boldness combined with much timidity, cannot, if it be true, fix upon him the blame attached to other image-breakers; for he was at the head of that Church whose superstitions he was reforming, and was acting in the sphere of his rights and duties.¹

Be that as it may, Briçonnet could not fail of being guilty in the eyes of the enemies of the Gospel. He had not only attacked the Church in general; he had grappled with the Sorbonne itself, that body whose supreme law was its own glory and preservation. Accordingly it was delighted on hearing of the examination instituted against its adversary; and John Béchart, one of the most celebrated advocates of the times, supporting the charge against Briçonnet before the parliament, cried out, elevating his voice: "Against the Faculty, neither the Bishop of Meaux nor any private individual may raise his head or open his mouth. Nor is the Faculty called upon to enter into discussion, to produce and set forth its reasons before the said bishop, who ought not to resist the wisdom of that holy society, which he should regard as aided of God."²

In consequence of this requisition, the parliament issued a decree on the 3d October 1525, by which, after authorizing the arrest of all those who had been informed against, it ordered that the bishop should be interrogated by James Menager and Andrew Verjus, councillors of the court, touching the facts of which he was accused.³

This decree of the parliament amazed the bishop. Briçonnet, the ambassador of two kings—Briçonnet, a bishop and a prince, the friend of Louis XII. and Francis I.—to submit to an examination by two councillors of the court!.....He who had hoped that God would kindle in the heart of the king, of his mother, and of his sister, a fire that would spread over the whole nation, now saw the nation turning against him to extinguish the flame which he had received from heaven. The king is a prisoner, his mother is at the head of the enemies of the Gospel, and Margaret, alarmed at the misfortunes that burst upon France, dares not ward off the blows that are about to fall on her dearest friends, and directed first against that spiritual father who has so often consoled her; or, if she dares, she cannot. Quite recently she had written to Briçonnet a letter full of pious outpourings: "Oh! that my poor, lifeless

heart could feel some spark of lo which I desire it were burnt to But now it was a question of literal. This mystic language was no longer son; and whoever now desired to go faith, must brave the scaffold. I bishop, who had so earnestly hoped evangelical reform gradually and making its way into every heart, weakened, and trembled as he saw that now purchase it at the cost of his life perhaps had this terrible thought to him, and he recoiled from it in ag affright.

Yet Briçonnet had still one hope were permitted to appear before the bled chambers of parliament, as b person of his rank, in that august a rous court, he would be sure to find hearts responding to his appeal, an taking his defence. He therefore e the court to grant him this favour; enemies had equally reckoned on t of such a hearing. Had they not see appearing before the German diet, a ing the most determined hearts! watch to remove every chance of saf exerted themselves to such effect parliament refused Briçonnet this fa a decree dated the 25th of October confirmation of the one previously is

Here then was the Bishop of M ferred like the humblest priest to t diction of James Menager and Andrev These two lawyers, docile instrum the hands of the Sorbonne, would moved by those higher considera which the whole chamber might b sensible; they were matter-of-fact t the bishop differed from that society he not? This is all they desire t Briçonnet's conviction was therefore

While the parliament was thus ho sword over the head of the bish monks, priests, and doctors were t they saw that Briçonnet's retractati be of more service to them than h ment. His death would only infl zeal of all those who held the sa with him; but his apostacy woul them into the deepest discouragemen went to work accordingly. They vi entreated him, Martial Mazurier in endeavouring to make him fall, a done himself. There was no lack ments which might appear specia onnet. Would he like to be depriv functions? Could he not, by remi the church, employ his influence king and the court to effect an inc amount of good? What would b his old friends, when he was no l power? Might not his resistance mise a reform, which, to be salu durable, should be carried out by tl

¹ In the library of the pastors at Neufchâtel there is a letter from Seville, in which the following passage occurs: "Je te notifie que l'évêque de Meaux en Bré priés l'avis, sans Jacobo Fabro Stapulensis, depuis trois mois, en visitant l'évêché, ont brûlé sans toutes les images, réservé le crucifix, et sont persécutés, s'adressant à Paris, à ce mois de Mars venant, pour répondre devant suprema curia et universitate." I am inclined to believe this fact authentic, although Seville was not on the spot, and neither Meseray, Daniel, nor Malmbourg allude to it. These Romanist authors, who are very brief, might have had reasons for passing it over in silence, considering the issue of the trial, and Seville's report agrees in other respects with all the known facts. The matter is, however, doubtful.

² Hist. de l'Unité, par Crivier, v. 204.

³ Malmbourg, Hist. du Calv. p. 14.

¹ MS. in the Royal Library (Paris) S. F. 36

² Malmbourg, Hist. du Calv. p. 15.

fluence of the clergy? How many would offend by resisting the how many souls he would attract, onrary, by giving way !.....They, self, were anxious for a reform. All ing insensibly ; at the court and in and provinces, every thing is mov- urd.....and would he in mere reck- of heart destroy so fair a prospect ! r all, they did not call upon him to his opinions, but only to submit to lished order of the Church. Was it him, when France was labouring many reverses, to stir up new con-

" In the name of religion, of your of your friends, and of the Reforma- f, be persuaded," said they. By such are the noblest causes ruined. ery one of these considerations had nce on the mind of the bishop. The who desired to make our Saviour fall derness, thus presented himself to t in specious colours, but instead of ith his Master : " Get thee behind t ! " he listened, welcomed and pon- these suggestions. From that hour y was at an end.

net had never embarked with his art, like Luther or Farel, in the t that was then regenerating the there was in him a certain mysti- ncy which weakens men's minds, ves them of that firmness and coun- d proceed from faith alone based on of God. The cross that he was take up that he might follow Christ eavy.¹ Shaken, alarmed, stupified, cted,² he stumbled against the stone d been artfully placed in his path ll, and instead of throwing himself rms of Jesus, he threw himself into Mazurier,³ and by a shameful re- sullied the glory of a noble faith-

all Briçonnet, the friend of Lefevre argaret ; thus the earliest supporter spel in France denied the glad tid- ace, in the guilty thought, that, if ed faithful, he would lose his influ- the Church, the court, and France. was represented to him as the sal- his country, perhaps became its hat would have been the result if had possessed the courage of Lu- one of the first bishops of France, y the king and by the people, had the scaffold, and had, like the little he world, sealed the truth of the a bold confession and a christian uld not France herself have been nd the blood of the bishop becom- that of Polycarp and Cyprian, the

seed of the Church, might we not have seen that country, so illustrious in many respects, emerging in the sixteenth century from that spiritual darkness with which it is still clouded ?

Briçonnet underwent a mere formal exa- mination before James Menager and Andrew Verjus, who declared that he had sufficiently vindicated himself of the crime imputed to him. He was then subjected to penance, and assembled a synod in which he condemned Luther's books, retracted all that he had taught contrary to the doctrine of the Church, restored the invocation of saints, endeavoured to bring back those who had forsaken the Romish worship, and wishing to leave no doubt of his reconciliation with the pope and the Sorbonne, kept a solemn fast on the eve of Corpus Christi, and gave orders for pompous processions, in which he appeared personally, still further testifying his faith by his magnificence and by every kind of devout observance.¹ In his will he commended his soul to the Virgin Mary and to the heavenly choir of paradise, and desired that, after his death (which happened in 1533), twelve hundred masses should be said for the repose of his soul.

The fall of Briçonnet is perhaps the most memorable in the history of the Reformation. Nowhere else do we find a man so sincerely pious and so deeply engaged in the reform turning round so suddenly against it ; yet we must clearly understand his character and his fall. Briçonnet was, as regards Rome, what Lefevre was with respect to the Reformation. They were both persons of half-measures, properly belonging to neither party. The doctor of Etaples inclined towards the Word, while the Bishop of Meaux leaned to the hierarchy ; and, when these two men who touch each other were called upon to decide, the one ranged him- self under the banner of Rome, and the other under that of Jesus Christ. We cannot, how- ever, be sure that Briçonnet was wholly un- true to the convictions of his faith ; at no period after his recantation did the Romish doctors place entire confidence in him. But he acted, perhaps, as the Archbishop of Cam- bray afterwards did, and whom he resembled in many points ; he thought he might sub- mit outwardly to the pope, while remaining inwardly subject to his old convictions. Such weakness is incompatible with the principles of the Reformation. Briçonnet was one of the chiefs of the mystic or quietest school in France, and we know that one of its leading maxims has ever been to accommodate itself to the church in which it exists, whatever that church may be.

Briçonnet's guilty fall went to the hearts of his old friends, and was the sad fore- runner of those lamentable apostasies

atque oblate-terrore perculsus. Beas Icones.

ana. Ibid.

opus etiam desideret suis consiliis effect.

Navarre gymnasi hist. p. 621.

4 palludis gloriam hanc omnem ipse elpi inv- e Icones.

¹ Mesnary, II. 361 ; Daniel, vi. 444 ; Morel, art. Briçonnet.

which the spirit of the world so often obtained in France in another age. The man who seemed to hold the reins of the Reformation in his hand was suddenly thrown from his seat; and the Reformation was thenceforward destined to pursue its course in France, without a human leader, without a chief, in humility and in obscurity. But the disciples of the Gospel raised their heads, and from that time looked with a firmer faith towards that heavenly Guide, whose faithfulness they knew could not be shaken.

The Sorbonne triumphed; this was a great stride towards the destruction of the Reform in France; and it was important to achieve another victory without delay. Lefevre stood next after Briçonnet. Accordingly Beda had immediately turned the attack against him, by publishing a book against this illustrious doctor, full of such gross calumnies, that Erasmus says, "even smiths and cobblers could have pointed them out." His fury was particularly excited by the doctrine of justification through faith, which Lefevre was the first to preach to Christendom in the sixteenth century. To this point Beda continually recurred, as an article which, according to him, overturned the Church. "What!" said he, "Lefevre affirms that whoever places his salvation in himself will surely perish; while the man that lays aside all strength of his own, and throws himself entirely into the arms of Jesus Christ, will be saved!.....Oh, what heresy! to teach the inefficacy of meritorious works!.....What a hellish error! what a deceitful snare of the devil! Let us oppose it with all our might!"¹

That engine of persecution which produces either retraction or death, was immediately turned against the doctor of Etaples; and hopes were already entertained of seeing Lefevre share the fate of the poor wool-comber or of the illustrious Briçonnet. His accusation was soon drawn up; and a decree of the parliament (dated 28th August 1525) condemned nine propositions extracted from his commentaries on the Gospels, and placed his translation of the Scriptures in the list of prohibited books.²

This was only the prelude; and that the learned doctor knew. Upon the first symptoms of persecution, he had felt that, in the absence of Francis I., he must fall under the assault of his enemies, and that the moment was now come to obey the Lord's commandment: *When they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another.*³ Lefevre quitted Meaux, where, after the bishop's apostacy, he had drunk nothing but the cup of bitterness, and saw all his activity paralyzed; and as he withdrew from his persecutors, he shook the dust from off his feet against them, "not to call

down evil upon them, but as a s evils that were in store for them; he in one place) just as this dust from off our feet, are they cast off face of the Lord."⁴

The persecutors had missed their mark but they consoled themselves by thought that France was at least from the father of the heretics.

The fugitive Lefevre arrived at under a borrowed name: there he ately united with the friends of the tion; and what must have been bearing that Gospel publicly taught he had been the first to bring forth Church! Lo, there was his faith! exactly what he had intended to seem'd to have been born a savior the christian life. Gerard Rouss those evangelical men who, like th Etaples, did not attain complete tion, had also been compelled to qu Together they followed the teaching; and Bucer;⁵ they had frequent pr versations with these faithful doct report was circulated that they been commissioned to do so by the king's sister.⁶ But Lefevre occupied in contemplating the wa than with polemics. Casting his Christendom, filled with astonish beholding the great events that w place, moved with thankfulness heart full of anticipation, he fell on and prayed the Lord "to perfect th he saw then beginning."⁷

One pleasure in particular awaited Strasburg; Farel his disciple, his whom he had been separated by p for nearly three years, had arrived fore him. The aged doctor of the found in his young pupil a man in of life, a Christian in all the energ; Farel affectionately clasped that hand which had guided his first; experienced an indescribable joy meeting with his father in an e city, and in seeing him surround faithful men. Together they liste pure instructions of illustrious tea gether they partook of the Lord's conformity with Christ's institution they received touching proofs of t their brethren. "Do you remem Farel, "what you once observed t we were both sunk in darkness: God will renew the world, and yo it!.....Here is the beginning of then told me."—"Yes," answered old man, "God is renewing the

¹ Perpendens perniciosissimum demonis fallaciam..... Occurri quantum valui. Nat. Bedæ Apolog. Adv. Lutheranos, fol. 62.

² J. LeLONG, Biblioth. sacrée, 2^e partie, p. 64.

³ Matthew 2, 14, 22.

⁴ Quod excusant sunt a facie Domini stent y cussus est a pedibus. Faber in Ev. Matth. p. 1.

⁵ Faber stapulensis et Gerardus Rufus, clam fecit, Capdonem et Bucerum audierunt. M Vita Capdonis, p. 20.

⁶ De omnibus doctrine præcipulis locis cum erint. Ibid.

⁷ Misi a Margaretha, regis Francisci sorore

⁸ Farel a tous seigneurs, peuples, et pasteurs

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

1, continue to preach boldly the of Jesus Christ."¹

from excess of caution doubtless, ve unknown at Strasburg, and the name of Anthony Pilgrim, el assumed that of Solmin. But is doctor could not remain hid-ort time the whole city and the n saluted the aged Frenchman.² He did not dwell alone; but apito's house with Farel, Rouns who was eulogized for his dif- with a certain Simon, a con-

The houses of Capito, (Eco- wingle, and Luther, were then ich was at that time the strength love. Many other Frenchmen in this city on the banks of the hey founded a church in which preached the doctrine of salva- christian society soothed the pain

se brethren were thus enjoying offered them by fraternal affec- in Paris and in other parts of : exposed to great dangers. Bri- retracted; Lefevre had quitted s was no doubt something for the ut it had still to wait for the : that it had advised. Beda and d found no victims.....one man them still more than Briçonnet ; this was Louis Berquin. The f Artois, of a more decided cha- his two masters, omitted no of tormenting the monks and and of unmasking their fanat- ing by turns at Paris and in the ie collected and translated the Luther and Erasmus:³ he him- ompose controversial works, and ropagate the new doctrine with of a new convert. The Bishop denounced him; Beda seconded and the parliament had him prison. "This one," said they, scape us like Briçonnet or Lefe- fect, they kept him in close con- n vain did the superior of the and others entreat him to apolo- dly declared that he would not a single point. "There seemed " says a chronicler, "but to lead take."⁴

in consternation at what had) Briçonnet, dreaded to see Ber- d to that scaffold which the o shamefully escaped. Not dar- him in prison, she endeavoured few words of consolation to him; erhaps for him that the princess

composed this touching complaint of the pri- soner, in which the latter, addressing the Lord, exclaims;—¹

But yet, where'er my prison be,
Its gates can never keep out Thee;
For where I am, Thou instant art with me.

But Margaret did not stop here; she instantly wrote to her brother, soliciting this gentleman's pardon. Happy would she be if she could deliver him in time from the hatred of his enemies.

While waiting for this victim, Beda resolved to intimidate the enemies of the Sorbonne and of the monks by crushing the most celebrated of them. Erasmus had taken up the pen against Luther; but that was of little consequence. If they can succeed in destroying Erasmus, with much stronger reason would the ruin of Farel, of Luther, and of their associates be inevitable. The surest way to reach the mark is to aim beyond it. When once Rome has placed her foot upon the neck of the philosopher of Rotterdam, where is the heretical doctor that can escape its vengeance? Lecouturier, commonly known by his Latin name *Sutor* (cobbler), had already begun the attack, by launching from his solitary Carthusian cell a treatise overflowing with violence, in which he called his opponents theologasters and jackasses, charging them with scandalous crimes, heresy, and blasphemy. Treating of subjects which he did not understand, he reminded his readers of the old proverb: *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, Let the cobbler stick to his last.

Beda hastened to the assistance of his brother. He ordered Erasmus to write no more;² and taking up that pen which he had commanded the greatest writer of the age to lay down, he made a collection of all the calumnies that the monks had invented against the illustrious philosopher, translated them into French, and composed a book that he circulated in the city and at court, striving to raise all France against him.³ This work was the signal of attack; Erasmus was assailed from every quarter. An old Carmelite of Louvain, Nicholas Edmond, exclaimed every time he went into the pulpit, "There is no difference between Luther and Erasmus, except that Erasmus is the greater heretic;"⁴ and wherever the Carmelite might be, at table, in coach, or in boat, he called Erasmus a heresiarch and forger.⁵ The faculty of Paris, excited by these clamours, prepared a censure against the illustrious writer.

Erasmus was astounded. This, then, is the end of all his forbearance, and of even his hostility against Luther. He had mounted to the breach with greater courage than any man; and now they want to make

¹ senex fatebatur; meque hortabatur per-
tatione acri evangelii. Farel to Pellican.
i. 17.

² Ubi tam Galliam in me conciteret. Ibid. ed.
p. 429.

³ p. p. 922.
artyre, p. 103.

¹ Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princeses, l. 448.

² Primum jubet ut desinam scribere. Erasmus, Bpp. 982.

³ Ut totam Galliam in me conciteret. Ibid. ed.

⁴ Nisi quod Erasmus esset major hereticus. Ibid. 918.

⁵ Quotes in convivis, in vehiculis, in navibus. Ibid.

him a stepping stone, and trample him under foot, that they may the more securely attack the common enemy. This idea disgusted him: he turned round immediately, and almost before he had ceased his attack upon Luther, fell upon these fanatical doctors, who had assailed him from behind. Never was his correspondence more active than now. He glances all around him, and his piercing eye soon discovers in whose hands depends his fate. He does not hesitate: he will lay his complaints and remonstrances at the feet of the Sorbonne, of the parliament, of the king, and of the emperor himself. "What is it that has kindled this immense Lutheran conflagration?" wrote he to those theologians of the Sorbonne, from whom he still expected some little impartiality; "what has fanned it, if not the virulence of Beda and his fellows?"¹ In war, a soldier who has done his duty receives a reward from his general; and all the recompense I shall receive from you, the leaders in this war, is to be delivered up to the calumnies of such as Beda and Lecouturier."

"What!" wrote he to the parliament, "when I was contending with these Lutherans, and while I was maintaining a severe struggle by order of the emperor, the pope, and other princes, even at the peril of my life, Beda and Lecouturier attacked me from behind with their foul libels! Ah, if fortune had not deprived us of King Francis, I should have invoked this avenger of the muses against this new invasion of the barbarians.² But now it is your duty to put an end to such injustice!"

As soon as he found the possibility of conveying a letter to the king, he wrote to him immediately. His penetrating eye detected in these fanatical doctors of the Sorbonne the germs of the league, the predecessors of those three priests who were one day to set up the *Sixteen* against the last of the Valois; his genius forewarned the king of the crimes and misfortunes which his descendants were destined to know but too well. "Religion is their pretext," said he, "but they aspire to tyranny even over princes. They move with a sure step, though their path is under ground. Should the prince be disinclined to submit to them in every thing, they will declare that he may be deposed by the Church; that is to say, by a few false monks and theologians who conspire against the public peace."³ Erasmus, in writing to Francis I., could not have touched a tenderer point.

Finally, to be more certain of escape from his enemies, Erasmus invoked the protection of Charles V. "Invincible emperor," said he, "certain individuals who, under the pro-

tence of religion, wish to establish their gluttony and despotism, are raising a ribble outcry against me.⁴ I am fight under your banners and those of Jesus Christ. May your wisdom and power restore peace to the christian world."

Thus did the prince of letters address great ones of the age. The danger averted; the powers of the world interposed; the vultures were compelled to abandon prey which they fancied already in talons. Upon this they turned their eyes to another quarter, seeking fresh victims, who were soon found.

Lorraine was the first place in which it was again to flow. From the earliest of the Reform there had been a fanatical alliance between Paris and the counts the Guises. When Paris was quiet, Lorraine applied to the task; and then Paris resorted to her labour, while Metz and Nancy were covering their strength. In June 1561 Peter Toussaint returned to Metz, in company with Farel. They desired a hearing before their lordships the *Thirteen*; and being refused, they appealed to the *Archbishops*. Plans were already laid for throwing them into prison, when, fearful of danger, they quickly left the city, travelling all night they should be overtaken.⁵

The first blows were destined apparently to fall on an excellent man, one of the refugees, a friend of Farel and Toussaint. The Chevalier d'Esch had not been able to escape the suspicions of the priests in Metz. They discovered that he kept up a communication with the evangelical Christians, he was imprisoned at Pont-a-Mousson, a five miles from Metz on the banks of Moselle.⁶ These tidings overwhelmed French refugees and the Swiss themselves with sorrow. "O heart full of innocent exclamation," exclaimed Ecolampadius. "I have confidence in the Lord," added he, "that he preserve this man to us, either in life as a preacher of righteousness, to announce his name, or as a martyr to confess his death."⁷ But at the same time Ecolampadius disapproved of the impetuosity, enthusiasm, and imprudent zeal which distinguished the French refugees. "I wish," said he, "that my very dear lords of France would not be so hasty in returning into their own country, before they have duly examined all things;⁸ for the devil is spreading snares on every side. Nevertheless let them obey the Spirit of Christ, and may this they never abandon them."

There was, in truth, reason to fear for the chevalier. The fury of the enemy had been

¹ Hoc gravissimum Lutheri incendium, unde natus, unde hic progressum, nisi ex Bedaica intemperie. *Er. Epp. p. 507.*

² Musarum vindictam adversus barbarorum incursiones. *Ibid. p. 507.*

³ Nisi principes ipsorum voluntati per omnia parerent, elector tantum hereticorum et desolati poterit per ecclesiam. *Ibid. p. 510.*

⁴ Simulato religionis pretextu, ventris tyrannidem negotium agentes. *Er. Epp. p. 502.*

⁵ Chroniques de Metz, p. 423.

⁶ Noster captus destinatur in Bundamose quinque a Metis. *Œcol. to Farel, Epp. 20.*

⁷ Vel vivum confiteorem, vel mortuum martyrem. *Ibid.*

⁸ Nullem carissimos dominos meos Galles propter Galliam, &c. *Ibid.*

raine with redoubled violence. The 1 of the Cordeliers, Bonaventure confessor to Duke Anthony the Good, void of shame, and not very common on the score of morals, gave this vice, who reigned from 1508 to 1544, place in his pleasures, and persuaded by way of penance, to destroy sinners without mercy. "It is for every one to know his *Pater* and this prince, so well tutored by the duke, said; "the greater the doctor, the greater the disturbance."¹

At the end of 1524 the duke's court named that a pastor named Schuch preaching some new doctrine in the St. Hippolyte, at the foot of the "Let them return to their duty," Anthony the Good, "or else I will march on the city, and destroy it by fire and

this the faithful pastor resolved to set up for his flock, and repaired to where the prince was residing. As he arrived he was thrown into a prison, under the guard of brutal and noisy men; and Friar Bonaventure at last heretic in his power. It was he who died at the trial. "Heretic! Judas!" exclaimed he. Schuch, calm and composed, made no reply to this abuse; but in his hands a Bible, all covered with blood, he meekly yet forcibly confessed and justified. On a sudden he became angry; he stood up boldly, and raising his voice as if filled by the Spirit from on high, he rebuked his judges in the face, and ended them with the terrible judgments

of Bonaventure and his companions, and transported with rage, rushed forward with violent cries, tore away the parchment which he was reading this language, "and like mad dogs," says the chronicler, "unable to bite his doctrine, he bit it in their convent."²

The court of Lorraine resounded with the noise and impudence of the minister Hippolyte, and the prince, curious to see the heretic, desired to be present at his rogatory, but in secret, however, veiled from every eye. As the execution took place in Latin, he could not understand a word; but he was struck with countenance of the minister, who either vanquished nor confounded. He ended at such obstinacy, Anthony the Good stepped up, and said as he withdrew: "You still dispute? He denies the truth of the mass; let them proceed to burn him."³ Schuch was condemned to be burnt alive. When the sentence was made known to him, he cast his eyes to heaven, saying mildly:

"I was glad when they said unto me, let us go into the house of the Lord."⁴

On the 19th August 1525 the whole city of Nancy was in motion. The bells were tolling for the death of a heretic. The mournful procession set out. It was necessary to pass before the convent of the Cordeliers, who, rejoicing and expectant, had assembled before the gate. At the moment that Schuch appeared, Father Bonaventure, pointing to the carved images over the portals of the convent, exclaimed: "Heretic! pay honour to God, to his mother, and to the saints."—"Ye hypocrites!" replied Schuch, standing erect before these blocks of wood and stone, "God will destroy you, and bring your deceits to light!"

When the martyr reached the place of execution, his books were burnt before his face: he was then called upon to retract; but he refused, saying: "It is thou, O God, who hast called me, and thou wilt give me strength unto the end."⁵ After this he began to repeat aloud the fifty-first psalm: "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, according to thy loving kindness." Having mounted the pile, he continued to recite the psalm until the smoke and the flames stifled his voice.

Thus the persecutors of France and Lorraine beheld a renewal of their victories; at length men paid attention to their advice. The ashes of a heretic had been scattered to the winds at Nancy; it was a challenge to the capital of France. What! shall Bédard and Lecouturier be the last to show their zeal for the pope! Let flames reply to flames, and heresy, swept from the soil of the kingdom, would soon be entirely driven back beyond the Rhine.

But before he could succeed, Bédard had to sustain a combat, half serious, half ludicrous, against one of those men with whom the struggle against the Papacy is merely an intellectual pastime and not an earnest purpose of the heart.

Among the scholars whom Briçonnet had attracted to his diocese, was a doctor of the Sorbonne, named Peter Caroli, a vain and frivolous man, not less quarrelsome and litigious than Bédard himself. In the new doctrine Caroli saw the means of vexing Bédard, whose ascendancy he could not endure. Accordingly, on his return from Meaux to Paris, he made a great sensation by carrying into the pulpit what was called, "the new way of preaching." Then began an indefatigable struggle between the two doctors; it was blow for blow, and trick for trick. Bédard summoned Caroli before the Sorbonne, and Caroli summoned him before the bishop's court by way of reparation. The faculty continued the examination, and Caroli gave notice of an appeal to the parliament. He was provisionally forbidden to enter the

¹ Martyrs, p. 97.

² Ibid. p. 98.

³ Martyrs, recueillis par Crespin, ou Français,

France 1. par Galliard, iv. 223.

⁴ Psalm cxviii. 1.

⁵ Eum auctorem vocationis sue atque conservatorem, ad extremum usque spiritum recognovit. Acta Mart. p. 281.

pulpit, and he preached in all the churches of Paris. Being positively forbidden to preach at all, he publicly lectured on the Psalms in the College of Cambrai. The faculty forbade him to continue his course, and he begged permission to finish the explanation of the 22d Psalm, which he had just begun. Finally, on the refusal of his request, he posted the following placard on the college gates: "*Peter Caroli, desirous of obeying the orders of the sacred faculty, has ceased to lecture; he will resume his lectures (whenever it shall please God) at the verse where he left off: THEY HAVE PIERCED MY HANDS AND MY FEET.*" Thus Beda at last found his match. If Caroli had seriously defended the truth, the burning pile would soon have been his reward; but he was of too profane a spirit to be put to death. How could the judges capitably punish a man who made them lose their gravity. Neither the bishop's court, nor the parliament, nor the council, could ever come to a definite decision in his cause. Two men such as Caroli would have wearied out the activity of Beda himself; but the Reformation did not produce his parallel.¹

As soon as this unseasonable contest was ended, Beda applied to more serious matters. Happily for the syndic of the Sorbonne, there were men who gave persecution a better hold of them than Caroli. Briçonnet, Erasmus, Lefevre, and Farel had escaped him; but since he cannot reach these distinguished individuals, he will content himself with meaner persons. The poor youth, James Pavanne, after his abjuration at Christmas 1524, had done nothing but weep and sigh. He might be seen with a melancholy air, his eyes fixed on the earth, groaning inwardly, and severely reproaching himself for having denied his Saviour and his God.²

Pavanne was undoubtedly the most diffident and inoffensive of men: but what mattered that! he had been at Meaux, and in those days that was sufficient. "Pavanne has relapsed," was the cry; "*the dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.*" He was immediately arrested, thrown into prison, and taken before his judges. This was all that the youthful James required. He felt comforted as soon as he was in chains, and found strength sufficient to confess Jesus Christ with boldness.³ The cruel persecutors smiled as they saw that, this time at least, nothing could save their victim; there was no recantation, no flight, no powerful patronage. The young man's mildness, his candour and courage, failed to soften his adversaries.

He regarded them with love; for if him into prison, they had restored tranquillity and joy; but his tor only served to harden their her trial was soon concluded: a pile w on the Grève, where Pavanne died strengthening by his example all t in that large city believed openly o in the Gospel of Christ.

This was not enough for the If they are compelled to sacrifice ones of the world, their number least make amends for their qual flames of the Grève struck terror and the whole of France; but a kindled on another spot, will redo terror. It will be talked of at co colleges, and in the workshops of ti and such proofs will show more cle any edicts, that Louisa of Savoy, boune, and the parliament, are re sacrifice the very last heretic to ti mas of Rome.

In the forest of Livry, three lea Paris, and not far from the spot w stood the ancient abbey of the A dwelt a hermit, who having in l sions met with some men of Mea ceived the evangelical doctrine heart.¹ The poor hermit had fel rich in his retreat, when one day, with the scanty food that public c stowed on him, he carried back Ju and his grace. From that time that it was better to give than t He went from house to house i rounding villages, and as soon a opened the doors of the poor peasa he visited in their humble huts, he them of the Gospel, of the perfe that it offers to the burdened soul, is far better than absolutions.² the good hermit of Livry was kno environs of Paris; people went to in his lowly cell, and he became a fervent missionary for the simple that district.

The rumour of the doings of evangelist did not fail to reach t the Sorbonne and of the magi Paris. The hermit was seized, dra his hermitage, from his forest, fi fields through which he used to wa thrown into a prison in that great c be had ever shunned, and conder suffer the exemplary punishment o fire."³

In order to render the example n ing, it was determined that he burnt alive in the front of Notre fore that splendid cathedral, that

¹ Gerdensius, Hist. seculi xvi. renovati, p. 26; D'Argentré, Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus, li. 21; Gaillard, Hist. de France, t. iv. 232.

² Animal factum suum detestantis dolorem, sepe decideraverit. Acta Mart. p. 203.

³ Furam religioſum Christianum confutionem addit. Ibid.

¹ Cette sentence de Faber et de ses disciples, nſer de Luther, germa dans le sot esprit d'un e tenait près la ville de Paris. Hist. cath. de l par S. Fontaine, Paris, 1562.

² Lequel par les villages qu'il fréquentait, se faire ses quêteſ, tenait propos hérétiques. J notre-temps, par S. Fontaine, Paris, 1662.

³ Ibid.

D'AURIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

man-catholicism. All the clergy ed, and as much pomp was dis- in the most solemn festivals.¹

If possible, have attracted all the stake, "the great bell of the otre-Dame (says an historian) only to arouse the citizens."² flocked in crowds through all hat led into the square. The of the bell drew the workman, the scholar from his books, the on his traffic, the soldier from and already the wide space was an immense crowd which still ing. The hermit, clad in the signed to obstinate heretics, ad feet bare, had been led before the cathedral. Calm, firm, and made no reply to the exhorta- confessors who presented a cru- save by declaring that his sole the pardon of God. The doctors onne, in the front ranks of the seeing his constancy, and the producing on the people, cried : is damned: they are leading ire!"³ The great bell still cong, and its loud notes, by stunning e crowd, increased the solemnity nful spectacle. At length the ent, and the martyr having re- last questions of his enemies, resolved to die in the faith of sus Christ, was burnt by a slow ng to the tenor of his sentence. front of Notre-Dame, amid the motion of a whole people, under of the towers raised by the piety younger, peacefully died a man, y history has not transmitted to s the "Hermit of Livry."

CHAPTER XV.

Noyon—Character of young Calvin—Early onerated to Theology—The Bishop gives ure—He leaves Noyon on Account of the Two Calvins—Stanley—The Reformation languages—Persecution and Terror—Marg- her Brother—Toussaint put in Prison—The vers furious—Death of Du Blet, Moulin, and l saves the Church—Margaret's Project- for Spain.

were thus putting to death the sors of Jesus Christ in France, sparing mightier ones to fill their da hurried to the stake an unas- holar, an humble hermit, and was dragging almost the whole m along with them. But Provi- sources that are unknown to the e Gospel, like the fabulous phos- is a principle of life within itself,

which the flames cannot consume, and it springs up again from its own ashes. It is often at the moment when the storm is at its height, when the thunderbolt seems to have struck down the truth, and when thick dark- ness hides it from our view, that a sudden glimmering appears, the forerunner of a great deliverance. At this time, when all human powers in France were arming against the Gospel for the complete destruc- tion of the Reformation, God was preparing an instrument, weak to all appearance, who should one day support His rights and defend His cause with more than mortal intrepidity. In the midst of the persecutions and blazing piles that followed each other in close succe- sion after Francis became Charles's prisoner, let us fix our eyes on a youth, one day to be called to the head of a great army in the holy warfare of Israel.

Among the inhabitants of the city and col- leges of Paris who heard the sound of the great bell was a young scholar of sixteen, a native of Noyon in Picardy, of middle sta- ture, sallow features, and with piercing eye and animated looks that announced a mind of no common sagacity.¹ His dress, extremely neat but of perfect simplicity, betokened order and moderation.² This young man, by name John Cauvin or Calvin, was then stu- dying at the college of La Marche, under Mathurin Cordier, a rector celebrated for his probity, erudition, and peculiar fitness for the instruction of youth. Brought up in all the superstitions of popery, the scholar of Noyon was blindly submissive to the Church, cheer- fully complying with all her observances,³ and persuaded that the heretics had richly deserved their fate. The blood which was then flowing in Paris aggravated the crime of heresy in his eyes. But although natu- rally of a timid and fearful disposition, which he himself has styled soft and pusillani- mous,⁴ he possessed that uprightness and generosity of heart which lead a man to sacrifice every thing to his convictions. Accordingly, in vain had his youth been appalled by those frightful spectacles, in vain had murderous flames consumed the faithful disciples of the Gospel on the Grève and in front of Notre-Dame; the recollection of these horrors could not prevent him from one day entering on the new path, which seemed to lead only to the prison or the stake. Moreover, there were already perceptible in the character of young Calvin certain traits that announced what he would become. Strictness of morals in him led the way to strictness of doctrine, and the scholar of six- teen already gave promise of a man who

¹ Statura fuit mediocris, colore subpallido et nigrescente, oculis ad mortem usque limpidis, quibus ingenti sagacita- tem testantur, Bene Vita Calvin.

² Cultus corporis neque cultio neque sordido sed qui singu- larem modestiam decoret. Ibid.

³ Primo quidem quum superstitiosum Papatus magis pertinaciter addictus essem. Calv. Pref. ad Psalm.

⁴ Ego qui natura timido, molli et pusillo animo me esse fateor. Ibid.

grande cérémonie. Hist. des Egl. Réf. par l. l. t. 2 Ibid.
des Eglises Réf. l. t. 4

would deal seriously with every principle he embraced, and who would firmly require in others what he himself found it so easy to perform. Quiet and serious during his lessons, never sharing in the amusements or follies of his schoolfellows during the hours of recreation, holding himself aloof,¹ and filled with horror at sin, he would often reprimand their disorders with severity and even bitterness.² And hence, as a canon of Noyon informs us, his fellow-students nicknamed him the *accusative case*.³ Among them he was the representative of conscience and of duty, so far was he from being as some of his calumniators have depicted him. The pale features and the piercing eyes of the scholar of sixteen had already inspired his comrades with more respect than the black gowns of their masters; and this Picard youth, of a timid air, who daily took his seat on the benches in the college of La Marche, was even then, by the seriousness of his conversation and life, an unconscious minister and reformer.

It was not in these particulars alone that the youth of Noyon was already far above his schoolfellows. His great timidity sometimes prevented him from manifesting all the horror he felt at vanity and vice; but he already consecrated to study the whole force of his genius and of his will, and to look at him one might see he was a man who would spend his life in toil. He comprehended every thing with inconceivable facility; he ran in his studies while his companions were lazily creeping along, and he impressed deeply on his profound genius what others spend much time in learning superficially. Accordingly, his master was compelled to take him out of the classes, and introduce him singly to fresh studies.⁴

Among his fellow-students were the young De Mommor, belonging to the first nobility of Picardy. John Calvin was very intimate with them, especially with Claude, who afterwards became abbot of Saint Eloi, and to whom he dedicated his commentary on Seneca. It was in the company of these young nobles that Calvin had come to Paris. His father, Gerard Calvin, apostolic notary, procurator-fiscal of the county of Noyon, secretary of the diocese, and proctor of the chapter,⁵ was a man of judgment and ability, whose talents had raised him to offices sought after by the best families, and who had gained the esteem of all the gentry in the province, and in particular of the noble

family of Mommor.¹ Gerard resided at Noyon;² he had married a young woman of Cambrai, of remarkable beauty and unassuming piety, by name Jane Lefrang, who had already borne him a son named Charles, when on the 10th of July 1509 she gave birth to a second son, who received the name of John, and who was christened in the church of St. Godeberte.³ A third son, Anthony, who died young, and two daughters, made up the family of the procurator-fiscal of Noyon.

Gerard Calvin, living in familiar intercourse with the heads of the clergy and the chief persons in the province, desired that his children should receive the same education as those of the best families. John, whose precocious habits he had observed, was brought up with the sons of the Mommor family; he lived in their house as one of themselves, and studied the same lessons as Claude. In this family he learnt the first elements of literature and of life, and thus received a higher polish than he appeared destined to acquire.⁴ He was afterwards sent to the college of the Capettes, founded in the city of Noyon.⁵ The child enjoyed but little recreation. The austerity, that was one of the characteristic features of the son, was found also in the father. Gerard brought him up strictly; from his earliest years, John was compelled to bend to the inflexible rule of duty, which soon became habitual to him, and the influence of the father counteracted that of the Mommor family. Calvin, who was of a timid and somewhat rustic character (as he says himself),⁶ and rendered still more timid by his father's severity, shrunk from the splendid apartments of his protectors, and loved to remain alone and in obscurity.⁷ Thus in retirement his young mind formed itself to great thoughts. It would appear that he sometimes went to the village of Pont l'Évêque, near Noyon, where his grandfather resided in a small cottage,⁸ and where other relatives also, who at a later period changed their name from detestation of the heresiarch, kindly received the son of the procurator-

¹ Erat is Gerardus non parvi iudicii et concilii hominideoque nobilibus ejus regionis perisque carus. *Rea.*

² Dans la place où est bâtie maintenant la maison de Cerf. Desmay, docteur de la Sorbonne, Vie de Jean Calvin, hérésiarque, p. 20. Levasseur, Ann. de Noyon, p. 111.

³ The calumnies and extravagant tales about Calvin began early. J. Levasseur, afterwards dean of the canon of Noyon, relates that when Calvin's mother was in labour, before the child was born, there came forth a swarm of large flies, an indubitable presage that he would one day be an evil speaker and a calumniator. Ann. de la Cath. de Noyon, p. 1137. These absurdities and many others of the same kind refute themselves, without our taking up ourselves to do so. In our days, those Romish doctors who are not ashamed to employ the weapons of calumny, make a selection from these low and ridiculous stories, not daring to cite them all; but they are all equally worthless.

⁴ Domi vestre puer educatus, iisdem tecum studiis habitus, primam vitam et literarum disciplinam familiam vestram nobilissimam acceptam refero. *Calv. Pref. in Sermonem de Claudium.*

⁵ Desmay, Remarques, p. 31; Drélincourt, Défense, p. 111.

⁶ Ego qui nature austriusculus. *Pref. ad Psalm.*

⁷ Umbram et otium semper amavi. . . . *lacteum capiam.*

⁸ Le bruit est que son grand-père était tonnelier. *Drélincourt, p. 30; Levasseur, Ann. de Noyon, p. 111.*

¹ Summam in moribus afflictabat gravitatem et paucorum hominum consuetudine utebatur. *Emundi Hist. Hæres. vii. 10.*

² Severus omnium in suis sodalibus censor. *Beza Vita Calv.*

³ Annales de l'Eglise de Noyon, par Levasseur, chanoine, p. 111.

⁴ Exculto ipse ingenio quod ei jam tum erat acerrimum, ita profectus ut ceteris sodalibus in grammaticis curriculum relictis, ad dialecticos et aliarum quas vocant artium studium promoveretur. *Beza.*

⁵ Levasseur, docteur de la Sorbonne, Annales de l'Eglise Cathédrale de Noyon, p. 111. Drélincourt, Défense de Calvin, p. 111.

at it was to study chiefly that Calvin devoted his time. While Luther was to act upon the people, was p like a child of the people, Calvin, to act especially as a theologian and reasoner, and become the legis- renovated Church, received even od a more liberal education.¹

of piety early showed itself in the art. One author relates that he tomed, when very young, to pray n air, under the vault of heaven; ick contributed to awaken in his feeling of God's omnipresence.² igh Calvin might, even in infancy, l the voice of God in his heart, n on was so rigid as he in the ob- f ecclesiastical regulations. And ard, remarking this disposition, the design of devoting his son to

This prospect no doubt contri- mpress on his soul that serious theological stamp, by which it uently distinguished. His spirit iature to receive a strong impres- ly years, and to familiarize itself hood with the most elevated

The report that he was at this rister has no foundation, as even aries admit. But they assure us a child, he was seen joining the processions, and carrying a sword s-shaped hilt by way of a crucifix.³ re," add they, "of what he was become." "The Lord hath made like a sharp sword," says the ser- vohav in Isaiah. The same may Calvin.

was poor; his son's education had uch, and he wished to attach him r to the Church. The Cardinal of ad been coadjutor of the Bishop of e age of four years. It was then practice to confer ecclesiastical revenues on children. Alphonso l was made cardinal by Leo X. at eight, and Odet of Châtillon by II. at eleven; and subsequent to y, the celebrated Mère Angélique yal was appointed coadjutrix of ery at the age of seven years. o died a good catholic, was re- h favour by Messire Charles de ishop of Noyon, and by his vicars- accordingly, when the chaplain of resigned, the bishop, on the 21st conferred this benefice on John o was then nearly twelve years appointment was communicated pier twelve days after. On the pus Christi, the bishop solemnly

cut off the child's hair;¹ and by this cere- mony of the tonsure, John became a member of the clergy, and capable of entering into holy orders, and of holding a benefice with- out residing on the spot.

Thus was Calvin called to make trial in his own person of the abuses of the Romish Church. Of all who wore the tonsure in France, there was none more serious in his piety than the chaplain of La Gésine, and the serious child was probably astonished himself at the work of the bishop and his vicars-general. But in his simplicity he felt too much veneration towards these exalted personages to indulge in the least suspicion on the lawfulness of his tonsure. He had held the title about two years when Noyon was visited by a dreadful pestilence. Several of the canons petitioned the chapter that they might be allowed to quit the city. Already many of the inhabitants had been carried off by the *great death*, and Gerard was beginning to fear that his son John, the hope of his life, might in a moment be snatched from his tenderness by the scourge of God. The young de Mommors were going to Paris to continue their studies; this was what the procurator-fiscal had always desired for his son. Why should he separate John from his fellow-students? On the 5th of August 1523, he petitioned the chapter to procure the young chaplain "liberty to go wherever he pleased during the plague, without loss of his allowance; which was granted him until the feast of Saint Remy."² John Calvin quitted his father's house at the age of fourteen. It requires great audacity in calumny to ascribe his departure to other causes, and in mere wantonness to challenge that disgrace which justly recoils on those who circulate charges the falsehood of which has been so authentically demonstrated. It appears that in Paris, Calvin lodged at the house of one of his uncles, Richard Cauvin, who resided near the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. "Thus flying from the pesti- lence," says the canon of Noyon, "he went to catch it elsewhere."

Some years after Calvin had quitted Noyon, another individual of the same name arrived in that city.³ John Cauvin was a young man of corrupt principles, but as he came from another part of France, and was a stranger (or unknown) in Noyon, he was received among the priests who chanted in the choir, and in a short time a chapel was given him, as in the case of the first Calvin. As this took place at a time when the latter had already "turned to heresy," the good canons

¹ Vie de Calvin, par Desmay, p. 31; Levasseur, p. 1188.

² This is what the priest and the vicar-general Desmay (Jean Calvin, hérétique, p. 33), and the canon Levasseur (Ann. de Noyon, p. 1180), declare they found in the registers of the chapter of Noyon. Thus these Romanist authors refute the inventions or mistakes of Richelieu and other writers.

³ Annales de l'Eglise de Noyon, at the chapter entitled D'un autre Jean Cauvin, chapelain, vicair de la même église de Noyon, non hérétique, by Jacques Levasseur, canon and dean of that city.

Leben Calvin, p. 20.
 von Fischer, Leipzig, 1794. The author
 his authority for this fact,
 autem cum pater ab initio theologie studis-
 sum tamen erat mirum in modum religiosus
 fuit Calvin.
 Ann. de Noyon, pp. 1150, 1173.

looked upon Calvin's arrival as a sort of recompense and consolation; but it was not long before the disorderly life of this wretched man excited alarm among his protectors. He was reprimanded, punished, and even deprived of his stipend: but to this he paid no attention,¹ continually lapsing again into incontinence. "Seeing then," says the canon, "his hardness of heart, which made him neglect every kind of remonstrance," the canons deprived John Calvin of his chapel and expelled him from the choir. James Desmay, a priest and doctor of divinity, who had studied at Noyon every thing that concerned this church, adds, that he was privately scourged in 1552, and then driven from the town.² This is indeed a disgraceful end for a priest! The canon Levasseur disputes the scourging, but admits all the rest.

In the following year the same circumstances happened again, for the history of popery abounds in such adventures. A certain Baldwin the younger, also chaplain at Noyon, having taken to live scandalously with him certain women of suspicious character,³ was condemned to attend every service in the church during a month, and to be scourged.⁴

While these two Romanist authors agree in relating the disorders and punishments inflicted on these young ecclesiastics, they likewise agree in declaring that they had found nothing at Noyon or in its registers against the morals of the great French reformer, and are content to execrate his error; "for to call a man a heretic, is to call him by the most opprobrious of names."⁵

The Dean of Noyon goes even farther in his zeal for the papacy, and relates that John Calvin, who had been expelled in 1552 for incontinence, died a *good catholic*. "Thanks be to God," adds he, "that he never turned his coat, nor changed his religion, to which his libertine life and the example of his namesake Calvin seemed to incline him." The dean concludes his strange narrative, the discovery of which is highly valuable to the history of the Reformation, in these words: "I thought it my duty to add this chapter to the history of the first Calvin the reformer, *ad diluendam homonymiam* (to guard against the similarity of names), for fear one should be taken for the other, the catholic for the heretic."⁶

Never was fear better founded. We know what the popish writers are accustomed to do. They take advantage of the misdeeds of John Calvin at Noyon, and ascribe them

to the reformer. They tell their gravely that he was driven from his town for misconduct, after having been condemned to be scourged and even hanged. In spite of all the pains taken by the canon of Noyon to add a chapter *for fear one should be taken for the other, the catholic for the heretic*, the apologists of Rome fail not to ascribe the debaucheries of his youth to the reformer the debaucheries of his youth. What engrossed the thought of the canon of Noyon was the glory of John Calvin who died a good catholic, and he felt that Calvin's heresy should be laid to his charge. And, accordingly, he clearly assigns the blame to the one, and *heresy* to the other. There have indeed been *equivocation* says, but in a contrary direction. Calvin now return to Calvin at Paris.

A new world opened before the eyes of Calvin in the metropolis of letters. He pursued it, applied to his studies, and made progress in Latin literature. He became familiar with Cicero, and learned from him the great master to employ the language of the Romans with a facility, purity, and a taste that excite the admiration even of our times. But at the same time, he found in this language which he afterward preferred to his own.

Up to this time Latin had been the language of the learned; and to our day it has remained the language of the Church. The Reformation created or emancipated the vulgar tongue. The office of the priest had ceased, people were called to learn and to teach themselves. In this one fact was the ruin of the language of the priests, the inauguration of the language of the people. It is no longer to be taught alone, to a few monks, or ecclesiastical literary men, that the new ideas are addressed; but to the noble, the citizen, the labourer. All men are now to be taught; nay more, all are to become preachers, wool-combers and knights, as well as parish-priests. A new language wanted, or, at the least, the language of the people must undergo an immense renovation, a great enfranchisement, and from the common uses of life, must its patent of nobility from renovated simplicity. The Gospel, so long slumbered awoke; it speaks and addresses nations, every where kindling generations; it opens the treasures of heaven, generation that was thinking only of mean things on earth; it shakes the earth, it talks to them of God, of man, of heaven, of the pope and the Bible, of a scaffold upon which the popular tongue, which hitherto had been the language of chroniclers and badours only, was called by the Reformation to act a new part, and come to new developments. A new world is opening upon society, and for a new world

¹ Annales l'Eglise de Noyon, at the chapter entitled, *De la vie de Jean Calvin*, chapelain, vicaire de la même église de Noyon, non hérétique, by Jacques Levasseur, canon and dean of that city.

² Vie de Jean Calvin, par T. Desmay, imprimée à Rouen, chez Richard l'Aîné, 1622.

³ Scandalose vivendo cum quibusdam mulieribus suspectis. Annales de l'Eglise de Noyon, p. 1171.

⁴ Præfati Domini ordinaverunt ipsum eadi virgibus. Ibid.

⁵ Ann. de l'Egl. de Noyon, 1162.

⁶ Ibid. 1171.

w languages. The Reformation e French dialect from the swads in which it had hitherto been reared it to its majority. From re language has had full possee- se exalted privileges that belong ations of the mind and the trea- mven, of which it had been de- r the guardianship of Rome. No anguage is formed by the people : they invent those happy words, etic and figurative expressions, to language such colouring and here are resources beyond their h can only proceed from men of Calvin, when called upon to dis- o prove, enriched his mother- modes of connexion and depen- shadows, transitions, and dia- , that it did not as yet possess. ments were already beginning to the head of the young student at of La Marche. This lad, who d to exercise so powerful a mas- e human heart, was also to sub- anguage he would have to use as

Protestant France subsequently tself to the French of Calvin, and France comprehends the most portion of the nation; from it families of scholars and dignified who exerted so powerful an in- r the refinement of the people; rang the Port-Royal,¹ one of the truments that have ever contri- m the prose and even the poetry and who, after endeavouring to the Gallican catholicism the d language of the Reformation, e of his projects, but succeeded ; for Roman-catholic France was and learn of her Jansenist and lversaries how to wield those language without which it can- against them.²

future reformer of religion and as thus growing to maturity in of La Marche, every thing was n around the young and serious o took no part as yet in the ents that were agitating society, d that consumed the hermit and d spread terror through Paris. rsecutors were not satisfied; terror was set on foot throughout e friends of the Reformation no l correspond with one another, r intercepted letters should be- reingence of the tribunals both wrote them and those to whom addressed.³ One man, however,

ventured to carry intelligence from Paris and France to the refugees at Basle, by sewing a letter that bore no signature under his doublet. He escaped the squadrons of arquebusiers, the maréchaussée of the several districts, the examinations of the provosts and lieutenants, and reached Basle without the mysterious doublet being searched. His tidings filled Toussaint and his friends with alarm. "It is frightful," said Toussaint, "to hear of the great cruelties there inflicted!"⁴ Shortly before this, two Franciscan monks had arrived at Basle, closely pursued by the officers of justice. One of them named John Prévost had preached at Meaux, and had afterwards been thrown into prison at Paris.⁵ All that they told of Paris and Lyons, through which they had passed, excited the compassion of these refugees. "May our Lord send his grace thither," wrote Toussaint to Farel: "I assure you that I am sometimes in great anxiety and tribulation."

These excellent men still kept up their courage; in vain were all the parliaments on the watch; in vain did the spies of the Sorbonne and of the monks creep into churches, colleges, and even private families, to catch up any word of evangelical doctrine that might there be uttered; in vain did the king's soldiers arrest on the highways every thing that seemed to bear the stamp of the Reformation: those Frenchmen whom Rome and her satellites were hunting down and treading under foot, had faith in better days to come, and already perceived affar off the end of this Babylonish captivity, as they called it. "The seventieth year, the year of deliverance, will come at last," said they, "and liberty of spirit and of conscience will be given to us."⁶ But the seventy years were destined to last nearly three centuries, and it was only after calamities without a parallel that these hopes were to be realized. It was not in man, however, that the refugees placed any hope. "Those who have begun the dance," said Toussaint, "will not stop on the road." But they believed that the Lord "knew those whom he had chosen, and would deliver his people with a mighty hand."⁷

The Chevalier d'Esch had in effect been delivered. Escaping from the prison at Pont à Mousson, he had hastened to Strasburg; but he did not remain there long. "For the honour of God," immediately wrote Toussaint to Farel, "endeavour to prevail on the knight, our worthy master,"⁸ to return as speedily as possible; for our brethren have great need of such a leader!" In truth, the

Id. grandfather of the Mère Angélique, and Id. of Port-Royal, was a Protestant. See *siècle Beuve*, *lire sur Calvin*, par M. A. Rayou, Genève, t has been followed by others on Farel,

me qui ose m'écrire. Toussaint to Farel, M. Neuchâtel M.S.

¹ Neuchâtel M.S.

² *Ibid.* 21st July 1525.

³ *Sane vult annus septagenimus, et tempus appetit ut tandem vindicemur in libertatem spiritus et conscientie.*

Toussaint to Farel, 21st July 1525.

⁴ *Red novit Dominus quos elegerit.* *Ibid.*

⁵ *Si nos magistrum in terris habere deceat (if it become us to have any master upon earth) he adds, *Ibid.* Neuchâtel M.S.*

French refugees had now cause of alarm. They trembled lest that dispute about the Lord's Supper, which had so much distressed them in Germany, should pass the Rhine, and cause fresh troubles in France. Francis Lambert, the monk of Avignon, after visiting Zurich and Wittenberg, had been in Metz; but they did not place entire confidence in him; they feared lest he should have imbibed Luther's sentiments, and lest by controversies, both useless and "monstrous" (as Toussaint calls them), he should check the progress of the Reformation.¹ Each therefore returned to Lorraine; but it was to be again exposed to great dangers, "along with all those who were seeking the glory of Jesus Christ."²

Yet Toussaint was not of a disposition to send others to the battle without joining in it himself. Deprived of his daily intercourse with Ecolampadius, and reduced to associate with an ignorant priest, he had sought communion with Christ, and felt his courage augmented. If he could not return to Metz, might he not at least go to Paris? True, the piles of Pavanne and the hermit of Livry were smoking still, and seemed to repel from the capital all those who held the same faith as they did. But if the colleges and the streets of Paris were struck with terror, so that no one dared even name the Gospel and the Reformation, was not that a reason why he should go thither? Toussaint quitted Basle, and entered those walls where fanaticism had taken the place of riot and debauchery. While advancing in christian studies, he endeavoured to form a connexion with those brethren who were in the colleges, and especially in that of the Cardinal Lemoine, where Lefevre and Farel had taught.³ But he could not long do so freely. The tyranny of the parliamentary commissioners and of the theologians reigned supreme in the capital, and whoever displeased them was accused of heresy.⁴ A duke and an abbot, whose names are unknown to us, denounced Toussaint as a heretic; and one day the king's sergeants arrested the youth from Lorraine and put him in prison. Separated from all his friends, and treated like a criminal, Toussaint felt his wretchedness the more keenly. "O Lord," exclaimed he, "withdraw not thou thy Spirit from me! for without it I am but flesh and a sink of iniquity." While his body was in chains, he turned in heart to those who were still combating freely for the Gospel. There was Ecolampadius, his father, and "whose work I am in the Lord," said he.⁵ There was Leclerc,

whom he no doubt believed, on his age, "unable to bear the weight of the Gospel;"⁶ Vaugris, who had displayed the zeal "of the most affectionate" to rescue him from the hands of his Rousset, "by whom he hoped would bring great things to pass lastly, Farel, to whom he wrote to commend myself to your prayers, for should fall in this warfare."⁷ Names of all these men have so bitter a bitterness of his imprisonment, for no signs of falling. Death, it is hanging over him in this city blood of a number of his brethren poured out like water;⁸ the friar mother, of his uncle the Dean of the Cardinal of Lorraine, made him lavish offers.⁹ "I despise," answered he; "I know that they are the tation of the devil. I would rather hunger, I would rather be a slave of the house of the Lord, than dwell with the palaces of the wicked."¹⁰ At time he made a bold confession of "It is my glory," exclaimed he called a heretic by those whose doctrines are opposed to Jesus Christ this interesting and bold young scribed his letters, "Peter Toussaint worthy to be called a Christian."

Thus, in the absence of the blows were continually aimed at the Reformation. Berquin, Toussaint, others, were in prison; Schuch, and the hermit of Livry, had been death; Farel, Lefevre, Rousset, other defenders of the holy doctrine in exile; the mouths of the martyrs were dumb. The light of the Gospel was growing dim; the storm was incessantly, bending and shaking would uproot the young tree that of God had so recently planted in it.

Nor was this all. The humble who had already fallen were to be by more illustrious martyrs. Those of the Reform in France, having faith they began with persons of rank, committed to begin at the bottom, but hope of rising gradually until they the condemnation and death of exalted personages. The inverse succeeded with them. Scarcely ashes with which the persecution in the Grève and the avenues of Nevers been dispersed by the wind, be-

saint's deliverance, and shows the thoughts of his mind.

¹ Faber impar est oneri evangelico ferendo.

Farel, Neuf. M.

² Fidelissimi fratris officio functum. Ibid.

³ Per Rufum magna operatur hominum.

⁴ Commendo me vestris precibus ne succum militie. Ibid.

⁵ Me periclitari de vita. Ibid.

⁶ Offerebantur hic mihi conditiones amplas.

⁷ Maio eunire et abiecius esse in domo leon.

⁸ Hec, hac gloria mea quod habere hunc quorum vitam et doctrinam video pugnare.

Ibid.

¹ Vereor ne aliquod monstri nati. Toussaint to Farel, 27th Sept. 1525.

² Audio etiam equitem periclitari, simul et omnes qui illic Christi gloriam faveant. Ibid. 27th December 1525.

³ Fratres qui in collegio Cardinalis Monachi sunt te salutant. Toussaint to Farel, Neufchâtel MS.

⁴ Regnante hic tyrannide commissariarum et theologorum. Ibid.

⁵ Patrem nostrum cuius nos opus sumus in Domino. Toussaint to Farel, Neufchâtel MS. This letter is undated, but it would seem to have been written shortly after Toussaint's

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re commenced. Messire Anthony that excellent man, the Lyons sank under the persecutions of ices of the truth, in company with eiple, Francis Moulin, of whose tails have been handed down.¹ further still; they now took a ; there was an illustrious person could not reach, but whom they through those who were dear to was the Duchess of Alençon. Arande, chaplain to the king's whose sake Margaret had dis- other preachers, and who pro- pure doctrine of the Gospel in e, became the object of attack, reatened with imprisonment and bout the same time Anthony Pav- hom the princess had obtained chief master of requests to the lied suddenly, and the general among the enemies, was that he isoned.²

persecution spread over the king- ally drew nearer to the person of

After the forces of the Reform, d at Meaux, at Lyons, and at been dispersed, they brought after another those isolated com- here and there stood up for it. ore efforts, and the soil of France from heresy. Underhanded con- d secret practices took the place and the stake. They will make day, but they will also carry it ess. If fanaticism employs the l the scaffold for the meaner sort, the dagger are in reserve for the e doctors of a celebrated society too good a use of these means, and have fallen under the dagger of as. But justice demands that we ember that, if Rome has had in s fanatical assassins, it has also e Vincent de Paul and Fenelon. s struck in darkness and silence dapted to spread terror on every

erfidious policy and fanatical per- m within were added the fatal m without. A veil of mourning be whole nation. There was not particularly among the nobles, s did not flow for the loss of a band, or a son, left on the fields r whose hearts did not tremble ty and even the life of one of its l the great reverses that had fallen tion diffused a leaven of hatred eretics. People and parliament, throne, joined hand in hand.

Was it not enough for the Duchess of Alençon that the defeat of Pavia should have deprived her of a husband, and made her brother a prisoner? Must the torch of the Gospel, in whose mild light she so rejoiced, be extinguished perhaps for ever? In May 1525, she had felt increase of sorrow. Charles of Lannoy had received orders to take his prisoner into Spain. Margaret had recourse to the consolations of faith, and having found them, immediately communicated them to her brother. "My lord," she wrote, "the farther you are removed from us, the stronger is my hope of your deliverance: for when the reason of man is troubled and fails, then the Lord performs his mighty works.—And now, if he makes you partaker of the pains he has borne for you, I beseech you, my lord, to believe that it is only to try how much you love him, and to afford you space to learn how he loves you; for he will have your whole heart, as he through love hath given his own. After having united you to himself by tribulation, he will deliver you to his glory and your consolation, by the merits of his victorious resurrection, in order that by you his name may be known and sanctified, not only in your kingdom, but in all Christendom, until the conversion of the unbelievers. Oh! how blessed will be your brief captivity, by which God will deliver so many souls from unbelief and eternal condemnation!"¹ Francis I. deceived the hopes of his pious sister.

The news from Spain soon increased the general sorrow. Mortification and illness endangered the life of the haughty Francis. If the king remains a prisoner, if he dies, or if his mother's regency is prolonged for many years, will not the Reformation be crushed for ever? "But when all seems lost," said the young scholar of Noyon at a later period, "God saves his Church in a marvellous way."² The Church of France, which was as if in the travail of birth, was to have an interval of ease before her pains returned: and to this end God made use of a weak woman, who never openly declared in favour of the Reformation. At that time she thought more of saving the king and the kingdom, than of delivering obscure Christians, who nevertheless rested great hopes in her.³ But under the splendour of worldly affairs (God often conceals the mysterious ways by which he governs his people. A noble project arose in the mind of the Duchess of Alençon. To cross the sea or the Pyrenees, and rescue Francis from the power of Charles V., was now the object of her life.

Margaret of Valois announced her intention, which was suggested by her mother, and all France hailed it with shouts of gra-

locus Molinus ac Dubletus. Erasmi. Epp. p. 117, addressed to Francis I. in July 1525, the names of all those who, during the had fallen victims to these Roman fanatics. see Michael Arantius. Ibid. non sine gravi suspitione venient. Ibid. sifols I. vol. II. 255.

¹ Lettres de la Reine de Navarre à Francis I. p. 22.

² Nam habet Deus modum, quo electos suos mirabiliter custodiat, ubi omnia perdit videntur. Calvin, in Epp. ad Rom. xi. 2.

³ Benedicite Illustrissime Ducis Alenconis. Toussaint de Farel,

itude. Her great genius, the reputation she had acquired, the love she felt for her brother, and that of Francis towards her, were a great counterpoise in the eyes of Louisa and Duprat to her attachment to the new doctrine. All eyes were turned upon her, as the only person capable of extricating the kingdom from its perilous position. Let Margaret visit Spain, let her speak to the powerful emperor and to his ministers, and let her employ that admirable genius which Providence has bestowed on her, for the deliverance of her brother and her king!

Yet very different sentiments filled the hearts of the nobles and of the people, as they saw the Duchess of Alençon going into the midst of the enemy's councils, and among the fierce soldiery of the catholic king.

All admired the courage and devotion of this young woman, but did not share it. The friends of the princess had fears on her behalf, which were but too near being realized. The evangelical Christians were full of hope. The captivity of Francis I. had brought unheard-of severities on the friends of the Reform; his liberation, they thought, might bring them to an end. To open the gates of Spain to the king, would be to close those of the prisons into which the servants of the Word of God had been thrown. Margaret encouraged herself in a project towards which her soul felt attracted by so many different motives:

Heaven's height cannot my passage stay,
Nor powers of hell can bar my way,
My Saviour holds the keys of both.

Her woman's heart was strengthened by that faith which overcomes the world, and her resolution was irrevocable. Every preparation was made for this important and dangerous journey.

The Archbishop of Embrun, afterwards Cardinal of Tournon, and the president Selves, were already at Madrid, treating for the king's deliverance. They were placed under Margaret's orders, as was also the Bishop of Tarbes, afterwards Cardinal of Grammont; full powers being given to the princess alone. At the same time Montmorency, afterwards so hostile to the Reform, was sent in all haste to Spain to procure a safe-conduct for the king's sister.¹ The emperor objected at first, and said that it was the duty of his ministers alone to arrange this affair. "One hour's conference," exclaimed Selves, "between your majesty, the

king my master, and the Duc de Montmorency, would forward the twenty-month's discussion between di-

Margaret, impatient to arrest the progress of the king's illness, secured a safe-conduct, accompanied by a train.² She quitted the court towards the Mediterranean; but on the road, Montmorency's letters from Charles guarantee for three months only. That she will not be stopped. The this journey was such that she been compelled to ask the king should select to accompany her servants have so great a desire that each one prays to be allowed me," she wrote to her brother.

Margaret had scarcely reached the Mediterranean when she learned about her on the insufficient conduct, but especially the late tempest, made her halt.

themselves (wrote she to Morlaix) "alarmed." On the 27th August her mind. "The bearer," she wrote on the very day, "the blessing of the heavens, the sea and the men have retarded. But I alone to whom all the world hath given such favour that every difficulty is solved delay either on account of my or of the sea, which is unsettling, to hasten towards the place to see you; for the fear of death, and every sort of evil are now mine, that I hold lightly my life and honour, thinking by this: your fortune, which I would alone."³ Nothing therefore could the princess at Aigues-Mortes,⁴ as Margaret embarked on board prepared for her. Led by Providence rather for the deliverance of oppressed Christians, than to free the King of France from his captivity, she trusted herself to the waves of the sea, which had borne her brother a captious battle of Pavia.

¹ Histoire de France, par Garnier, tom. 10.

² Pour tenter au vif la volonté de l'empereur, madame Marguerite, duchesse d'Alençon, accompagnée de plusieurs ambassadeurs français, se rendit à Valence, par E. Dole, 1540.

³ Lettres de la reine de Navarre à François II.

⁴ Jam in itinere erat Margaria, Francis Mariantis solvens, Narconem prius Augustam appulerat. Belcarius, Barus 569.

¹ Mémoires de Du Bellay, p. 124.

PREFACE TO VOLUME FOURTH

When a foreigner visits certain countries, as England, Scotland, or America, he is sometimes presented with the rights of citizenship. Such has been the privilege of the "History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century." From 150,000 to 200,000 copies are in circulation, in the English language, in the countries I have just mentioned; while in France the number hardly exceeds 4000. This is a real adoption,—naturalizing my Work in the countries that have received it with so much favour.

I accept this honour. Accordingly, while the former Volumes of my History were originally published in France; now that, after a lapse of five years, I think of issuing a continuation of it, I do so in Great Britain.

This is not the only change in the mode of publication. I did not think it right to leave to translators, as in the cases of the former Volumes, the task of expressing my ideas in English. The best translations are always faulty; and the Author alone can have the certainty of conveying his idea, his whole idea, and nothing but his idea. Without overlooking the merit that the several existing translations may possess, even the best of them is not free from inaccuracies, more or less important, of which I have given a specimen in my Preface to the First Volume of this Edition. These inaccuracies, no doubt most involuntary, gave rise to a very severe contest in America, on the subject of this Work, between the Episcopalians and the Baptists on the one hand, and the Presbyterians on the other,—a contest that I hope is now terminated, but in which (as a New York correspondent informed me) one of the most beneficial and powerful Christian Societies of the United States had been on the brink of dissolution.

With such facts before me, I could no longer hesitate. It became necessary for me to publish, myself, in English; and this I accordingly do. But although that language is familiar to me, I was desirous of securing, to a certain extent, the co-operation of an English literary gentleman. Dr. HENRY WHITE, of Croydon, has had the great kindness to visit Switzerland for this purpose,

although such a step exposed him to much inconvenience, and to pass with me at Geneva the time necessary for this labour. I could not have had a more enlightened coadjutor; and I here express my obligations to him for his very able assistance.

I therefore publish in English this Continuation of the History of the Reformation. I do not think that, as I publish, myself, in this language, any one will have the power, or will entertain the idea, of attempting another publication. It would be a very bad speculation on the part of any bookseller; for where is the reader that would not prefer the original text, as published by the Author himself, to a translation made by a stranger?

But there is a higher question—a question of morality. Of all property that a man can possess, there is none so essentially his own as the labours of his mind. He acquires the fruits of his fields by the sweat of his servants and of his beasts of burden; and the produce of his manufactures by the labour of his workmen and the movement of his machines; but it is by his own toils, by the exercise of his most exalted faculties, that he creates the productions of his mind. Accordingly, in putting this History under the protection of the laws, I place it at the same time under a no less secure safe-guard,—that of justice. I know that it is written in the consciences on the other side of the Channel and of the Atlantic: *Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger as for one of your own country: for I am the Lord your God.*¹ To English honour I confide this work

The first two Books of this Volume contain the most important epochs of the Reformation—the Protest of Spire, and the Confession of Augsburg. The last two describe the establishment of the Reform in most of the Swiss cantons, and the instructive and deplorable events that are connected with the catastrophe of Cappel.

It was my desire to narrate also the beginnings of the English Reformation; but my Volume is filled, and I am compelled to

¹ Levit. xxiv. 22.

PREFACE TO VOLUME FOURTH.

defer this subject to the next. It is true I might have omitted some matters here treated of, but I had strong reasons for doing the contrary. The Reformation in Great Britain is not very important before the period described in this volume; the order of time compelled me, therefore, to remain on the Continent; for whatever may be the historian's desire, he cannot change dates and the sequence that God has assigned to the events of the world. Besides, before turning more especially towards England, Scotland, France, and other countries, I determined on bringing the Reformation of Germany and German Switzerland to the decisive epochs of 1530 and 1531. The History of the Reformation, properly so called, is then, in my opinion, almost complete in those countries. The work of Faith has there attained its apogee: that of conferences, of interims, of diplomacy begins. I do not, however, entirely abandon Germany and German Switzerland, but henceforward they will occupy me less: the movement of the sixteenth century has there made its effort. I said from the very first: It is the History of the Reformation and not of Protestantism that I am relating.

I cannot, however, approach the History of the Reformation in England without some portion of fear; it is perhaps more difficult there than elsewhere. I have received communications from some of the most respectable men of the different ecclesiastical parties, each of whom feeling convinced that his own point of view is the true one, desires me to present the history in this light. I hope to execute my task with impartiality and truth; and I thought it would be advantageous to study for some time longer the principles and the facts. In this task I am at present occupied, and shall consecrate to it, with God's assistance, the first part of my next volume.

Should it be thought that I misdescribed the Reformation in Switzerland with greater brevity, I beg my reader to call to mind that, independently of its intrinsic importance of this history, Switzerland is the Author's birth-place.

I had at first thought of making arrangements for the present publication in English and Scotch booksellers who translated the former portions. I thought that I had maintained with some publishers, and which had gained me for them, induced me to adopt this. They were consequently informed of my purpose, and several months had an interview with some of them. From circumstances which it is necessary to explain, no arrangement entered into with these gentlemen. At the same time, one of the first houses in Britain, Messrs OLIVER & BORD of Edinburgh who were introduced to me by my respected friend Dr. CHALMERS, made a suitable and precise offer. I could not longer; and on the very eve of my departure from London for the Continent, after a stay of three months in Scotland and in Ireland I made arrangements with them, which since been definitively settled, and which is now their property.

The French laws are positive to literary property in France, even if it be to a foreigner. I am less familiar with English laws; but I will not do the injustice of believing that its legislation is surpassed by that of France in justice and morality.

BAUX-VIVES, GENEVA. }
January 1846. }

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

VOLUME FOURTH.

BOOK VIII.

THE PROTEST AND THE CONFERENCE. 1526—1529.

CHAPTER I.

Swiss Movement of Reform—Reform the Work of God—First Diet of Spire—Palladium of Reform—Firmness of the Reformers—Proceedings of the Diet—Report of the Commissioners—The Papacy painted and described by Luther—The Destruction of Jerusalem—Instructions of Swire—Change of Policy—Holy League—Religious Liberty proposed—Crises of the Reformation.

We have witnessed the commencement, the struggles, the reverses, and the progress of the Reformation; but the conflicts hitherto described have been only partial; we are entering upon a new period,—that of general battles. Spire (1529) and Augsburg (1530) are names that shine forth with more immortal glory than Marathon, Pavia, or Marengo. Forces that up to the present time were separate, are now uniting into one energetic band; and the power of God is at work in those brilliant actions, which open a new era in the history of nations, and communicate an irresistible impulse to mankind. The passage from the middle ages to modern times has arrived.

A great protest is about to be accomplished; and although there have been protestants in the Church from the very beginning of Christianity, since liberty and truth could not be maintained here below, save by protesting continually against despotism and error, Protestantism is about to take a new step. It is about to become a body, and thus attack with greater energy that "mystery of iniquity" which for ages has taken a bodily shape at Rome, in the very temple of God.¹

But although we have to treat of protests, it must not however be imagined that the Reformation is a negative work. In every sphere in which any thing great is evolved, whether in nature or society, there is a principle of

life at work,—a seed that God fertilizes. The Reformation, when it appeared in the sixteenth century, did not, indeed, perform a new work, for a reformation is not a formation; but it turned its face toward the beginnings of Christianity; it seized upon them with affection, and embraced them with adoration. Yet it was not satisfied with this return to primitive times. Laden with its precious burden, it again crossed the interval of ages, and brought back to fallen and lifeless Christendom the sacred fire that was destined to restore it to light and life. In this twofold movement consisted its action and its strength. Afterwards, no doubt, it rejected superannuated forms, and combated error; but this was, so to speak, only the least of its works, and its third movement. Even the protest of which we have to speak had for its end and aim the re-establishment of truth and of life, and was essentially a positive act.

This powerful and rapid twofold action of reform, by which the apostolic times were re-established at the opening of modern history, proceeded not from man. A reformation is not arbitrarily made, as charters and revolutions are in some countries. A real reformation, prepared during many ages, is the work of the Spirit of God. Before the appointed hour, the greatest geniuses and even the most faithful of God's servants cannot produce it: but when the reforming time is come, when it is God's pleasure to renovate the affairs of the world, the divine life must clear a passage, and it is able to create of itself the humble instruments by which this life is communicated to the human race. Then, if men are silent, the very stones will cry out.¹

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It is to the protest of Spires (1529) that we are now about to turn our eyes; but the way to this protest was prepared by years of peace, and followed by attempts at concord that we shall have also to describe. Nevertheless the formal establishment of Protestantism remains the great fact that prevails in the history of the Reformation from 1526 to 1529.

The Duke of Brunswick had brought into Germany the threatening message of Charles the Fifth. That emperor was about to repair from Spain to Rome to come to an understanding with the pope, and thence to pass into Germany to constrain the heretics. The last summons was to be addressed to them by the Diet of Spires, 1526.¹ The decisive hour for the Reformation was on the point of striking.

On the 25th June 1526, the diet opened. In the instructions, dated at Seville, 23d March, the emperor ordered that the Church customs should be maintained entire, and called upon the diet to punish those who refused to carry out the edict of Worms.² Ferdinand himself was at Spires, and his presence rendered these orders more formidable. Never had the hostility which the Romish partisans entertained against the evangelical princes, appeared in so striking a manner. "The Pharisees," said Spalatin, "are inveterate in their hatred against Jesus Christ."³

Never also had the evangelical princes showed so much hope. Instead of coming forward frightened and trembling, like guilty men, they were seen advancing, surrounded by the ministers of the Word, with uplifted heads and cheerful looks. Their first step was to ask for a place of worship. The Bishop of Spires, count-palatine of the Rhine, having indignantly refused this strange request,⁴ the princes complained of it as an act of injustice, and ordered their ministers to preach daily in the halls of their palaces, which were immediately filled by an immense crowd from the city and the country, amounting to many thousands.⁵ In vain on the feast days did Ferdinand, the ultra-montane princes, and the bishops, assist in the pomps of the Roman worship in the beautiful cathedral of Spires; the unadorned Word of God, preached in the protestant vestibules, engrossed all hearers, and the mass was celebrated in an empty church.⁶

It was not only the ministers, but knights and grooms, "mere idiots," who, unable to control their zeal, every where eagerly extolled the Word of the Lord.⁷ All the fol-

lowers of the evangelical princes wore the letters embroidered on their right sleeve V. D. M. I. E., that is to say, "The Word of the Lord endureth for ever."¹ The same inscription might be read on the escutcheons of the princes, suspended over their hotels. The Word of God—such from this moment was the palladium of the Reformation.

This was not all. The Protestants knew that mere worship would not suffice: the landgrave had therefore called upon the elector to abolish certain "court customs" which dishonoured the Gospel. These two princes had consequently drawn up an order of living, forbidding drunkenness, debauchery, and other vicious customs prevalent during a diet.²

Perhaps the protestant princes some times put forward their dissent beyond what prudence would have required. Not only they did not go to mass, and did not observe the prescribed fasts, but still farther, on the fast days, their attendants were seen, says Cochleus, carrying dishes of meat and game, destined for their masters' tables, across the halls in which the worship was celebrating, in the presence of the whole auditory. "It was," says this writer, "with the intent of attracting the catholics by the savour of the meats and of the wines."³

The elector in effect had a numerous court: seven hundred persons formed his retinue. One day he gave a banquet at which twenty-six princes with their gentlemen and councillors were present. They continued playing until a very late hour—ten at night. Every thing in Duke John announced the most powerful prince of the empire. The youthful landgrave of Hesse, full of zeal and knowledge, and in the strength of a first christian love, made a still deeper impression on those who approached him. He would frequently dispute with the bishops, and owing to his acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, easily stopped their mouths.⁴

This firmness in the friends of the Reformation produced results that surpassed their expectation. It was no longer possible to be deceived: the spirit that was manifested in these men was the spirit of the Bible. Ever where the sceptre was falling from the hands of Rome. "The heaven of Luther," said zealous papist, "sets all the people of Germany in a ferment, and foreign nations themselves are agitated by formidable movements."⁵

It was immediately seen how great is the strength of deep convictions. The states that were well disposed towards the reformation but which had not ventured to give it

¹ See vol. III. book x. chap. xiv. The Diet of Spires, held in 1526, must not be confounded with that of 1529, at which the protest took place.

² Seldan, Hist. Ref. book vi.

³ Christum pharissæis vehementer fuisse inivisum. Seckend. II. 46.

⁴ Fortiter interdixit. Cochleus, p. 138.

⁵ Ingens concursus plebis et rusticorum. Cochleus. Multis millibus hominum accurrentibus. Seckend. II. 48.

⁶ Populum a sacris avertiebant. Cochleus, p. 138.

⁷ Ministri eorum, equites et stabularii, idiotæ, petulantius celebrabant verbum Domini. Ibid.

¹ Verbum Domini manet in æternum. Cochleus, I.

² Adversus inveteratos illos et impios usus nil esse. Seck. II. 46.

³ Ut complures allicerentur ad eorum sectam, in portabantur carnes coctæ in diebus jejuniis, aperte spectu totius auditorii. Cochleus, p. 138.

⁴ Annales Spalatini.

⁵ Germaniæ populi Lutherico fermento inestati externis quoque nationibus, gravissimi erant motus locis, p. 138.

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sion publicly, became emboldened. The imperial states, demanding the repose of the emperor, formed the resolution of opposing the diet of Worms, the execution of which had spread trouble through all Germany; and the papist states lost their boldness.

The bow of the mighty was broken.¹ Ferdinand did not think proper, at so critical a moment, to communicate to the diet the ever instructions he had received from the pope.² He substituted a proposition calculated to satisfy both parties.

The laymen immediately recovered the sense of which the clergy had dispossessed them. The ecclesiastics resisted a proposition in the college of princes that the diet should occupy itself with church abuses, but their exertions were unavailing. Undoubtedly a non-political assembly would have been preferable to the diet, but it was already gained that religious matters were no longer to be regulated solely by the pope.

As soon as this resolution was communicated to the deputies from the cities, they demanded for the abolition of every usage contrary to the faith in Jesus Christ. In vain did the bishops exclaim that, instead of doing away with pretended abuses, they would much better to burn all the books with which Germany had been inundated during the last eight years. "You desire," was the reply, "to destroy all wisdom and knowledge."³ The request of the cities was agreed to, and the diet was divided into committees for the abolition of abuses.

When was manifested the profound disgust inspired by the priests of Rome. "The clergy," said the deputy for Frankfurt, "make a jest of the public good, and look to their own interests only." "The laymen," said the deputy from Duke George, "value the salvation of Christendom much more at heart than the clergy."

The commissioners made their report: they were astonished at it. Never had men taken out so freely against the pope and bishops. The commission of the princes, which the ecclesiastics and laymen were equal numbers, proposed a fusion of popery and reform. "The priests would do better to marry," said they, "than to keep women in fame in their houses; every man should have liberty to communicate under one or two forms; German and Latin may be equally employed in the Lord's Supper and baptism; as for the other sacraments, let them be preserved, but let them be adminis-

tered gratuitously. Finally, let the Word of God be preached according to the interpretation of the Church (this was the demand of Rome), but always explaining Scripture by Scripture" (this was the great principle of the Reformation). Thus the first step was taken towards a national union. Yet a few efforts more, and the whole German race will be walking in the direction of the Gospel.

The evangelical Christians, at the sight of this glorious prospect, redoubled their exertions. "Stand fast in the doctrine," said the Elector of Saxony to his councillors.⁴ At the same time in every part of the city hawkers were selling Christian pamphlets, short and easy to read, written in Latin and in German, and ornamented with engravings, in which the errors of Rome were vigorously attacked.⁵ One of these books was entitled, *The Papacy with its Members painted and described by Doctor Luther*. In it figured the pope, the cardinals, and all the religious orders, exceeding sixty, each with their costumes and description in verse. Under the picture of one of these orders were the following lines:

Greedy priests, see, roll in gold,
Fertile of the humble Jesu's fold.

under another:

We forbid you to behold
The Bible, lest it should mislead you;⁶

and under a third:

We can fast and pray the harder
With an overflowing larder.⁷

"Not one of these orders," said Luther to the reader, "thinks either of faith or charity. This one wears the tonsure, the other a hood; this a cloak, that a robe. One is white, another black, a third gray, and a fourth blue. Here is one holding a looking-glass, there one with a pair of scissors. Each has his playthings.....Ah! these are the palmer-worms, the locusts, the canker-worms, and the caterpillars, which, as Joel saith, have eaten up all the earth."⁸

But if Luther employed the scourge of sarcasm, he also blew the trumpet of the prophets; and this he did in a work entitled *The Destruction of Jerusalem*. Shedding tears like Jeremiah, he denounced to the German people a ruin similar to that of the holy city, if like it they rejected the Gospel.⁹ "God has imparted to us all his treasures," exclaimed he; "he became man, he has served us,¹⁰ he died for us, he has risen again, and he has so opened the gates of heaven, that

¹ Emanuel II. 4.

Some historians appear to think that these instructions really communicated at the opening of the diet. It shows that this was not the case; but adds, that he no reason why the commissioners should have thought themselves authorized to make any other proposition. The text that I have assigned appear to me the true ones.

² I state below why the commission afterwards resorted to the imperial instructions. Sed reiectum est quia omnis doctrina et eruditio theologia interitua esset. *ibid.* II. 45.

³ Votatum suffragia multum valuerunt. *Ibid.*

⁴ Elector Saxonie conciliaribus suis exhortatus est, in doctrina evangelica firmi. *Secund.* II. 45.

⁵ Circumierhebatur item libri Lutherani venales per totam civitatem. Cochleus, p. 138.

⁶ Dass die Schrift sie nicht verführe.

⁷ Durft ihr keinen nicht studir. *L. Opp.* xiv. p. 536.

⁸ Doch war ihr küch nimmer leer. *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.* 536. Joel I. 4.

¹⁰ Libelli parvuli quidem mole, sed virulentia perquam grandes, sermo Lutheri Teuthonicus de destructione Jerusalem. Cochleus, p. 138.

¹¹ Wird Mensch, dienet uns, stirbt für uns. *Luth. Opp.* xiv. (L.) 226.

all may enter.....The hour of grace is come.....The glad tidings are proclaimed.....But where is the city, where is the prince that has received them? They insult the Gospel: they draw the sword, and daringly seize God by the beard.¹.....But wait.....He will turn round; with one blow will he break their jaws, and all Germany will be one wide ruin."

These works had a very great sale.² They were read not only by the peasants and townspeople, but also by the nobles and princes. Leaving the priests alone at the foot of the altar, they threw themselves into the arms of the new Gospel.³ The necessity of a reform of abuses was proclaimed on the 1st of August by a general committee.

Then Rome, which had appeared to slumber, awoke. Fanatical priests, monks, ecclesiastical princes, all gathered round Ferdinand. Cunning, bribery, nothing was spared. Did not Ferdinand possess the instructions of Seville? To refuse their publication was to effect the ruin of the Church and of the empire. Let the voice of Charles, said they, oppose its powerful veto to the dizziness that is hurrying Germany along, and the empire will be saved! Ferdinand made up his mind, and at length, on the 3d August, published the decree drawn up more than four months previously in favour of the edict of Worms.⁴

The persecution was about to begin; the reformers would be thrown into dungeons, and the sword drawn on the banks of the Guadalquivir would at last pierce the bosom of the Reformation.

The effect of the imperial ordinance was immense. The breaking of an axletree does not more violently arrest the velocity of a railway train. The elector and the landgrave announced that they were about to quit the diet, and ordered their attendants to prepare for their departure. At the same time the deputies from the cities drew towards these two princes, and the Reformation appeared as if it would enter immediately upon a contest with the pope and Charles the Fifth.

But it was not yet prepared for a general struggle. The tree was destined to strike its roots deeper, before the Almighty unchained the stormy winds against it. A spirit of blindness, similar to that which in former times was sent out upon Saul and Herod,⁵ then seized upon the great enemy of the Gospel; and thus was it that Divine Providence saved the Reformation in its cradle.

The first movement of trouble being over, the friends of the Gospel began to consider the date of the imperial instructions, and to

weigh the new political combinations which seemed to announce to the world the most unlooked-for events. "When the emperor wrote these letters," said the cities of Upper Germany, "he was on good terms with the pope, but now every thing is changed. It is even asserted that he told Margaret, his vicergerent in the Low Countries, to proceed gently with respect to the Gospel. Let us send him a deputation." That was not necessary. Charles had not waited until now to form a different resolution. The course of public affairs, taking a sudden turn, had rushed into an entirely new path. Years of peace were about to be granted to the Reformation.

Clement VII., whom Charles was about to visit, according to the instructions of Seville, in order to receive the imperial crown in Rome itself and from his sacred hands, and in return to surrender the Gospel and the Reformation to the pontiff,—Clement VII., seized with a strange infatuation, had suddenly turned against this powerful monarch. The emperor, unwilling to favour his ambition in every point, had opposed his claims on the states of the Duke of Ferrara. Clement immediately became exasperated, and exclaimed that Charles wished to enslave the peninsula, but that the time was come for re-establishing the independence of Italy. This great idea of Italian independence, entertained at that period by a few literary men, had not, as in our days, penetrated the mass of the nation. Clement therefore hastened to have recourse to political combinations. The pope, the Venetians, and the King of France, who had scarcely recovered his liberty, formed a *holy league*, of which the King of England was by a bull nominated the preserver and protector.¹ In June 1526, the emperor caused the most favourable propositions to be laid before the pope; but his advances were ineffectual, and the Duke of Sessa, Charles's ambassador at Rome, returning on horseback from his last audience, placed a court-fool behind him, who, by a thousand monkey tricks, gave the Roman people to understand how little they cared for the pope and his projects. Clement responded to these bravadoes by a brief, in which he threatened the emperor with excommunication, and without loss of time pushed his troops into Lombardy, whilst Milan, Florence, and Piedmont declared for the holy league. Thus was Europe preparing to be avenged for the triumph of Pavia.

Charles did not hesitate. He wheeled to the right as quickly as the pope had done to the left, and turned abruptly towards the evangelical princes. "Let us suspend the edict of Worms," wrote he to his brother; "let us bring back Luther's partisans by mildness, and by a good council cause the triumph of evangelical truth." At the

¹ *Griffen Gott zu frech in dem Bart. Ibid. Deo nimis frociter barbam vellunt. Oechelm.*

² *Perquam plurima vendebantur exemplaria. Ibid. p. 120.*

³ *Non solum plebs et rustica turba, verum etiam plerique optimatum et nobilium trahebantur in favorem novi Evangelii, sicut in edictum antequam religiosis. Ibid. p. 120.*

⁴ *Stucken, Hist. de la Ref. vi. 282.*

⁵ *1 Sam. xvi. 14-23; Matth. x.*

¹ *Stucken, Hist. de la Ref. vi.; Buller. Mag. romen. l.*

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required that the elector, and their allies should him against the Turks—or for the common good of Christ-

hesitated. To gain the friend-herans was to forfeit that of es, who were already begin-ident threats.¹ The Protest-s were not very eager to take hand. "It is God, God said, "who will save his

to be done? The edict of either be repealed nor carried

situation led of necessity to tion: religious liberty. The occurred to the deputies of n one place," said they, "the nies have been preserved; in ve been abolished; and both ey are right. Let us allow do as he thinks fit, until a e-establish the desired unity of God." This idea gained recess of the diet, dated the eered that a universal or at ional free council should be n a year; that they should upor to return speedily to that, until then, each state n its own territory in such a able to render an account to emperor.³

aped from their difficulty by ; and this time it was really Each one maintained his own eognising another's. The ns an important epoch in his- it power, that of the middle ; a new power, that of modern ing; religious liberty boldly n front of Romish despotism ; revails over the sacerdotal single step there is a com- the cause of the reform is

little suspected. Luther, on the day on which the recess wrote to a friend: "The diet ices in the German fashion. I gamble, and that is all."⁴ nse et ne marche pas,"⁵ has r days. Great things are under an appearance of fri- l accomplishes his designs o those whom he employs as

In this diet a gravity and y of conscience were mani- e the fruits of Christianity,

audio, graviter minatur. Corp. Ref. I.

ur....sed nemo his promissis movetur.
um esse suas Ecclesias. Ibid.
in ditione ita se gererit ut rationem
dere possit. Beckend. II. 41.
; preterea nihil. L. Sup. III. 126.
sed but does not advance.

and which in the sixteenth century had its earliest, if not its most energetic develop-ment among the German nations.

Yet Ferdinand still hesitated. Mahomet himself came to the aid of the Gospel. Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, drowned at Mohacz on the 29th August 1526, as he was fleeing from before Soliman II., had bequeathed the crown of these two kingdoms to Ferdinand. But the Duke of Bavaria, the Waywode of Transylvania, and, above all, the terrible Soliman, contested it against him. This was sufficient to occupy Charles's brother: he left Luther, and hastened to dispute two thrones.

CHAPTER II.

Italian War—The Emperor's Manifesto—March on Rome—Revolt of the Troops—The Sack of Rome—German Humours—Violence of the Spaniards—Clement VII. capitulates.

THE emperor immediately reaped the fruits of his new policy. No longer having his hands tied by Germany, he turned them against Rome. The Reformation was to be exalted and the Papacy abased. The blows aimed at its pitiless enemy were about to open a new career to the evangelical work.

Ferdinand, who was detained by his Hungarian affairs, gave the charge of the Italian expedition to Freundsberg, that old general who had in so friendly a manner patted Luther on the shoulder, as the reformer was about to appear before the Diet of Worms.¹ This veteran, who, as a contemporary observes,² "bore in his chivalrous heart God's holy Gospel well fortified and flanked by a strong wall," pledged his wife's jewels, sent recruiting parties into all the towns of Upper Germany, and, owing to the magic idea of a war against the pope, soon witnessed crowds of soldiers flocking to his standard. "Announce," Charles had said to his brother,—"announce that the army is to march against the Turks; every one will know which Turks are meant."

Thus the puissant Charles, instead of marching with the pope against the Reformation, as he had threatened at Seville, marched with the Reformation against the pope. A few days had sufficed to produce this change of direction: there are few periods in history in which the hand of God is more plainly manifested. Charles immediately assumed all the airs of a reformer. On the 17th September, he addressed a manifesto to the pope,³ in which he reproached him for behaving not like the father of the faithful, but like an insolent and haughty man;⁴ and declared his astonishment that

¹ See vol. II. book VII. chap. VIII.

² Haug marschall, surnamed Zeller.

³ Caroli Imperat. Rescriptum ad Clementem Septimum sanctarum nationum. Goldasti, Constitut. Imperiales, I. 474.

⁴ Non iam pastoris seu communis patrie laudem, sed superbii et insolentis nomen. Ibid. 487.

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he, Christ's vicar, should dare shed blood to acquire earthly possessions, "which," added he, "is quite contrary to the evangelical doctrine."¹ Luther could not have spoken better. "Let your holiness," continued Charles the Fifth, "return the sword of St. Peter into the scabbard, and convoke a holy and universal council." But the sword was much more to the pontiff's taste than the council. Is not the papacy, according to the Romish doctors, the source of the two powers? Can it not depose kings, and consequently fight against them?² Charles prepared to requite "eye for eye, and tooth for tooth."³

Now began that terrible campaign during which the storm that had been destined to fall on Germany and the Gospel burst on Rome and on the Papacy. By the violence of the blows inflicted on the pontifical city, we may judge of the severity of those that would have dashed in pieces the reformed churches. While retracing such scenes of horror, we have constant need of calling to mind that the chastisement of the seven-hilled city had been predicted by the Holy Scriptures.⁴

In the month of November, Freundsberg at the head of fifteen thousand men was at the foot of the Alps. The old general, avoiding the military roads, that were well guarded by the enemy, flung himself into a narrow path over frightful precipices, that a few blows of the mattock would have rendered impassable. The soldiers were forbidden to look behind them; nevertheless their heads turned, their feet slipped, and horse and foot rolled from time to time into the abyss. In the most difficult passes, the surest-footed of the infantry lowered their long pikes to the right and left of their aged chief, by way of barrier, and Freundsberg advanced clinging to the lansquenets in front, and pushed on by the one behind. In three days the Alps were crossed, and on the 19th November the army reached the territory of Brescia.

The Constable of Bourbon, who succeeded to the chief command of the imperial army after the death of Pescara, had just taken possession of the duchy of Milan. The emperor having promised him this conquest for a recompense, Bourbon was compelled to remain there some time to consolidate his power. At length, on the 12th February, he and his Spanish troops joined the army of Freundsberg which was becoming impatient at his delays. The constable had many men, but no money; he resolved therefore to follow the advice of the Duke of Ferrara, that inveterate enemy of the princes

of the Church, and proceed straight to Rome.¹ The whole army received this news with a shout of joy. The Spaniards were filled with the desire of avenging Charles the Fifth, and the Germans were overflowing with hatred against the pope; all exulted in the hope of receiving their pay and of having their labours richly repaid at last by those treasures of Christendom that Rome had been accumulating for ages. Their shouts re-echoed beyond the Alps. Every man in Germany thought that the last hour of the papacy had arrived, and prepared to contemplate its fall. "The emperor's forces are triumphing in Italy," wrote Luther; "the pope is visited from every quarter. His destruction draweth nigh: his hour and his end are come."²

A few slight advantages gained by the papal soldiers in the kingdom of Naples led to the conclusion of a truce that was to be ratified by the pope and by the emperor. As soon as this was known, a frightful tumult broke out in the constable's army. The Spanish troops revolted, compelled him to flee, and pillaged his tent. Then approaching the lansquenets, they began to shout as loudly as they could, the only German words they knew: *Lance! lance! money! money!*³ Such cries found an echo in the bosoms of the imperialists: they were moved in their turn, and also began to shout with all their might: *Lance! lance! money! money!* Freundsberg beat to muster, and having drawn up the soldiers around him and his principal officers, calmly demanded if he had ever deserted them. All was useless. The old affection which the lansquenets bore to their leader seemed extinct. One chord alone vibrated in their hearts: they must have pay and war. Accordingly, lowering their lances, they presented them, as if they would slay their officers, and again began to shout, "Lance! lance! money! money!" When Freundsberg, whom no army however large had ever frightened,—Freundsberg, who was accustomed to say, "the more enemies, the greater the honour," saw these lansquenets, at whose head he had grown gray, aiming their murderous steel against him, he lost all power of utterance, and fell senseless upon a drum, as if struck with a thunderbolt.⁴ The strength of the veteran general was broken for ever. But the sight of their dying captain produced on the lansquenets an effect that no speech could have made. All the lances were upraised, and the agitated soldiers retired with downcast eyes. Four days later, Freundsberg recovered his speech.

¹ Cum id ab evangelica doctrina, prorsus alienum videtur. Goldasti, Constitut. Imperiales, t. 489.

² Utriusque potentissimæ apicem Papa tenet. Turrecremata de Potestate Papali.

³ Ecod. xxi. 24.

⁴ Revel. xviii. We should not however restrict this prediction to the incomplete sack of 1527, from which the city recovered.

¹ Guicciardini. History of the Wars in Italy, xviii. 88.
² Papa ubique visitatur, ut destruitur; venit enim finis ei hora ejus. Luther to Haussmann, 10th January 1527. Epp. iii. 156.

³ Lanz, lanz, gelt, gelt.

⁴ Cum vero hæcæ ducibus obverterent indignatione et agitudine animi oppressus, Frondsbergius subito in deliquitum incidit, ita ut in tympano quod adstabat decideret cogeretur, nullumque verbum proloqui amplius posset. Becksted. ii. 76.

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"said he to the Constable; "God will bring us to the mark." "Forward!" repeated the lansquenets. ad no alternative: besides, neither or Clement would listen to any of peace. Froundenberg was carra, and afterwards to his castle iheim, where he died after an ill- rhteen months; and on the 18th rbon took that high road to Rome, many formidable armies coming orth had already trodden.

The storm descending from the approaching the eternal city, the his presence of mind, sent away, and kept only his body-guard. thirty thousand Romans, capable arms, paraded their bravery in, dragging their long swords after rrelling and fighting; but these ager in the pursuit of gain, had ght of defending the pope; and rary hoping to derive great profit tay, they wished that the mag- charles would come and settle in

evening of the 5th May, Bourbon der the walls of the capital; and ave begun the assault at that very d he been provided with ladders. rning of the 6th, the army, con- a thick fog, which hid its move- as put in motion, the Spaniards o their station above the gate of host, and the Germans below.² able, wishing to encourage his ized a scaling-ladder, mounted the alled on them to follow him. At nt a ball struck him: he fell, and hour after. Such was the end of py man, a traitor to his king and ntry, and suspected even by his s.

h, far from checking, served only e army. Claudius Seidenstucker, is long sword, first cleared the as followed by Michael Hartmann, wo reformed Germans exclaimed imself was marching before them ds. The gates were opened, the ed in, the suburbs were taken, pe, attended by thirteen cardinals, castle of St. Angelo. The Impe- whose head was now the Prince offered him peace on condition of three hundred thousand crowns. nt, who thought that the holy on the point of delivering him, d he already saw their leading rejected every proposition. After repose the attack was renewed, set the army was master of all It remained under arms and in

good order until midnight, the Spaniards in the Piazza Navona, and the Germans in the Campofiore. At last, seeing no demonstra- tions either of war or of peace, the soldiers disbanded and ran to pillage.

Then began the famous "Sack of Rome." The papacy had for centuries put Christen- dom in the press. Prebends, annates, jubi- lees, pilgrimages, ecclesiastical graces,—she had made money of them all. These greedy troops, that for months had lived in wretch- edness, determined to make her disgorge. No one was spared, the imperialists not more than the ultramontane party, the Ghi- bellines not more than the Guelfs. Churches, palaces, convents, private houses, basilics, banks, tombs—every thing was pillaged, even to the golden ring that the corpse of Julius II. still wore on its finger. The Spaniards displayed the greatest skill, scenting out and discovering treasures in the most mysterious hiding-places; but the Neapolitans were the most outrageous.¹ "On every side were heard," says Guicciardini, "the piteous shrieks of the Roman women and of the nuns whom the soldiers dragged away by companies to satiate their lust."²

At first the Germans found a certain plea- sure in making the papists feel the weight of their swords. But ere long, happy at pro- curing victuals and drink, they were more pacific than their allies. It was upon those things which the Romans called "holy" that the anger of the Lutherans was espe- cially discharged. They took away the chalices, pyxes, and silver remonstrances, and clothed their servants and camp-boys with the sacerdotal garments.³ The Campofiore was changed into an immense gambling- house. Here the soldiers brought golden vessels and bags full of crowns, staked them upon one throw of the dice, and after losing them, went in search of others. A certain Simon Baptista, who had foretold the sack of the city, had been thrown into prison by the pope; the Germans liberated him, and made him drink with them. But, like Jeremiah, he prophesied against all. "Rob, plunder," cried he to his liberators; "you shall however give back all; the money of the soldiers and the gold of the priests will follow the same road."

Nothing pleased the Germans more than to mock the papal court. "Many prelates," says Guicciardini, "were paraded on asses throughout the city."⁴ After this procession, the bishops paid their ransom; but they fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who made them pay it a second time.⁵

One day a lansquenet named Guillaume de

¹ *Jovius Vita Pompeii Colonnae*, p. 191; *Baake, Deutsche Gesch.* ii. 396.

² Guicciardini, ii. 724.

³ *Sacras vestes profanas induebant liris. Cochlensis*, p. 156.

⁴ *Wars of Italy*, ii. 723.

⁵ *Eundem civem seu curialem haud raro, nunc ab Hispanis, nunc a Germanis esse mutato redimi. Cochlensis*, p. 156.

nl. ii. 731.
new wall built by Urban VIII. on the top of
the gates of the Holy Ghost and of Scit-
compe useless.

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Sainte Cella put on the pope's robes, and placed the triple crown upon his head; others gathered round him, adorning themselves with the red hats and long robes of the cardinals; and going in procession upon asses through the streets of the city, they all arrived at last before the castle of St. Angelo, to which Clement VII. had retired. Here the soldier-cardinals alighted, and lifting up the front of their robes, kissed the feet of the pretended pontiff. The latter drank to the health of Clement VII., the cardinals kneeling did the same, and exclaimed that henceforward they would be pious popes and good cardinals, careful not to excite wars as their predecessors had done. They then formed a conclave, and the pope having announced to his consistory that it was his intention to resign the papacy, all hands were immediately raised for the election, and they cried out, "Luther is pope! Luther is pope!"¹ Never had pontiff been proclaimed with such perfect unanimity. Such were the humours of the Germans.

The Spaniards did not let the Romans off so easily. Clement VII. had called them "Moors," and had published a plenary indulgence for whoever should kill any of them. Nothing, therefore, could restrain their fury. These faithful Catholics put the prelates to death in the midst of horrible cruelties, devised to extort their treasures from them: they spared neither rank, sex, nor age. It was not until the sack had lasted ten days, and a booty of ten millions of golden crowns had been collected, and from five to eight thousand victims had perished, that quiet began to be in some degree restored.

Thus did the pontifical city decline in the midst of a long and cruel pillage, and that splendour with which Rome from the beginning of the sixteenth century had filled the world faded in a few hours. Nothing could preserve this haughty capital from chastisement, not even the prayers of its enemies. "I would not have Rome burnt," Luther had exclaimed; "it would be a monstrous deed."² The fears of Melancthon were still keener: "I tremble for the libraries," said he: "we know how hateful books are to Mars."³ But in despite of these wishes of the reformers, the city of Leo X. fell under the judgment of God.

Clement VII., who was besieged in the castle of Saint Angelo, and who feared that the enemy would blow his asylum into the air with their mines, at last capitulated. He renounced every alliance against Charles the Fifth, and bound himself to remain a prisoner until he had paid the army four hundred thousand ducats. The evangelical Christians gazed with astonishment on this judgment of the Lord. "Such," said they, "is the

empire of Jesus Christ, that persecuting Luther on behalf of constrained to ruin the pope i ther. All things minister unto turn against his adversaries."¹

CHAPTER III.

Profitable Calm—Constitution of the (Hesse—The Monk of Marburg—Lamb Prior Boniface—Disputation at Ham the Gospel in Hesse—Constitution of the Synode—Two Elements of the Church Ministry—Organization of the Church- dictions on State Interference—Luther German Mass—Melancthon's Instruct —Visitation of the Reformed Church Reformation advances—Elizabeth of Br

THE Reformation needed some y that it might increase and gr and it could not enjoy peace on est enemies were at war with The madness of Clement VII. v the lightning-conductor of the Ref the ruins of Rome built up th was not only a few months' gai to 1529 there was a calm in i which the Reformation profited and extend itself. A constitut to be given to the renovated Ch

As the papal yoke had been ecclesiastical order required t blished. It was impossible to: bishops their ancient jurisdic continental prelates maintaine were, in an especial manner, th vants. A new state of things called for, under pain of seeing fall into anarchy. This was provided against. It was then t gelical nations separated definit despotic dominion which had f all the West in bondage.

The diet had already on t wished to make the reform of t national work; the emperor, the few princes were opposed to it. Spire had therefore resigned the task that it could not accom

But what constitution were t substitute for the papal hierarch

They could, while suppressi preserve the Episcopal order: form nearest approximating tha on the point of being destroyed done in England, where there palian Church; but as we have j it could not be realized on th There were no Latimers, no Crai the continental bishops.

They might, on the contrary the ecclesiastical order, by hav to the sovereignty of God's W re-establishing the rights of t

¹ *Milites itaque levasse manum ac exclamasse: Lutherus Papa! Lutherus Papa!* Cochleus, p. 146.

² *Romani nollem exstare, magnum enim portentum esset.* Epp. iii. 221.

³ *Mecum bibliotheca.* Corp. Ref. i. 508.

¹ *Ut Cesar pro Papa Lutherum persequi papam cogatur vastare.* L. Epp. iii. 266.

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his form was the most remote from a hierarchy. Between these two there were several middle courses. The latter plan was Zwingle's: but the one of Zurich had not fully carried it had not called upon the christian to exercise the sovereignty, and had not the Council of Two Hundred as the Church.¹

It was not, however, from Germany that the reformation could proceed. If aristocratic Germany was destined to cling to the episcopate, docile Germany was destined to stop in a governmental medium. The extreme issued from Switzerland. One of Calvin's predecessors, who taught that flag which the power of the Genevese Reformer was to follow after-years and plant in France, England, Holland, Scotland, and even Germany, whence it was a century later to take its rank among the nations. Hesse, who has been compared to Philip of Macedon in subtlety, and to his nephew Luther in courage, was the most gifted of all the evangelical princes. He understood that religion was at length to take its due importance; and far from the great development that was before him, he put himself in harmony with the new ideas.

The reformation-star had risen for Hesse the same time as for Saxony. In Saxony Luther in Wittenberg was the gratuitous remission of sins, and in Marburg were seen secretly to one of the ditches of the reformation, collected round a solitary listening eagerly to the words of the reformation that issued from within. It was the voice of the Franciscan, James Limburg, having declared that for fifteen years he priests had falsified the Gospel and had been thrown into this gloomy

These mysterious assemblies met at night. On a sudden the voice of these lonely meetings had been heard, and the Franciscan, torn from his solitude, had been hurried away across the marshes to some unknown spot. Not far from Ziegenberg, some weeping citizen came up with him, and pointing aside the awning that covered him, "Whither are you going? Where God wills," calmly replied. He was never heard of again, and

it is not known what became of him. These disappearances are usual in the papacy.

No sooner had Philip prevailed in the Diet of Spires, than he resolved on devoting himself to the reformation of his hereditary states.

His resolute character made him incline towards the Swiss reform: it was not therefore one of the moderates that he wanted. He had formed a connexion at Spires with James Sturm, the deputy from Strasburg, who spoke to him of Francis Lambert of Avignon, who was then at Strasburg. Of a pleasing exterior and decided character, Lambert combined with the fire of the south all the perseverance of the north. He was the first in France to throw off the cowl, and from that time he had never ceased to call for a thorough reform in the Church. "Formerly," said he, "when I was a hypocrite, I lived in abundance; now I consume frugally my daily bread with my small family;¹ but I had rather be poor in Christ's kingdom, than possess abundance of gold in the dissolute dwellings of the pope." The landgrave saw that Lambert was just the man he required, and invited him to his court.

Lambert, desiring to clear the way for the Reformation of Hesse, drew up one hundred and fifty-eight theses, which he entitled "paradoxes," and posted them, according to the custom of the times, on the church doors.

Friends and enemies immediately crowded round them. Some Roman-catholics would have torn them down, but the reformed townspeople kept watch, and holding a synod in the public square, discussed, developed, and proved these propositions, ridiculing at the same time the anger of the papists.

Boniface Dornemann, a young priest, full of self-conceit, whom the bishop, on the day of his consecration, had extolled above Paul for his learning, and above the Virgin for his chastity, finding himself too short to reach Lambert's placard, borrowed a stool, and, surrounded by a numerous audience, began to read the propositions aloud.²

"All that is deformed ought to be reformed. The Word of God alone teaches us what ought to be so, and all reform that is effected otherwise is vain."³

This was the first thesis. "Hem!" said the young priest, "I shall not attack that." He continued.

"It belongs to the Church to decide in matters of faith. Now the Church is the congregation of those who are united by the same

¹ Nunc cum famillola mea panem manduce et potum capio in mensura. Lambertii Commentarii de Sacro Conjugio.

² Cum statura hominis humilissimi esset ut inter Pyramos infernos difficulter posset, scabellum alibi dorsi postulabat, eoque consensens, coepit, &c. Othon. Melanderi Jocerum Cent.

³ Vana est omnis Reformatio que alioqui fit. Paradoxa Lambertii: Sculteti Annales.

spirit, the same faith, the same God, the same Mediator, and the same Word, by which alone they are governed, and in which alone they have life."¹

"I cannot attack that proposition," said the priest.² He continued reading from his stool.

"The Word is the true key. The kingdom of heaven is open to him who believes the Word, and shut against him who believes it not. Whoever, therefore, truly possesses the Word of God, has the power of the keys. All other keys, all the decrees of the councils and popes, and all the rules of the monks, are valueless."

Friar Boniface shook his head and continued.

"Since the priesthood of the Law has been abolished, Christ is the only immortal and eternal priest, and he does not, like men, need a successor. Neither the Bishop of Rome nor any other person in the world is his representative here below. • But all Christians, since the commencement of the Church, have been and are participants in his priesthood."

This proposition smelt of heresy. Dornemann, however, was not discouraged; and whether it was from weakness of mind, or from the dawning of light, at each proposition that did not too much shock his prejudices, he repeated: "Certainly, I shall not attack that one!" The people listened in astonishment, when one of them—whether he was a fanatical Romanist, an enthusiastic reformer, or a mischievous wag, I cannot tell—tired with these continual repetitions, exclaimed: "Get down, you knave, who cannot find a word to impugn." Then rudely pulling away the stool, he threw the unfortunate clerk flat in the mud.³

On the 21st October, at seven in the morning, the gates of the principal church at Homburg were thrown open, and prelates, abbots, priests, counts, knights, and deputies of the towns, entered in succession, and among them was Philip, in his quality of first member of the church.

After Lambert had explained and proved his theses, he added: "Let him stand forth who has any thing to say against them." At first there was a profound silence; but at length Nicholas Ferber, superior of the Franciscans of Marburg, who in 1524, applying to Rome's favourite argument, had entreated the Landgrave to employ the sword against the heretics, began to speak with drooping head and downcast eyes. As he invoked Augustin, Peter Lombard, and other doctors to his assistance, the landgrave observed to him: "Do not put forward the wavering

opinions of men, but the Word of alone fortifies and strengthens." The Franciscan sat down in coming, "This is not the place for The disputation, however, recom Lambert, showing all the power astonished his adversary, that alarmed at what he called thun phemy and lightnings of impiety again, observing a second time, the place for replying."

In vain did the Chancellor F to him that each man had the r taining his opinion with full libe did the landgrave himself excla Church was sighing after truth become Rome's refuge. "I wil doctrine of purgatory," a prie prior to the discussion; "I wil paradoxes under the sixth head priesthood)," had said another;⁴ had exclaimed, "I will over under the tenth head (on images they were all dumb.

Upon this Lambert, clasping exclaimed with Zacharias; *B. Lord God of Israel; for he hat redeemed his people.*

After three days of discussion been a continual triumph for th doctrine, men were selected; sioned to constitute the church accordance with the Word of were more than three days occ task, and their new constituti published in the name of the sy.

The first ecclesiastical cons duced by the Reformation sh place in history, and the more; then put forward as a model churches of Christendom.⁵

The autonomy or self-govern Church is its fundamental pri from the Church, from its rej assembled in the name of the L legislation emanates; there is n the prologue either of state or of Philip, content with having br self and for his people the yoke priest, had no desire to put h place, and was satisfied with tl superintendence which is neces maintenance of order.

A second distinctive feature stitution is its simplicity both of and worship. The assembly future synods not to load the cl a multitude of ordinances, "where orders abound, disorder su They would not even continue t

¹ Ecclesia est congregatio eorum quos unit idem spiritus. Paradoxa Lamberti; Sculteti Annal.

² Hanc equidem hanc impugnaverim. Illam ne quidem attigerim. Osborn, Mil. Jec. Cent.

³ Apocrit. nescio; qui quod impugnes infirmosque invadere hanc potest; hincque clonit scabellum ei mox subtrahit, ut miser ille princeps in tutum ageretur. Ibid.

⁴ Fulgura impletatum, tonitrus blasphemus. Erant enim prius qui dicerent: Ego sum; alius. Ego impugnavi paradoxa Lamberti Epistola ad Colon.

⁵ This constitution will be found in f menta Hasselaca, vol. II. p. 368: "Pro Hasselacinde nonnullis aliter ad idem nostrum casur."

⁶ Synodus in nomine Domini congregata.

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ches, because, said they, "men understand what they hear."¹ The human mind has been bent in one the more violent is the reaction unbent. The Church passed at from the extreme of symbols to the simplicity. These are the principles of this constitution:—

Church can be taught and governed ord of its Sovereign Pastor alone.

has recourse to any other word imposed and excommunicated.²

pious man, learned in the Word whatever be his condition, may be shop if he desire it, for he is called of God.³

one believe that by a bishop we d any thing else than a simple f the Word of God.⁴

ministers are servants, and conse- ey ought not to be lords, princes, ra.

ne faithful assemble and choose ops and deacons. Each church t its own pastor.⁵

hose who are elected bishops be d to their office by the imposition ds of three bishops; and as for the f there are no ministers present, ceive the laying on of hands from of the Church.⁶

nishop causes any scandal to the his effeminacy, by the splendour ents, or by levity of conduct, and g warned, he persists, let him be the Church.⁷

ch church place its bishop in a o live with his family, and to be as St. Paul enjoins; but let the xact nothing for their casual

ery Sunday let there be in some ace an assembly of all the men the number of the saints, to reh the bishop, according to God's be affairs of the Church, and to icate whoever gives occasion of the Church; for the Church of never existed without exercising of excommunication.⁸

weekly assembly is necessary for n of the particular churches, so synod should be held annually

for the direction of all the churches in the country.¹

"All the pastors are its natural members but each church shall further elect from its body a man full of the Spirit and of faith, to whom it shall intrust its powers for all that is in the jurisdiction of the synod."²

"Three visitors shall be elected yearly, with commission to go through all the churches, to examine those who have been elected bishops, to confirm those who have been approved of, and to provide for the execution of the decrees of the synod."

It will no doubt be found that this first evangelical constitution went in some points to the extreme of ecclesiastical democracy; but certain institutions had crept in that were capable of increase and of changing its nature. Six superintendents for life were afterwards substituted for the three annual visitors (who, according to the primitive institution, might be simple members of the church); and, as has been remarked,³ the encroachments, whether of these superintendents or of the state, gradually paralyzed the activity and independence of the churches of Hesse. This constitution fared like that of the Abbé Siyès, in the year 8 (A. D. 1799), which although intended to be republican, served through the influence of Napoleon Bonaparte to establish the despotism of the empire.

It was not the less a remarkable work. Romish doctors have reproached the Reformation for making the Church a too interior institution.⁴ In effect, the Reformation and Popery recognise two elements in the Church,—the one exterior, the other interior; but while Popery gives precedence to the former, the Reformation assigns it to the latter. If however it be a reproach against the Reformation for having an inward Church only, and for not creating an external one, the remarkable constitution of which we have just exhibited a few features, will save us the trouble of replying. The exterior ecclesiastical order, which then sprang from the very heart of the Reformation, is far more perfect than that of Popery.

One great question presented itself: Would these principles be adopted by all the Churches of the Reformation?

Every thing seemed to indicate that they would. At that time the most pious men were of opinion, that the ecclesiastical power proceeded from the members of the Church. On withdrawing from the hierarchical extreme, they flung themselves into a democratical one. Luther himself had professed this doctrine as early as 1523. When the

s non intelligent. Monumenta Hassiaca.

timus verbum aliud quam ipse pastoris

ap. 2.

in verbo sancto et exercitatus, docere peti- m. non repellatur, a Deo enim interne mitti-

23.

stel, nos hic per episcopos, alios intelligere.

s Del verbis. Ibid.

is ecclesia episcopum suum. Ibid.

monant duo ex senioribus, nisi alii episcopi

l. cap. 21.

stetia episcopum suum, quod ad eam spectet

pastorum. Ibid. cap. 24.

a ecclesia episcopum suum atque illi ad-

ma sua familia vivere possit. Ibid.

stus fidelium in congruo loco, ad quem quot-

is sanctorum numero habentur.....Christi

quam fuisse sine excommunicatione. Ibid.

¹ Ut semel pro toto Hassia celebretur synodus apud Mar- purgum tertia dominica post pascha. Monumenta Hassi-aca, cap. 18.

² Universi episcopi....Quelibet ecclesia congregetur et eligat ex se ipsa unum plenum fide et Spiritu Del. Ibid.

³ Rettig, Die Freie Kirche.

⁴ This is the opinion set forth in the *Symbols of Dr. Möhler*, the most celebrated defender of the Romish doctrine among our contemporaries.

Calixtus of Bohemia found that the bishops of their country refused them ministers, they had gone so far as to take the first vagabond priest. "If you have no other means of procuring pastors," wrote Luther to them, "rather do without them, and let each head of a family read the Gospel in his own house, and baptize his children, sighing after the sacrament of the altar, as the Jews at Babylon did for Jerusalem."¹ The consecration of the pope creates priests—not of God, but of the devil, ordained solely to trample Jesus Christ under foot, to bring his sacrifice to naught, and to sell imaginary holocausts to the world in his name.² Men become ministers only by election and calling, and that ought to be effected in the following manner:—

"First, seek God by prayer;³ then being assembled together with all those whose hearts God has touched, choose in the Lord's name him or them whom you shall have acknowledged to be fitted for this ministry. After that, let the chief men among you lay their hands on them, and recommend them to the people and to the Church."⁴

Luther, in thus calling upon the people alone to nominate their pastors, submitted to the necessities of the times in Bohemia. It was requisite to constitute the ministry; and as the ministry had no existence, it could not then have the legitimate part that belongs to it in the choice of God's ministers.

But another necessity, proceeding in like manner from the state of affairs, was to incline Luther to deviate in Saxony from the principles he had formerly laid down.

It can hardly be said that the German Reformation began with the lower classes, as in Switzerland and France; and Luther had difficulty in finding any where that christian people, which should have played so great a part in his new constitution. Ignorant men, conceited townspeople, who would not even maintain their ministers—these were the members of the Church. Now what could be done with such elements?

But if the people were indifferent, the princes were not so. They stood in the foremost rank of the great battle of the Reformation, and sat on the first bench in the council. The democratic organization was therefore compelled to give way to an organization conformable to the civil government. The Church is composed of Christians, and they are taken wherever they are found—high or low. It was particularly in high stations that Luther found them. He admitted the princes (as Zwingle did the Council of Two Hundred) as representatives of the people, and henceforward the influence of the State

became one of the principal elements of the evangelical constitution of the evangelical Church in Germany.

Thus Luther, setting out in principle the democratic, arrived in fact at the extreme. Never perhaps was there measured a space between the premises down by any man, and the conclusion adopted. If Luther crossed that vital without hesitation, it was not from inconsistency on his part; he yielded to the necessities of the times. The rules of government are not, like the doctrine of the Gospel, of an absolute nature; the constitution depends in a measure on the state of the Church. Nevertheless there was inconsistency in Luther: he often called himself in a contradictory manner, princes ought and ought not to do as the Church. This is a point upon which the reformer and his age had no very different opinions: there were other questions cleared up.

In the mind of the reformer the influence of the princes was only to be protected. The faithful being still in their minority they had need of a guardian: but till the Church's majority might arrive, it would come its emancipation.

As we said in another place,¹ we must decide on this great controversy of Church and State. But there are certain ideas which can never be forgotten. God is the principle from which every being emanates, and he ought to govern the whole world—as well as individuals—the State as well as the Church. God has to do with governments, and governments with the Church. The great truths of which the Church is the depository, are given from above; their influence on the whole nation,—who is seated on the throne, as well as the peasant in his cottage: and it is as an individual that the prince must take of this heavenly light; it is as an individual that he may receive a Divine wisdom as from the head of his people. God must be in the State, in the place of nations, governments, social and political life on one side,—and God, his Church, and his Church on the other, as if there were a great gulf between them, and the two orders of things should never meet. There would be at once high treason against God and against God.

But if there ought to be a close union between these two spheres (the Church and the State), we ought to seek the means of effecting it. Now, if the influence of the Church is intrusted to the civil government, as was the case in Saxony, it is great reason to fear lest the reality of the union should be compromised, and the administration of heavenly strength into the life of the nation be obstructed. The Church administered by a civil department would

¹ Totius enim et salubris metus, quolibet patrem-familias sua domo legere Evangelium. *l. c.* Opp. l. ii. c. 363.

² Per ordines papisticos non sacerdotes Dei sed sacer dotes Satanae, tantum ut Christum conculerent. *Ibid.* 364.

³ Orationibus tum privatis tum publicis. *Ibid.* 370.

⁴ Eligite quem et quos voveritis. Tum impositis super eos manibus, sint hoc ipso vestri episcopi, vestri ministri, seu pastores. *Ibid.*

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l to political ends, and, gradually
ecularized, will lose its pristine
is at least has taken place in
here in some places religion has
rank of a temporal administra-
rder that any created being may
the influence of which it is
ught to have a free development.
grow unconfined in the open
will better enjoy its cool shade,
more abundant fruits, than if
it in a vase and shut it up in
er. Such a tree is the Church of

urse to the civil power, which
s at that time necessary in Ger-
still another consequence: when
sm became an affair of govern-
ased to be universal. The new
apable of creating a new earth.
of opening new roads and of pur-
regeneration of all Christendom
version of the whole world, Pro-
shrank back, and Protestants
settle themselves as comfortably
in a few German duchies. This
high has been called prudence,
e injury to the Reformation.
nizing power being once disco-
councils of princes, the reformers
organization, and Luther applied
: for although he was in an espe-
an assailant and Calvin an
hese two qualities, as necessary
rmers of the Church as to the
empires, were not wanting in
ese great servants of God.

necessary to compose a new minist-
of the priests who had quitted
were content to receive the
of Reform without having per-
experienced the sanctifying virtue of
There was even one parish in
priest preached the Gospel in his
urch, and sang mass in its suc-

thing more was wanting: a Chris-
ad to be created. "Alas!"
of some of the adherents of the
they have abandoned their Romish
nd rites, and they scoff at ours."²
did not shrink from before this
esity; and he made provision for
ced that a general visitation of
cs was necessary, he addressed
on this subject, on the 22d Oc-

"Your highness, in your qua-
rdian of youth, and of all those
nd how to take care of them-
he, "should compel the inhabi-
desire neither pastors nor schools,
hese means of grace, as they are
to work on the roads, on bridges,

and such like services.¹ The papal order
being abolished, it is your duty to regulate
these things: no other person cares about
them, no other can, and no other ought to do
so. Commission, therefore, four persons to
visit all the country; let two of them in-
quire into the tithes and church property;
and let two take charge of the doctrine,
schools, churches, and pastors." It may be
asked, on reading these words, whether the
Church which was formed in the first cen-
tury without the support of princes, could
not in the sixteenth be reformed without
them?

Luther was not content with soliciting in
writing the intervention of the prince. He
was indignant at seeing the courtiers, who
in the time of the Elector Frederick had
shown themselves the inveterate enemies of
the Reformation, now rushing, "sporting,
laughing, skipping," as he said, on the spoils
of the Church. Accordingly, at the end of
this year, the elector having come to Wit-
temberg, the reformer repaired immediately
to the palace, made his complaint to the
prince-electoral, whom he met at the gate,
and then, without caring about those who
would have stopped him, forced his way into
the elector's bedchamber, and addressing
this prince, who was surprised at so unex-
pected a visit, begged him to remedy the
evils of the Church. The visitation of the
churches was resolved upon, and Melancthon
was commissioned to draw up the necessary
instructions.

In 1526, Luther published his "German
Mass," by which he signified the order of
church service in general. "The real evan-
gelical assemblies," he said, "do not take
place publicly, pell-mell, admitting people of
every sort;³ but they are formed of serious
Christians, who confess the Gospel by their
words and by their lives,⁴ and in the midst
of whom we may reprove and excommuni-
cate those who do not live according to the
rule of Christ Jesus.⁵ I cannot institute
such assemblies, for I have no one to place
in them;⁶ but if the thing becomes possible,
I shall not be wanting in this duty."

It was with a conviction that he must
give the Church, not the best form of worship
imaginable, but the best possible, that Me-
lancthon, like Luther, laboured at his in-
structions.

The German Reformation at that time
tacked about, as it were. If Lambert in
Hesse had gone to the extreme of a demo-
cratical system, Melancthon in Saxony was
approximating the contrary extreme of tra-
ditional principles. A conservative prin-
ciple was substituted for a reforming one.

¹ Als oberster vormund der Jugend und aller die es be-
dürften, soll sie mit Gewalt dazu halten. L. Epp. iii. 125.

² Non publice, sive promiscue et admixta omnia generis
plebe. De Missa Germ.

³ Qui nomina sua in catalogum referrent, adds he. Ibid.

⁴ Excommunicari qui Christiano more se non gerunt.
Ibid.

⁵ Neque enim habes qui sint idonei. Ibid.

recliam evangelico more docebat, in filiali
Beck. p. 102.
in paucis neglexerunt, et nostra contem-
it. 224.

Melancthon wrote to one of the inspectors:¹ "All the old ceremonies that you can preserve, pray do so.² Do not innovate much, for every innovation is injurious to the people."³

They retained, therefore, the Latin liturgy, a few German hymns being mingled with it;⁴ the communion in one kind for those only who scrupled from habit to take it in both; a confession made to the priest without being in any way obligatory; many saints' days, the sacred vestments,⁵ and other rites, "in which," said Melancthon, "there is no harm, whatever Zwingle may say."⁶ And at the same time they set forth with reserve the doctrines of the Reformation.

It is but right to confess the dominion of facts and circumstances upon these ecclesiastical organizations; but there is a dominion which rises higher still—that of the Word of God.

Perhaps Melancthon did all that could be effected at that time; but it was necessary for the work to be one day resumed and re-established on its primitive plan, and this was Calvin's glory.

A cry of astonishment was heard both from the camp of Rome and from that of the Reformation. "Our cause is betrayed," exclaimed some of the evangelical Christians: "the liberty is taken away that Jesus Christ had given us."⁷

On their part the Ultramontanists triumphed in Melancthon's moderation: they called it a retraction, and took advantage of it to insult the Reform. Cochleus published a "horrible" engraving, as he styles it himself, in which, from beneath the same hood, was seen issuing a seven-headed monster representing Luther. Each of these heads had different features, and all, uttering together the most frightful and contradictory words, kept disputing, tearing, and devouring each other.⁸

The astonished Elector resolved to communicate Melancthon's paper to Luther. But never did the reformer's respect for his friend show itself in a more striking manner. He made only one or two unimportant additions to this plan, and sent it back accompanied with the highest eulogiums. The Romanists said that the tiger caught in a net was licking the hands that clipped his talons. But it was not so. Luther knew that the aim

of Melancthon's labours was to strengthen the very soul of the Reformation in all the churches of Saxony. That was sufficient for him. He thought besides, that in every thing there must be a transition; and being justly convinced that his friend was more than himself a man of transition, he frankly accepted his views.

The general visitation began. Luther in Saxony, Spalatin in the districts of Altenburg and Zwickau, Melancthon in Thuringia, and Thuring in Franconia, with ecclesiastical deputies and several lay colleagues, commenced the work in October and November 1528.

They purified the clergy by dismissing every priest of scandalous life;¹ assigned a portion of the church property to the maintenance of public worship, and placed the remainder beyond the reach of plunder. They continued the suppression of the convents, and every where established unity of instruction. "Luther's greater and smaller catechisms," which appeared in 1529, contributed more perhaps than any other writings to propagate throughout the new churches the ancient faith of the apostles. The visitors commissioned the pastors of the great towns under the title of superintendents, to watch over the churches and the schools; they maintained the abolition of celibacy; and the ministers of the Word, become husbands and fathers, formed the germ of a third estate, whence in after-years were diffused in all ranks of society learning, activity, and light. This is one of the truest causes of that intellectual and moral superiority which indisputably distinguishes the evangelical nations.

The organization of the churches in Saxony, notwithstanding its imperfections, produced for a time at least the most important results. It was because the Word of God prevailed; and because, wherever this Word exercises its power, secondary errors and abuses are paralyzed. The very discretion that was employed really originated in a good principle. The reformers, unlike the enthusiasts, did not utterly reject an institution because it was corrupted. They did not say, for example, "The sacraments are disfigured, let us do without them! the ministry is corrupt, let us reject it!"—but they rejected the abuse, and restored the use. This prudence is the mark of a work of God; and if Luther sometimes permitted the chaff to remain along with the wheat, Calvin appeared later, and more thoroughly purged the christian threshing-floor.

The organization which was at that time going on in Saxony, exerted a strong reaction on all the German empire, and the doctrine of the Gospel advanced with gigantic strides. God's design in turning aside from the reformed states of Germany the thunderbolt

¹ Dr. Dewette thinks this letter is Luther's. L. Epp. III. 222. It appears clear to me, as also to Dr. Bretschneider, that it is Melancthon's. Luther never went so far in the way of concession.

² *Observe quantum ex veteribus ceremoniis retineri potest, retinere.* Corp. Ref. II. 920.

³ *Omnis novitas nocet in vulgo.* Ibid.

⁴ *Non aboleas eam totam (the Latin mass): satis est aliquid miscere Germanicis cautionibus.* Ibid.

⁵ *Ut retineantur vestes usitate in sacris.* Corp. Ref. ad Jonam, 20th December 1527.

⁶ *Vult et Zwingle ipse predicaturus sit.* Corp. Ref. II. 919.

⁷ *Alii dicunt prodi causam.* Camer. Vita Melancthon, p. 127.

⁸ *Periculosus ille Germanie partus, Lutherus septiceps.* Goshoven, p. 128.

¹ *Viginti fere rudes et inepti, multique concessum et potiores deprehensi sunt.* Beckand, p. 102.

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sed to fall upon the seven-hilled early manifest. Never were years ly employed; and it was not only a constitution that the Reforma- d itself, it was also to the exten- octrine.

ies of Luneburg and Brunswick, most important imperial cities, rg, Augsburg, Ulm, Strasburg, Gosslar, Nordhausen, Lubeck, d Hamburg, removed the tapers apels, and substituted in their ighter torch of the Word of God. lid the frightened canons alleg- y of the Church. "The autho- Church," replied Kempe and n, the reformer of Hamburg, acknowledged unless the Church ys her pastor Jesus Christ."¹ visited many places to put a nd to the Reform.

onia, the Margrave George of g, having reformed Anspach and wrote to his ancient protector, Austria, who had knit his brows rmed of these proceedings: "I hus by God's order; for he com- es to take care not only of the eir subjects, but also of their

iesland, on new-year's day 1527, named Resius, having put on ascended the pulpit at Noorden, himself ready to maintain cer- according to the tenor of the ter silencing the Abbot of Noor- soundness of his arguments, off his cowl, left it on the pulpit, eived in the nave by the accla- he faithful. Erelong the whole laid aside the uniform of popery, d done.

, Elizabeth, electress of Bran- zing read Luther's works, felt a eive the Lord's Supper in con- Christ's institution. A minister nistered it at the festival of s; but one of her children in- elector. Joachim was greatly and ordered his wife to keep her al days;⁴ it was even rumoured ended shutting her up.⁵ This ing deprived of all religious mistrusting the perfidious ma- the Romish priests, resolved to ght, and claim the assistance of Christian II. of Denmark, then Torgau. Taking advantage of a she quitted the castle in a

cloritam Ecclesie non aliter agnosce- lebant quam si vocem pastoris Christi se- ad. l. 243.
load corpus, sed etiam quoad animam.
lum indutus, suggestum ascendit. Scultet.
is a marito in cubiculo detenta fuisse.
aerat eam immurare. L. Epp. ad Len-

peasant's dress, and got into a rude country- waggon that was waiting for her at the gate of the city. Elizabeth urged on the driver, when, in a bad road, the wain broke down. The electress, hastily unfastening a hand- kerchief she wore round her head, flung it to the man, who employed it in repairing the damage, and ere long Elizabeth arrived at Torgau. "If I should expose you to any risk," said she to her uncle, the Elector of Saxony, "I am ready to go wherever Provi- dence may lead me." But John assigned her a residence in the castle of Lichtenberg, on the Elbe, near Witttemberg. Without taking upon us to approve of Elizabeth's flight, let us acknowledge the good that God's Providence derived from it. This amiable lady, who lived at Lichtenberg in the study of His Word, seldom appearing at court, frequently going to hear Luther's sermons, and exercising a salutary influence over her children, who sometimes had permission to see her, was the first of those pious prin- cesses whom the house of Brandenburg has counted, and even still counts, among its members.

At the same time, Holstein, Sleswick, and Silesia decided in favour of the Reforma- tion: and Hungary, as well as Bohemia, saw the number of its adherents increase.

In every place, instead of a hierarchy seeking its righteousness in the works of man, its glory in external pomp, its strength in a material power, the Church of the Apostles reappeared, humble as in primitive times, and like the ancient Christians, look- ing for its righteousness, its glory, and its power solely in the blood of the Lamb and in the Word of God.¹

CHAPTER IV.

Edict of Ofen—Persecutions—Winchler, Carpenter, and Keyser—Alarm in Germany—Pack's Forgery—League of the Reformed Princes—Advice of the Reformers—Luther's Pacific Council—Surprise of the Papist Princes—Pack's Scheme not improbable—Vigour of the Reformation.

THESE triumphs of the Gospel could not pass unperceived; there was a powerful reaction, and until political circumstances should per- mit a grand attack upon the Reformation on the very soil where it was established, and of fighting against it by means of diets, and if necessary by armies, the adversaries began to persecute it in detail in the Romish coun- tries with tortures and the scaffold.

On the 20th August 1527, King Ferdi- nand, by the Edict of Ofen in Hungary, published a tariff of crimes and penalties, in which he threatened death by the sword, by fire, or by water,² against any who should say that Mary was like other women; or partake of the sacrament in an heretical

¹ Revelation xii. 11.

² Die sollen mit den Feuer, Schwerdt oder Wasser gestraft werden. Ferd. Mandat, L. Opp. xix. 596.

manner; or consecrate the bread and wine, not being a Romish priest; and further, in the second case, the house in which the sacrament should have been administered was to be confiscated or rased to the ground.

Such was not the legislation of Luther. Link having asked him if it were lawful for the magistrate to put the false prophets to death, meaning the Sacramentarians, whose doctrines Luther had so violently attacked,¹ the reformer replied: "I am slow whenever life is concerned, even if the offender is exceedingly guilty."² I can by no means admit that the false teachers should be put to death:³ it is sufficient to remove them." For ages the Romish Church has bathed in blood. Luther was the first to profess the great principles of humanity and religious liberty.

Recourse was sometimes had to more expeditious means than the scaffold itself. George Winkler, pastor of Halle, having been summoned before Archbishop Albert in the spring of 1527, for having administered the sacrament in both kinds, had been acquitted. As this minister was returning home along an unfrequented road in the midst of the woods, he was suddenly attacked by a number of horsemen, who murdered him, and immediately fled through the thickets without taking anything from his person.⁴ "The world," exclaimed Luther, "is a cavern of assassins under the command of the devil; an inn, whose landlord is a brigand, and which bears this sign, *Lies and Murder*: and none are more readily put to death therein than those who proclaim Jesus Christ."

At Munich, George Carpenter was led to the scaffold for having denied that the baptism of water is able by its own virtue to save a man. "When you are thrown into the fire," said some of his brethren, "give us a sign by which we may know that you persevere in the faith."—"As long as I can open my mouth, I will confess the name of the Lord Jesus."⁵ The executioner stretched him on a ladder, tied a small bag of gunpowder round his neck, and then flung him into the flames. Carpenter immediately cried out "Jesus! Jesus!" and while the executioner was turning him again and again with his hooks, the martyr several times repeated the same word Jesus, and expired.

At Landsberg nine persons were consigned to the flames, and at Munich twenty-nine were thrown into the water. At Scherding, Leonard Keyser, a friend and disciple of Luther, having been condemned by the bishop, had his head shaved, and being

dressed in a smock-frock, was horseback. As the executioners ing and swearing, because they disentangle the ropes with which were to be tied, he said to the "Dear friends, your bonds are not my Lord Christ has already loosed. When he drew near the stake, he at the crowd and exclaimed: "harvest! O Master, send forth thy harvesters!" And then ascending the cross he cried: "O Jesu, save me! I have said these were his last words."⁶ "V. A worthy preacher," said Luther: received the news of his death with a parison with this great doer of truth.

Thus the Reformation manifested striking works the truth that it to re-establish; namely, that faith Rome maintains, an historical, knowledge,⁷ but a lively faith, the Holy Ghost, the channel by which fills the heart with new desires and affections,—the true worship of God.

These martyrdoms filled Germany with horror, and gloomy forebodings from the throne into the ranks of the people. Around the domestic hearth, in the winter evenings, the conversations turned on prisons, tortures, and martyrs; the slightest noise alarmed men, women, and children. Such gathered strength as they passed to mouth: the rumour of a universal racy against the Gospel spread through the empire. Its adversaries, taking of this terror, announced with a serious air that they must look for the year (1528) for some decisive measure of the reform.⁸ One scoundrel (Pac) to profit by this state of mind to avarice.

No blows are more terrible to a those which it inflicts upon itself formation, seized with a dizziness the verge of self-destruction. A spirit of error that conspires a cause of truth, beguiling by subterfuge the Reformation was about to expel attacks, and to stagger under the midable assault,—perturbation and estrangement from the ways and of truth.

Otho Pack, vice-chancellor to D of Saxony, was a crafty and dissipated man who took advantage of his office to recourse to all sorts of practices

¹ Contra hostes sacramentarios strenue nobiscum certare. Epp. to Lenk, July 14, 1528.

² Ego ad iudicium sanguinis tardus sum, etiam ubi meritum abundat. Ibid.

³ Nullo modo possum admittre falsos doctores occidi. Ibid.

⁴ Mox enim ut interfecerunt, aufugerunt per avia loca, nihil preda aut pecunie capientes. Gechl. p. 152.

⁵ Dum es aperta locust, servatoris nostri nomen proferri nunquam intermittam. Scultet. II. 110.

⁶ Incenso jam igne, clara voce proclamans: *Jesu! Salva me!* Beckend. II. 95.

⁷ Tam impar verborum predicator, illi tan operator. L. Epp. III. 1214.

⁸ Si quis dixerit fidem non esse veram fidem vivam, aut eum quidem sine charitate habet, tianum, anathema sit. Conc. Frid. Sess. 6, c. 1.

⁹ Nescio quid mirari quod hoc anno contra expetendum sit. Beckend. II. 101.

¹⁰ 2 Corinthiana XI. 3.

¹¹ Homo erat voracius, et preterea prodigii alia inductus est. Beckend. II. 94.

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the duke having on one occasion the Diet of Nuremberg as his e, the Bishop of Merseburg con- his contribution towards the ernment. The bishop having rds called upon for the money, d that he had paid it to a citi- berg, whose seal and signature

This paper was a forgery, and f was the author of it.¹ The ver, put an impudent face on nd having escaped conviction, : confidence of his master. Ere- rtunity presented itself of exer- minal talents on a larger scale. ertained greater suspicions with : papists than the Landgrave of ng, susceptible, and restless, he n the alert. In the month of 28, Pack happening to be at ist Philip in some difficult busi- adgrave imparted to him his r one could have had any know- designs of the papists, it must e vice-chancellor of one of the ies to the Reformation. The heaved a sigh, bent down his is silent. Philip immediately y, entreated him, and promised g that would injure the duke. he had allowed an important orn from him with regret, then t a league against the Luthe- n concluded at Breslau on the following *Jubilate* Sunday (12th and engaged to procure the ori- s act for the landgrave, who : remuneration of ten thousand : service. This was the greatest at the wretched man had ever but it tended to nothing less r overthrow of the empire.

ave was amazed: he restrained ver, wishing to see the act with before informing his allies. He ired to Dresden. "I cannot," urnish you with the original: ys carries it about his person ther princes whom he hopes to Quite recently at Leipsic, he o Duke Henry of Brunswick. : copy made by his highness's landgrave took the document, ll the marks of the most perfect

It was crossed by a cord of d fastened at both ends by the cal chancery.² Above was an om the ring Duke George aim his finger, with the three hat Philip had so often seen; e coronet, and at the bottom, : He had no more doubts as icity. But how can we describe n as he read this guilty docu-

ment? King Ferdinand, the Electors of Mentz and of Brandenburg, Duke George of Saxony, the Dukes of Bavaria, the Bishops of Salzburg, Wurtzburg, and Bamberg, had entered into a coalition to call upon the Elec- tor of Saxony to deliver up the arch-heretic Luther, with all the apostate priests, monks, and nuns, and to re-establish the ancient worship. If he made default, his states were to be invaded, and this prince and his de- scendants for ever dispossessed. The same measure was next to be applied to the land- grave, only ("it was your father-in-law, Duke George," said Pack to Philip, "who got this clause inserted") his states were to be restored to him in consideration of his youth, if he became fully reconciled to the holy Church. The document stated more- over the contingents of men and money to be provided by the confederates, and the share they were to have in the spoils of the two heretical princes.³

Many circumstances tended to confirm the authenticity of this paper. Ferdinand, Joa- chim of Brandenburg, and George of Saxony, had in fact met at Breslau on the day indi- cated, and an evangelical prince, the Mar- grave George, had seen Joachim leave Fer- dinand's apartments, holding in his hand a large parchment, to which several seals were attached. The agitated landgrave caused a copy to be taken of this document, promised secrecy for a time, paid Pack four thousand florins, and engaged to make up the sum agreed upon, if he would procure him the original. And then, wishing to prevent the storm, he hastened to Weimar to inform the elector of this unprecedented conspiracy.

"I have seen," said he to John and his son, "nay more—I have had in my hands a duplicate of this horrible treaty. Signatures, seals—nothing was wanting." Here is a copy, and I bind myself to place the original before your eyes. The most frightful danger threatens us—ourselves, our faithful subjects, and the Word of God."

The elector had no reason to doubt the account the landgrave had just given him: he was stunned, confounded, and overpowered. The promptest measures alone could avert such unprecedented disasters: every thing must be risked to extricate them from certain destruction. The impetuous Philip breathed fire and flames;⁴ his plan of defence was already prepared. He presented it, and in the first moment of consternation carried the consent of his ally, as it were by assault. On the 9th March 1528, the two princes agreed to employ all their forces to defend themselves, and even to take the offensive, and sacrifice life, honour, rank, subjects, and states, that they might preserve the Word of God. The Dukes of Prussia, Mecklen-

¹ Horteiber, *De Bello Germanico*. li. 579.

² Nam is affirmabat se archetypum vidisse, commemorabat *εφεστυδα*. Corp. Ref. i. 598.

³ Mirabiliter incensus erat. *Ibid.*

seen in the records at Dresden. rum circumligatum, et sigillum cancella- at. Beck. li. 94.

burg, Luneburg, and Pomerania, the Kings of Denmark and Poland, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, were to be invited to enter into this alliance. Six hundred thousand florins were destined for the expenses of the war; and to procure them, they would raise loans, pledge their cities, and sell the offerings in the churches.¹ They had already begun to raise a powerful army.² The landgrave set out in person for Nuremberg and Anspach. The alarm was general in those countries; the commotion was felt throughout all Germany,³ and even beyond it. John Zapolya, king of Hungary, at that time a refugee at Cracow, promised a hundred thousand florins to raise an army, and twenty thousand florins a-month for its maintenance. Thus a spirit of error was misleading the princes; if it should carry away the Reformers also, the destruction of the Reformation would not be far distant.

But God was watching over them. Supported on the rock of the Word, Melancthon and Luther replied: "It is written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." As soon as these two men whom the danger threatened (for it was they who were to be delivered up to the papal power) saw the youthful landgrave drawing the sword, and the aged elector himself putting his hand on the hilt, they uttered a cry, and this cry, which was heard in heaven, saved the Reformation.

Luther, Pomeranus, and Melancthon immediately forwarded the following advice to the elector: "Above all things, let not the attack proceed from our side, and let no blood be shed through our fault. Let us wait for the enemy, and seek after peace. Send an ambassador to the emperor to make him acquainted with this hateful plot."

Thus it was that the faith of the children of God, which is so despised by politicians, conducted them aright, at the very moment when the diplomatists were going astray. The elector and his son declared to the landgrave that they would not assume the offensive. Philip was amazed. "Are not the preparations of the papists worthy an attack?" asked he.⁴ "What! we will threaten war, and yet not make it! We will inflame the hatred of our antagonists, and leave them time to prepare their forces! No, no; forward! It is thus we shall secure the means of an honourable peace."—"If the landgrave desires to begin the war," replied the reformer, "the elector is not obliged to observe the treaty; for we must obey God rather than men. God and the right are above every alliance. Let us beware of painting the devil on our doors, and inviting him as godfather."⁵ But if the landgrave is

attacked, the elector ought to go to France; for it is God's will that we have our faith." This advice, which the elector gave, cost them dear. Never did the elector demned to the torture, endure a pain like theirs. The fears excited by the grave were succeeded by the terror by the papist princes. This cruel situation put them in great distress. "I am with sorrow," cried Melancthon; "anguish puts me to the most horrible torture." The issue," added he, "will be on our knees before God."⁶

The elector, drawn in different directions by the theologians and the politicians, took a middle course: he resolved to raise an army, "but only," said he, "for peace." Philip of Hesse at length and forthwith sent copies of the treaty to Duke George, to the duke of Bavaria, and to the emperor's representatives, calling upon them to renounce their designs. "I would rather have peace," said he to his father-in-law, "than know you to be a member of an alliance."

The surprise of the German court when they read this document, is beyond description. Duke George immediately wrote to the landgrave, that he had allowed to be deceived by unmeaning a man, that he who pretended to have seen the original of this act was an infamous incorrigible scoundrel; and called on the landgrave to give up his alliance, else it might well be thought that he himself the inventor of this impudacious deception. King Ferdinand, the Elector of Brandenburg, and all the pretended coadjutors made similar replies.

Philip of Hesse saw that he was deceived;¹ his confusion was only increased by his anger. He had in this affair the accusations of his adversaries, him a hot-headed young man, and promised to the highest degree to the Reformation and that of his people. He said afterwards, "If that business happened, it could not happen now that I have done in my whole life me greater vexation."

Pack fled in alarm to the landgrave, caused him to be arrested; and the several princes whom this scoundrel had compromised met at Cassel, and to examine him. He maintained that the original act of the alliance had been in the Dresden archives. In the year the landgrave banished him from proving by this action that he did him. Pack was afterwards driven to Belgium; and at the demand of George, who had never shown a

¹ Venditque templorum donaria. Beckand. II. 95.

² Magna studio validum comparaverunt ambo exercitum. Oehlerus, p. 171.

³ Ref. II. 364.

⁴ Landgravius preparamenta adversariorum pro aggressionibus habebat. Beck. II. 95.

⁵ Man darf den Teufel nicht über die Thür malen, noch ihn zu gewärtigen sitzen. L. Epp. III. 251.

¹ Curse vehementer cruciatur. Corp. Ref.

² Et yovvaci Olov. Ibid.

³ Wir fühlten dass wir betrogen waren.

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he was seized, tortured, and led.

He was unwilling to have us to no purpose. The Arch-
bishop of Mentz was compelled, on
1520, to renounce in the camp
all spiritual jurisdiction in
Hesse.¹ This was no small

and the arms been laid aside be-
fore his pen and began a war
d. "Impious princes may deny
as long as they please," wrote
"I am very certain that it is

These insatiable leeches will
se until they see the whole of
ring with blood."² This idea
was the one generally enter-
document presented to the
y be Pack's invention," it was
this fabric of lies is founded on
If the alliance has not been
has been conceived."³

were the results of this affair.
vision in the bosom of the Red
fanned the hatred between

s.⁴ The sparks from the piles
inkler, Carpenter, and so many
added strength to the fire that
threatening to set the empire in
as under such critical circum-
with such menacing dispositions,
us Diet of Spire was opened in

The Empire and the Papacy
y preparing to annihilate the
although in a manner different
ck had pretended. It was still
whether more vital strength
d in the revived Church than
ets that Rome had easily crush-
faith had increased, and the
given to the Church had im-
power to its adherents. All
l on defending a doctrine so
urch government so superior
pery. During three years of
he Gospel tree had struck its
nd if the storm should burst, it
able to brave it.

CHAPTER V.

Charles and Clement VII.—Omens—Hos-
tate—Arbitrary Proposition of Charles—
the Diet—The Reformation in Danger—
Princes—Violence of Ferdinand—The
d.

Rome, by exasperating the ad-
Papacy, had given arms to all
Charles V. The French army
had forced the imperial army,
the delights of a new Capua,

richia.—Verf. i. 107.
satiabiles quiescere nolunt, nisi Germa-
dere sentiant. 14th June 1520.
sus coniecta res. Corp. Ref. i. 9-8.
d inimicos oculi auserunt. Ibid. 983.

to hide itself within the walls of Naples.
Doria, at the head of his Genoese galleys,
had destroyed the Spanish fleet, and the im-
perial power seemed drawing to an end in
Italy. But Doria suddenly declared for the
emperor, pestilence carried off Lautrec and
half of his troops; and Charles, suffering
only from alarm, had again assumed the su-
periority with a firm resolution to unite
henceforward closely with the pontiff, whose
humiliation had nearly cost him so dear.
On his side, Clement VII., hearing the Ita-
lians reproach him for his illegitimate birth,
and even refuse him the title of pope,
said aloud, that he would rather be the em-
peror's groom than the sport of his people.
On the 29th June 1528, a peace between the
heads of the Empire and of the Church was
concluded at Barcelona, based on the destruc-
tion of heresy; and in November a diet was
convoked to meet at Spire on the 21st Fe-
bruary 1529. Charles was resolved to en-
deavour at first to destroy the Reform by a
federal vote; and if this means did not suc-
cede, to employ his whole power against it.
The road being thus traced out, they were
about to commence operations.

Germany felt the seriousness of the po-
sition. Mournful omens filled every mind.
About the middle of January, a great bright-
ness in the sky had suddenly dispersed the
darkness of the night.¹ "What that fore-
bodes," exclaimed Luther, "God only knows!"
At the beginning of April there was a rumour
of an earthquake that had engulfed castles,
cities, and whole districts in Carinthia and
Istria, and split the tower of St. Mark at
Venice into four parts. "If that is true,"
said the reformer, "these prodigies are the
forerunners of the day of Jesus Christ."²
Astrologers declared that the aspect of the
quartiles of Saturn and Jupiter, and the
general position of the stars, was ominous.³
The waters of the Elbe rolled thick and
stormy, and stones fell from the roofs of
churches. "All these things," exclaimed
the terrified Melancthon, "excite me in no
trifling degree."⁴

The letters of convocation issued by the
imperial government agreed but, too well
with these prodigies. The emperor, writing
from Toledo to the elector, accused him of
sedition and revolt. Alarming whispers
passed from mouth to mouth that were suf-
ficient to cause the fall of the weak. Duke
Henry of Mecklenburg and the elector-pala-
tine hastily returned to the side of popery.

Never had the sacerdotal party appeared
in the diet in such numbers, or so powerful
and decided.⁵ On the 5th March, Ferdinand,

¹ An aurora borealis. "Magnum chasma, quo non tota
illuminabatur." L. Epp. iii. 420.

² Si vera sunt, diem Christi præcurrunt hæc monstra.
Ibid. 438.

³ Adspectum visceribus Saturni et Jovis. Corp. Ref. i.
1075.

⁴ Ego non leviter commoveor his rebus. Ibid. 1078.

⁵ Nunquam fuit tanta frequentia ullis conciliis deprecia-
quanta in his est. Ibid. 1008.

the president of the diet, the Dukes of Bavaria, and lastly the ecclesiastical electors of Mentz and Treves, had entered the gates of Spire surrounded by a numerous armed escort.¹ On the 13th March, the Elector of Saxony arrived, attended only by Melancthon and Agricola. But Philip of Hesse, faithful to his character, entered the city on the 18th March to the sound of trumpets, and with two hundred horsemen.

The divergence of men's minds soon became manifest. A papist did not meet an evangelical in the street without casting angry glances at him, and secretly threatening him with perfidious machinations.² The elector-palatine passed the Saxons without appearing to know them;³ and although John of Saxony was the most important of the electors, none of the chiefs of the opposite party visited him. Grouped around their tables, the Roman-catholic princes seemed absorbed in games of hazard.⁴

But ere long they gave positive marks of their hostile disposition. The elector and the landgrave were prohibited from having the Gospel preached in their mansions. It was asserted, even at this early period, that John was about to be turned out of Spire, and deprived of his electorate.⁵ "We are the execration and the sweepings of the earth," said Melancthon; "but Christ will look down on his poor people, and will preserve them."⁶ In truth, God was with the witnesses to his Word. The people of Spire thirsted for the Gospel, and the elector wrote to his son on Palm Sunday: "About eight thousand persons were present to-day in my chapel at morning and evening worship."

The Roman party now quickened their proceedings: their plan was simple but energetic. It was necessary to put down the religious liberty that had existed for more than three years, and for this purpose they must abrogate the decree of 1526, and revive that of 1521.

On the 15th March the imperial commissioners announced to the diet that as the last resolution of Spire, which left all the states free to act in conformity with the inspirations of their consciences, had given rise to great disorders, the emperor had annulled it by virtue of his supreme power. This arbitrary act, which had no precedent in the empire, as well as the despotic tone in which it was notified, filled the evangelical Christians with indignation and alarm. "Christ," exclaimed Sturm, "has again fallen into the hands of Caiaphas and Pilate."⁷

A commission was appointed to examine the imperial proposition. The Archbishop of Salzburg, with Faber and Eck, that is to say, the most violent enemies of the Reformation, were among its members. "The Turks are better than the Lutherans," said Faber, "for the Turks observe fast-days, and the Lutherans violate them."¹ If we must choose between the Holy Scriptures of God, and the old errors of the Church, we should reject the former."² "Every day in full assembly Faber casts some new stone at us Gossellers," says Melancthon.³ "Oh, what an Iliad I should have to compose," added he, "if I were to report all these blasphemies!"

The priests called for the execution of the edict of Worms, 1521, and the evangelical members of the commission, among whom were the Elector of Saxony and Sturm, demanded, on the contrary, the maintenance of the edict of Spire, 1526. The latter thus remained within the bounds of legality, whilst their adversaries were driven to *cours d'état*. In fact, a new order of things having been legally established in the empire, no one could infringe it; and if the diet presumed to destroy by force what had been constitutionally established three years before, the evangelical states had the right of opposing it. The majority of the commission felt that the re-establishment of the ancient order of things would be a revolution no less complete than the Reformation itself. How could they subject anew to Rome and to her clergy those nations in whose bosom the Word of God had been so richly spread abroad? For this reason, equally rejecting the demands of the priests and of the evangelicals, the majority came to a resolution on the 24th March that every religious innovation should continue to be interdicted in the places where the edict of Worms had been carried out; and that in those where the people had deviated from it, and where they could not conform to it without danger of revolt, they should at least effect no new reform, they should touch upon no controverted point, they should not oppose the celebration of the mass, they should permit no Roman-catholic to embrace Lutheranism,⁴ they should not decline the Episcopal jurisdiction, and should tolerate no anabaptists or sacramentarians. The *status-quo* and no proselytism—such were the essentials of this resolution.

The majority no longer voted as in 1526: the wind had turned against the Gospel. Accordingly this proposition, after having been delayed a few days by the festival of

¹ Megantimum et Trevirensium cum comitatu armato. Beckend. II. 129.

² Vultu significant quantum nos oderint, et quid machinentur. Corp. Ref. I. 1040.

³ Mais kennt kein Sachsen mehr. Epp. Alberti Mansfeld.

⁴ Adversam partes proceres alia tempus perdere. L. Epp. III. 436.

⁵ Alii excludunt Spire, alii ademptum electoratam. Ibid.

⁶ Sed Christus respicit et salvabit populum pauperum. Corp. Ref. I. 1046.

⁷ Christus est denuo in manibus Caiaphi et Pilati. Jung Beyträge, 4.

¹ Vociferatus est Turcos Lutheranos meliores esse. Corp. Ref. p. 1041.

² Malle abjicere scripturam quam veteres errores Evulsi. Ibid. p. 1046.

³ Faber lapidat nos quotidie pro concione. Ibid.

⁴ Nec catholice a libero religionis exercitio impeditur, neque cuiquam ex his licere Lutheranismum amplexi. Beckend. II. 127.

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ed before the diet on the 6th sed on the 7th.¹

a law, the Reformation could ended into those places where nknown, nor be established on ns in those where it already e-establishment of the Romish pulated in the proposition, ly bring back the ancient ie least deviation from so vexance would easily furnish the h a pretext for completing the a work already so violently

, the Landgrave, the Mar- enburg, the Prince of Anhalt, ellor of Luneburg on one side, s for the cities on the other, her. An entirely new order o proceed from this council. een animated by selfishness, perhaps have accepted this ct they were left free, in least, to profess their faith: demand more? could they e they bound to constitute champions of liberty of con- the world? Never, perhaps, n a more critical situation; n-minded men came victorious d. What! should they lega- tion the scaffold and the tor- they oppose the Holy Ghost ' converting souls to Christ! rget their Master's command: *"the world and preach the Gospel ey"* If one of the states of the l some day to follow their e reformed, should they take r of doing so? Having them- the kingdom of heaven, should e door after them? No! every thing, sacrifice every cir states, their crowns, and

ject this decree," said the matters of conscience the no power."—"It is to the," added the cities, "that we for the peace that the empire olition would fill Germany with ivisions. The diet is incom- more than preserve religious council meets." Such in fact tribute of the state, and if, in protestant powers desire to Romish governments, they solely at obtaining for the sub- latter that religious liberty e confiscates to his own advan- he reigns alone, and by which tly in every evangelical state. leputies proposed refusing all inst the Turks, hoping thus to peror to interfere in this reli-

gious question. But Sturm called upon them not to mix up political matters with the sal- vation of souls. They resolved therefore to reject the proposition, but without holding out any threats. It was this noble resolution that gained for modern times liberty of thought and independence of faith.

Ferdinand and the priests, who were no less resolute, determined, however, on van- quishing what they called a daring obsti- nacy; and they commenced with the weaker states. They began to frighten and divide the cities, which had hitherto pursued a com- mon course. On the 12th April they were summoned before the diet: in vain did they allege the absence of some of their number, and ask for delay. It was refused, and the call was hurried on. Twenty-one free cities accepted the proposition of the diet, and fourteen rejected it. It was a bold act on the part of the latter, and was accomplished in the midst of the most painful sufferings. "This is the first trial," said Pfarrer, second deputy of Strasburg; "now will come the second: we must either deny the Word of God or—be burnt."¹

A violent proceeding of Ferdinand's im- mediately commenced the series of humiliations that were reserved for the evangelical cities. A deputy of Strasburg should, in conformity with the decree of Worms, have been a member of the imperial government from the commencement of April. He was declared excluded from his rights until the re-es- tablishment of the mass in Strasburg. All the cities united in protesting against this arbi- trary act.

At the same time, the elector-palatine and King Ferdinand himself begged the princes to accept the decree, assuring them that the emperor would be exceedingly pleased with them. "We will obey the emperor," replied they calmly, "in every thing that may con- tribute to maintain peace and the honour of God."

It was time to put an end to this struggle. On the 18th April it was decreed that the evangelical states should not be heard again; and Ferdinand prepared to inflict the deci- sive blow on the morrow.

When the day came, the king appeared in the diet, surrounded by the other commis- sioners of the empire, and by several bishops. He thanked the Roman-catholics for their fidelity, and declared that the resolution having been definitively agreed to, it was about to be drawn up in the form of an imperial decree. He then announced to the elec- tor and his friends, that their only remaining course was to submit to the majority.

The evangelical princes, who had not ex- pected so positive a declaration, were excited at this summons, and passed, according to custom, into an adjoining chamber to deli- berate. But Ferdinand was not in a humour

¹ Sleidan, l. 261.

¹ Das wort Gottes zu widerrufen oder aber bezeugen, Jung Deyträge, p. 27.

to wait for their answer. He rose, and the imperial commissioners with him. Vain were all endeavours to stop him. "I have received an order from his imperial majesty," replied he; "I have executed it. All is over."

Thus did Charles's brother notify an order to the christian princes, and then retire without even caring if there was any reply to be made! To no purpose did they send a deputation entreating the king to return. "It is a settled affair," repeated Ferdinand; "submission is all that remains."¹ This refusal completed the schism: it separated Rome from the Gospel. Perhaps more justice on the part of the empire and of the papacy might have prevented the rupture that since then has divided the Western Church.

CHAPTER VI.

The Protest—Principles of the Protest—Supremacy of the Gospel—Christian Union—Ferdinand rejects the Protest—Attempt at Conciliation—Exultation of the Papists—Evangelical Appeal—Christian Unity a Reality—Dangers of the Protestants—The Protestants leave Spire—The Princes the True Reformers—Germany and Reform.

If the imperial party displayed such contempt, it was not without a cause. They felt that weakness was on the side of the Reformation, and strength with Charles and the pope. But the weak have also their strength; and of this the evangelical princes were aware. As Ferdinand paid no attention to their complaints, they ought to pay none to his absence, to appeal from the report of the diet to the Word of God, and from the Emperor Charles to Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords.

They resolved upon this step. A declaration was drawn up to that effect, and this was the famous *Protest* that henceforward gave the name of *Protestant* to the renovated Church. The elector and his allies, having returned to the common hall of the diet, thus addressed the assembled states:²—

"Dear Lords, Cousins, Uncles, and Friends! Having repaired to this diet at the summons of his majesty, and for the common good of the empire and of Christendom, we have heard and learnt that the decisions of the last diet concerning our holy Christian faith are to be repealed, and that it is proposed to substitute for them certain restrictive and onerous resolutions.

"King Ferdinand and the other imperial commissioners, by affixing their seals to the last *Recess* of Spire, had promised, however, in the name of the emperor, to carry out sincerely and inviolably all that it contained, and to permit nothing that was contrary to

it. In like manner, also, you a electors, princes, prelates, lords, and ties of the empire, bound ourselves to maintain always and with our whole might article of that decree.

"We cannot therefore consent to repeal:—

"Firstly, because we believe that perial majesty (as well as you and called upon to maintain firmly what h unanimously and solemnly resolved.

"Secondly, because it concerns th of God and the salvation of our so that in such matters we ought to b gard, above all, to the commandm God, who is King of kings and Lord each of us rendering him account f self, without caring the least in th about majority or minority.¹

"We form no judgment on that concerns you, most dear lords; and content to pray God daily that he wi us all to unity of faith, in truth, char holiness through Jesus Christ, our th grace and our only mediator.

"But in what concerns ourselves sion to your resolution (and let every man be judge!) would be acting agai conscience, condemning a doctrine t maintain to be christian, and pronc that it ought to be abolished in our if we could do so without trouble.

"This would be to deny our Lord Christ, to reject his holy Word, an give him just reason to deny us in t fore his Father, as he has threatened.

"What! we ratify this edict! Wi that when Almighty God calls a man knowledge, this man cannot howe ceive the knowledge of God! Oh! c deadly backslidings should we not t come the accomplices, not only am own subjects, but also among yours!

"For this reason we reject the yo is imposed on us. And although it versally known that in our states th sacrament of the body and blood of o is becomingly administered, we can here to what the edict proposes agai sacramentarians, seeing that the i edict did not speak of them, that th not been heard, and that we cannot upon such important points before tl council.

"Moreover"—and this is the essen of the protest—"as the new edict that the ministers shall preach the explaining it according to the writi cepted by the holy Christian Chur think that, for this regulation to b value, we should first agree on what by the true and holy Church. Now that there is great diversity of opinio respect; that there is no sure docu such as is conformable to the Word

¹ Die artikel weren beschloosen. Jung Beytr. p. 90.

² There are two copies of this act; one of them is brief, and the other, which is longer, was transmitted in writing to the imperial commissioners. It is from the latter we extract the passages in the text. They will both be found in Jung Beyträge, p. 91-105. See also Müller's *Historie der Reformation*, p. 92.

¹ Ein Jeglicher fur sich selbst vor Gott stehen. Beyträge, p. 90.

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ord forbids the teaching of any one; that each text of the Holy ought to be explained by other texts; and that this holy book is necessary for the Christian, understanding, and calculated to darkness: we are resolved, with God, to maintain the pure teaching of his only Word, such as is in the biblical books of the new Testament, without adding thereto that may be contrary to it.¹ It is the only truth; it is the sure doctrine and of all life, and cannot deceive us. He who builds on this foundation shall stand against all the world, whilst all the human vanities up against it shall fall before the

same reasons, most dear lords, uncles, and friends, we earnestly entreat you to carefully our grievances and to us. If you do not yield to our request by these presents, before the Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, Father, and who will one day be our God, to his holy Word, to our end, to the salvation of our souls, and to the decree of Spire.

At the same time we are in expectation of imperial majesty will behave to make a christian prince who loves all things; and we declare our duty to pay unto him, as well as gracious lords, all the affection we owe that are our just and legitimate

presence of the diet, spoke out of the pious men whom Christendom forward denominate The Pro-

testants barely finished when they announced their intention of quitting Spire on the 19th.

The diet and declaration produced a division. The diet was rudely interrupted and broken into two hostile parties, precluding war. The majority of the diet were the liveliest fears. As Protestants, relying *jure humano*, the diet of Spire, and, *jure divino*, the diet, they were full of courage and

principles contained in this celebrated diet of the 19th April 1529, constitute the birth of Protestantism. Now this diet was two abuses of man in matters of religion. The first is the intrusion of the civil and the second the arbitrary author-

ity of the Church. Instead of these abuses, Protestantism sets the power of conscience above the magistrate; and the authority of the Word of God above the visible church. In the first place, it rejects the civil power in divine things, and says with the prophets and apostles: *We must obey God rather than man*. In presence of the crown of Charles the Fifth, it uplifts the crown of Jesus Christ. But it goes farther: it lays down the principle, that all human teaching should be subordinate to the oracles of God. Even the primitive Church, by recognising the writings of the apostles, had performed an act of submission to this supreme authority, and not an act of authority, as Rome maintains; and the establishment of a tribunal charged with the interpretation of the Bible, had terminated only in slavishly subjecting man to man in what should be most unfettered—conscience and faith. In this celebrated act of Spire no doctor appears, and the Word of God reigns alone. Never has man exalted himself like the pope; never have men kept in the back ground like the reformers.

A Romish historian maintains that the word *Protestant* signifies *enemy of the emperor and of the pope*.¹ If he means that Protestantism, in matters of faith, rejects the intervention both of the empire and of the papacy, it is well. But even this explanation does not exhaust the signification of the word, for Protestantism threw off man's authority solely, to place Jesus Christ on the throne of the Church, and his Word in the pulpit. There has never been any thing more positive, and at the same time more aggressive, than the position of the Protestants at Spire. By maintaining that their faith is alone capable of saving the world, they defended with intrepid courage the rights of christian proselytism. We cannot abandon this proselytism without deserting the protestant principle.

The Protestants of Spire were not content to exalt the truth; they defended charity. Faber and the other papal partisans had endeavoured to separate the princes, who in general walked with Luther, from the cities that ranged themselves rather on the side of Zwingle. Ecolampadius had immediately written to Melancthon, and enlightened him on the doctrines of the Zurich reformer. He had indignantly rejected the idea that Christ was banished into a corner of heaven, and had energetically declared that, according to the Swiss Christians, Christ was in every place upholding all things by the Word of his power.² "With the visible symbols," he added, "we give and we receive the invisible grace, like all the faithful."³

¹ Perduelles in Pontificem ac Cesarum. Pallavicini, C. T. I. p. 217.

² Ubique ut et portet omnia verbo virtutis sum. Hospin. Hist. Sac. II. 112.

³ Χάρις γὰρ τῶν ἀόρατων μυστὶ τῶν οὐρανόθεν ἀέτων. Ibid.

tes wort, lauter und rein, und nichts das Jung Beyträge, p. 101.

ritten urlich genommen. Jung Beyträge, p.

These declarations were not useless. There were at Spire two men who from different motives opposed the efforts of Faber, and seconded those of Ecolampadius. The landgrave, ever revolving projects of alliance in his mind, felt clearly that if the Christians of Saxony and of Hesse allowed the condemnation of the churches of Switzerland and of Upper Germany, they would by that very means deprive themselves of powerful auxiliaries.¹ Melancthon, who unlike the landgrave was far from desiring a diplomatic alliance, lest it should hasten on a war, defended the great principles of justice, and exclaimed: "To what just reproaches should we not be exposed, were we to recognise in our adversaries the right of condemning a doctrine without having heard those who defend it!" The union of all evangelical Christians is therefore a principle of primitive Protestantism.

As Ferdinand had not heard the protest of the 19th April, a deputation of the evangelical states went the next day to present it to him. The brother of Charles the Fifth received it at first, but immediately after desired to return it. Then was witnessed a strange scene—the king refusing to keep the protest, and the deputies to take it back. At last the latter, out of respect, received it from Ferdinand's hands; but they laid it boldly upon a table, and directly quitted the hall.

The king and the imperial commissaries remained in presence of this formidable writing. It was there—before their eyes—a significant monument of the courage and faith of the Protestants. Irritated against this silent but mighty witness, which accused his tyranny, and left him the responsibility of all the evils that were about to burst upon the empire, the brother of Charles the Fifth called some of his councillors, and ordered them instantly to carry the important document back to the Protestants.

All this was unavailing; the protest had been registered in the annals of the world, and nothing could erase it. Liberty of thought and of conscience had been secured for ages to come. Thus all evangelical Germany, foreseeing these things, was moved at this courageous act, and adopted it as the expression of its will and of its faith. Men in every quarter beheld in it not a mere political event, but a christian action, and the youthful electoral prince, John Frederick, in this respect the organ of his age, cried to the Protestants of Spire: "May the Almighty, who has given you grace to confess energetically, freely, and fearlessly, preserve you in that christian firmness until the day of eternity!"²

While the Christians were filled with joy, their enemies were frightened at their own

work. The very day on which Ferdinand had declined to receive the protest (Tuesday 20th April), at one in the afternoon, Henry of Brunswick and Philip of Baden presented themselves as mediators, announcing, however, that they were acting solely of their own authority. They proposed that there should be no more mention of the decree of Worms, and that the first decree of Spire should be maintained, but with a few modifications; that the two parties, while remaining free until the next council, should oppose every new sect, and tolerate no doctrine contrary to the sacrament of the Lord's body.³

On Wednesday, 21st April, the evangelical states did not appear adverse to these propositions; and even those who had embraced the doctrines of Zwingle declared boldly that such a proposal would not compromise their existence. "Only let us call to mind," said they, "that in such difficult matters we must act, not with the sword, but with the sure Word of God."⁴ For, as Saint Paul says: *What is not of faith is sin*. If therefore we constrain Christians to do what they believe unjust, instead of leading them by God's Word to acknowledge what is good, we force them to sin and incur a terrible responsibility."

The fanatics of the Roman party trembled as they saw the victory nearly escaping from them; they rejected all compromise, and desired purely and simply the re-establishment of the papacy. Their zeal overcame every thing, and the negotiations were broken off.

On Thursday, 22d April, the diet re-assembled at seven in the morning, and the *Recess* was read precisely as it had been previously drawn up, without even mentioning the attempt at conciliation which had just failed.

Faber triumphed. Proud of having the ear of kings, he tossed himself furiously about, and, to look at him, one would have said (according to an eye-witness) that he was a Cyclops forging in his cavern the monstrous chains with which he was about to bind the Reformation and the reformers.⁵ The papist princes, carried away by the tumult, gave the spur, says Melancthon, and flung themselves headlong into a path filled with dangers.⁶ Nothing was left for the evangelical Christians but to fall on their knees and cry to the Lord. "All that remains for us to do," repeated Melancthon, "is to call upon the Son of God."⁷

The last sitting of the diet took place on the 24th April. The princes renewed their protest, in which fourteen free and imperial

¹ Vergleich artikel. Jung Reytzger, p. 55.

² In diesen Schwere Sachen, nichts mit Gewalt noch Schwerdt, sondern mit Gottes gewissem wort. *Ibid.* p. 8.

³ This document is from the pen of Sturm.

⁴ Cyclops ille nunc ferocem se facit. Corp. Ref. t. 100.

⁵ Ut ingrediantur lubricum isti iter, impingendo alacres. *Ibid.*

⁶ De quo reliquum est ut invocemus Filium Dei. *Ibid.*

¹ Omni studio laborabat ut illos uniret. Beck. II. 127.

² In eo mansuros esse, nec passuros ut ulla hominum machinatione ab ea sententia divellerentur. *Ibid.* 121.

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; and they next thought of giving a legal form.

On the 25th April, two notaries, Leobrecht of Freysingen and Pangrace of Bamberg, were seated at a table in a narrow chamber on the top of a house situated in St. John's street, the church of the same name in which round them were the chancellors and of the evangelical cities, witnesses.¹

The house belonged to an humble priest, Muterstatt, deacon of St. John's.

By taking the place of the elector's grave, had offered a domicile of refuge, an act that was preparing a worthy in consequence of being to posterity. The document

definitively drawn up, one of began reading it. "Since there communion between all men," testaments, "and since even perished to death are permitted to deal against their condemnation; more are we, who are members of the spiritual body, the Church of God, children of the same Heaven; and consequently brothers in authority to unite when our eternal condemnation are con-

cluding all that had passed in the or intercalating in their appeal documents that had reference Protestants ended by saying: "We appeal for ourselves, for our lord for all who receive or who receive the Word of God, from sent, or future vexatious Imperial Majesty, and to a free assembly of holy Christendom." The document filled twelve sheets; the signatures and seals were thirteen.

The obscure dwelling of the chaplain's was made the first confessional christian union. In pre-eminently mechanical unity of the confessors of Jesus raised the living unity of Christ; and, as of our Saviour, if there were no covenants in Israel, there was at the temple. The Christians of the city, of Luneburg, of Anhalt, of the Margravate, of Strasburg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen, Nordlingen, Heilbronn, Speyer, Saint Gall, Weissemburg, each took each other's hands on the table, near the church of St. John, of threatening persecutions. It might be found those who, acknowledged in the Lord's

Supper the entirely spiritual presence of Jesus Christ, as well as those who, with Luther, admitted his corporeal presence. There existed not at that time in the evangelical body any sects, hatred, or schism; christian unity was a reality. That upper chamber in which during the early days of Christianity, the apostles with the women and the brethren "continued with one accord in prayer and supplication,"² and that lower chamber where, in the first days of the Reformation, the renewed disciples of Jesus Christ presented themselves to the pope and the emperor, to the world and to the scaffold, as forming but one body, are the two cradles of the Church; and it is in this its hour of weakness and humiliation that it shines forth with the brightest glory.

After this appeal each one returned in silence to his dwelling. Several tokens excited alarm for the safety of the Protestants. A short time previously Melancthon hastily conducted through the streets of Spire toward the Rhine his friend Simon Gryneus, pressing him to cross the river. The latter was astonished at such precipitation.³ "An old man of grave and solemn air, but who is unknown to me," said Melancthon, "appeared before me and said: In a minute the officers of justice will be sent by Ferdinand to arrest Gryneus." As he was intimate with Faber, and had been scandalized at one of his sermons, Gryneus went to him, and begged him no longer to make war against the truth. Faber dissembled his anger, but immediately after repaired to the king, from whom he had obtained an order against the importunate professor of Heidelberg.⁴ Melancthon doubted not that God had saved his friend by sending one of His holy angels to forewarn him. Motionless on the banks of the Rhine, he waited until the waters of that stream had rescued Gryneus from his persecutors. "At last," cried Melancthon, as he saw him on the opposite side, "at last he is torn from the cruel jaws of those who thirst for innocent blood."⁵ When he returned to his house, Melancthon was informed that officers in search of Gryneus had ransacked it from top to bottom.⁶

There was nothing to detain the Protestants any longer in Spire, and accordingly, on the morning after their appeal (Monday, 26th April), the elector, the landgrave, and the Dukes of Luneburg, quitted the city, reached Worms, and then returned by Hesse into their own states. The appeal of Spire was published by the landgrave on the 5th, and by the elector on the 13th of May.

¹ Acts i. 14.

² Mirant qui esset tante festinationis causa. Camera-vius Vita Mel. p. 113.

³ Faber qui valde offenderetur orationi tali, dissimulare tamen omnia. Ibid.

⁴ Ereptus quasi e faucibus eorum qui alunt sanguinem innocentium. Mel. ad Camer. 22d April, Corp. Ref. i. 102.

⁵ Affuit armata quidam manus ad comprehendendum Gryneum missa. Camer. Vita Mel. p. 113.

dem Kleinen Stüblein. Jung Beyträge, p. m Appellationis.

a corpore spiritualis Jesu Christi et filii istis, idcirco fratres spirituales. Seckend.

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Melancthon had returned to Wittenberg on the 6th of May, persuaded that the two parties were about to draw the sword. His friends were alarmed at seeing him agitated, exhausted, and like one dead.¹ "It is a great event that has just taken place at Spire," said he; "an event pregnant with dangers, not only to the empire, but to religion itself."² All the pains of hell oppress me."³

It was Melancthon's greatest affliction that these evils were attributed to him, as indeed he ascribed them himself. "One single thing has injured us," said he; "our not having approved, as was required of us, the edict against the Zwinglians." Luther did not take this gloomy view of affairs; but he was far from comprehending the force of the protest. "The diet," said he, "has come to an end almost without results, except that those who scourge Jesus Christ were not able to satisfy their fury."⁴

Posterity has not ratified this decision, and, on the contrary, dating from this epoch the definitive formation of Protestantism, it has hailed in the Protest of Spire one of the greatest movements recorded in history.

Let us see to whom the chief glory of this act belongs. The part taken by the princes, and especially by the Elector of Saxony, in the German Reformation, must strike every impartial observer. These are the true reformers—the true martyrs. The Holy Ghost, that bloweth where it listeth, had inspired them with the courage of the ancient confessors of the Church; and the God of Election was glorified in them. Somewhat later, perhaps, this great part played by the princes produced deplorable consequences: there is no grace of God that man cannot pervert. But nothing should prevent us from rendering honour to whom honour is due, and from adoring the work of the eternal Spirit in these eminent men who, under God, were in the sixteenth century the liberators of Christendom.

The Reformation had taken a bodily form. It was Luther alone who had said No at the Diet of Worms: but churches and ministers, princes and people, said No at the Diet of Spire.

In no country had superstition, scholasticism, hierarchy, and popery, been so powerful as among the Germanic nations. These simple and candid people had humbly bent their neck to the yoke that came from the banks of the Tiber. But there was in them a depth, a life, a need of interior liberty, which, sanctified by the Word of God, might render them the most energetic organs of christian truth. It was from them that was

destined to emanate the reaction against that material, external, and legal system, which had taken the place of Christianity; it was they who were called to shatter in pieces the skeleton which had been substituted for the spirit and the life, and restore to the heart of Christendom, ossified by the hierarchy, the generous beatings of which it had been deprived for so many ages. The universal Church will never forget the debt it owes to the princes of Spire and to Luther.

CHAPTER VII.

Union necessary to Reform—Luther's Doctrine on the Lord's Supper—A Lutheran Warning—Proposed Conference at Marburg—Melancthon and Zwingli—Zwingli leaves Zurich—Rumours in Zurich—The Reformers at Marburg—Carlstadt's Petition—Preliminary Discussions—Holy Ghost—Original Sin—Baptism—Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingli—Opening of the Conference—The Prayer of the Church—Hoc est Corpus Meum—Sylicium of Oecolampadius—The Flesh profiteth nothing—Luther convinced—Luther's Old Song—Agitation in the Conference—Arrival of new Deputies—Christ's Humanity finite—Mathematics and Popery—Testimony of the Fathers—Testimony of Augustine—Argument of the Velvet Cover—End of the Conference—The Landgrave mediates—Necessity of Union—Luther rejects Zwingli's Hetero-secular Spirit of the Germans—Bucer's Diemich-Christians Charity prevails—Luther's Report—Unity of Doctrine—Unity in Diversity—Signatures—Two Extremes—Three Views—Germ of Popery—Departure—Luther's Dejection—Turks before Vienna—Luther's Battle-Scrum and Agony—Luther's Firmness—Victory—Exasperation of the Papists—Threatening Prospects.

The Protest of Spire had still further increased the indignation of the papal adherents; and Charles the Fifth, according to the oath he had made at Barcelona, set about preparing "a suitable antidote for the pestilential disease with which the Germans were attacked, and avenging in a striking manner the insult offered to Jesus Christ."¹ The pope, on his part, endeavoured to combine all the other princes of Christendom in this crusade; and the peace of Cambray, concluded on the 5th August, tended to the accomplishment of his cruel designs. It left the emperor's hands free against the heretics. After having entered their protest at Spire, it was necessary for the evangelicals to think of maintaining it.

The protestant states that had already laid the foundations of an evangelical alliance at Spire, had agreed to send deputies to Rothach; but the elector, staggered by the representations of Luther, who was continually repeating to him, "In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength,"² ordered his deputies to listen to the proposals of his allies, but to decide upon nothing. They adjourned to a new conference, which never took place. Luther triumphed; for human alliances failed. "Christ the Lord will know how to deliver us without the landgrave, and even against the landgrave," said he to his friends.³

¹ Ita fuit perturbatus ut primis diebus pene extinctus sit. Corp. Ref. I. 1067.

² Non enim tantum imperium, sed religio etiam periclitatur. Ibid.

³ Omnes ad locos inferni oppresserant me. Ibid. 1067, 1069.

⁴ Christo-magister et Psycho-grandi aum furorom non potuerunt exipere. L. Epp. Linco, 6th May 1529.

¹ Illatamque Christo injuriam pro viribus adeoventum. Dumont, Corp. Univ. Diplomatie, IV. I. 6.

² Inshall xxx. is. L. Epp. III. 454.

³ Unser Herr Christus, &c. Ibid. This confidence of Luther shocks a Lutheran historian. Plank, II. 484.

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esse, who was vexed at Luther, was convinced that it arose about words. "They will not of alliances because of the said he; 'well then, let us the contradictions that separate Luther."

For all the disciples of the Word in fact a necessary condition of the Reformation. How testaments resist the power of an empire, if they were divided? no doubt wished to unite their might afterwards be able to us; but the cause of Christ triumph by the sword. If they failed in uniting their hearts and formation would then find such a faith of its children, that men would no longer be ne-

ly this union of minds, that sought after above all things, difficult task. Luther in 1519 feared not only to reform, but to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The Swiss did somewhat later. sacrament of the Lord's Supper," and I there receive a sign from its righteousness and passion which is the use of the sacrament discourse, which had gone all impressions in the cities of Germany, had prepared men's minds for Zwingle. Accordingly shed at the reputation he had shed this solemn declaration in test before God and before the world I have never walked with arians."

It was never Zwinglian as communion. Far from that, he believed in Transubstantiation. Could he speak of a sign? It reason. While, according to bread and wine are signs of the body of Christ; according to Luther body and blood of Jesus signs of God's grace. These widely different from one

disagreement declared itself. gle, in his *Friendly Exposition*,¹ his opinion with mildness and luckily the pamphlet of the other "against the enthusiasts," coming from the press, and in it shed his indignation that his would dare speak of christianity. "Well!" exclaimed he, thus insult all reason, I will Lutheran warning.² Cursed be

this concord! cursed be this charity! down, down with it, to the bottomless pit of hell! If I should murder your father, your mother, your wife, your child, and then, wishing to murder you, I should say to you, 'Let us be at peace, my dear friend!' what answer would you make?—It is thus that the enthusiasts, who murder Jesus Christ my Lord, God the Father, and Christendom my mother, wish to murder me also; and then they say, Let us be friends!"

Zwingle wrote two replies "to the excellent Martin Luther," in a cold tone and with a haughty calmness more difficult to pardon than the invectives of the Saxon doctor. "We ought to esteem you a vessel of honour," said he, "and we do so with joy, notwithstanding your faults." Pamphlet followed pamphlet, Luther always writing with the same impetuosity, and Zwingle with unalterable coolness and irony.

Such were the doctors whom the landgrave undertook to reconcile. Already, during the sitting of the Diet of Spire, Philip of Hesse, who was afflicted at hearing the papists continually repeating "You boast of your attachment to the pure Word of God, and yet you are nevertheless disunited,"³ had made overtures to Zwingle in writing. He now went farther, and invited the theologians of the different parties to meet at Marburg. These invitations met with various receptions. Zwingle, whose heart was large and fraternal, answered the landgrave's call; but it was rejected by Luther, who discovered leagues and battles behind this pretended concord.

It seemed, however, that great difficulties would detain Zwingle. The road from Zurich to Marburg lay through the territories of the emperor and of other enemies to the Reformation; the landgrave himself did not conceal the dangers of the journey;⁴ but in order to obviate these difficulties, he promised an escort from Strasburg to Hesse, and for the rest "the protection of God."⁵ These precautions were not of a nature to reassure the Zurichers.

Reasons of another kind detained Luther and Melancthon. "It is not right," said they, "that the landgrave should have so much to do with the Zwinglians. Their error is of such a nature that people of acute minds are easily tainted by it. Reason loves what it understands, particularly when learned men clothe their ideas in a scriptural dress."

Melancthon did not stop here, but put forth the very extraordinary notion of selecting papists as judges of the discussion. "If there were no impartial judges," said he, "the Zwinglians would have a good chance of

intituled, *Dass diese Worte noch feste Stütze ist, Expositio Eucharistie negotii ad Opp. Warnung. L. Opp. xix. 301. Wider t.*

¹ Inter nos ipsos de religionis doctrina non consistere. Zw. Opp. ii. 307.

² Viam Francforti capias, quam autem hac periculissem esse putamus. Ibid. p. 313.

³ Juvaute Deo tuti. Ibid. p. 320.

boasting of victory."¹ Thus, according to Melancthon, papists would be impartial judges when the real presence was the subject of discussion! He went still farther. "Let the Elector," he wrote on the 14th May to the Prince Electoral, "refuse to permit our journey to Marburg, so that we may be able to allege this excuse." The elector would not lend himself to so disgraceful a proceeding; and the reformers of Wittenberg found themselves compelled to accede to the request of Philip of Hesse. But they did so with these words: "If the Swiss do not yield to us, all your trouble will be lost;" and they wrote to the theologians among their friends who were convoked by the prince: "Stay away if you can; your absence will be very useful to us."²

Zwingle, on the contrary, who would have gone to the end of the world, made every exertion to obtain permission from the magistrates of Zurich to visit Marburg. "I am convinced," said he to the secret council, "that if we doctors meet face to face, the splendour of truth will illuminate our eyes."³ But the council, that had only just signed the first religious peace,⁴ and who feared to see war burst out afresh, positively refused to allow the reformer's departure.

Upon this Zwingle decided for himself. He felt that his presence was necessary for the maintenance of peace in Zurich; but the welfare of all Christendom summoned him to Marburg. Accordingly, raising his eyes towards heaven, he resolved to depart, exclaiming, "O God! Thou hast never abandoned us; Thou wilt perform thy will for thine own glory."⁵ During the night of the 31st of August, Zwingle, who was unwilling to wait for the landgrave's safe-conduct, prepared for his journey. Rodolph Collins, the Greek professor, was alone to accompany him. The reformer wrote to the Smaller and to the Great Council: "If I leave without informing you, it is not, most wise lords, because I despise your authority; but knowing the love you bear towards me, I foresee that your anxiety will oppose my going."

As he was writing these words, a fourth message arrived from the landgrave, more pressing still than the preceding ones. The reformer sent the prince's letter to the burgo-master with his own, and then quitted his house privily by night,⁶ concealing his departure both from friends, whose importunity he feared, and from enemies, whose snares he had good cause to dread. He did not even tell his wife where he was going, lest it should distress her. He and Collins then mounted two horses that had been hired for

the purpose,¹ and rode off rapid direction of Basle.

During the day the rumour of absence spread through Zurich, and men were elated. "He has fled try," said they; "he has run away with a pack of scoundrels!" "As he was the river at Bruck," said others, "upset and he was drowned." "They affirmed many with a malicious appearance to him bodily and carried him off—" "There was no end to their stories." Bullinger. But the council resolved on acceding to the wish of the reformer. On the very day of his departure they appointed one of the councillors, Funck, to accompany him to Marburg, he forthwith set out with one doctor, an arquebuser. Strasburg and Bamberg sent statesmen in company with the theologians, under the idea that the conference would doubtless have political effect.

Zwingle arrived safely at Basle, embarked on the river on the 6th of September with Ecclampadius and several men. In thirteen hours they reached Frankfurt, where the two reformers lodged in the house of Matthew Zell, the cathedral preacher. Catherine, the pastor's wife, prepared dishes in the kitchen, waited at table, and then sitting down near Zwingle attentively, and spoke with so much confidence and knowledge, that the latter soon felt her above many doctors.

After discussing with the magistrates the means of resisting the Romish league, the organization to be given to the confederacy,² Zwingle quitted Strasburg, and he and his friends, conducted by roads, through forests, over mountain valleys, by secret but sure paths, reached Marburg, escorted by forty cavaliers.³

Luther, on his side, accompanied Melancthon, Cruciger, and Jonas, his friends, on the Hessian frontier, declaring that nothing should induce him to cross the frontier without a safe-conduct from the landgrave. A document being obtained, Luther and his friends, where the scholars, kneel before the reformer's windows, chanted the hymns. He entered Marburg on the 13th of September, a day after the arrival of the Swiss. Both parties went to inns: the Swiss had scarcely alighted before the German invited them to come and lodge in the city, thinking by this means to bring

¹ *Papistische als unparteiische. Corp. Ref. I. 1084.*

² *Si potes, noli adesse. I. Epp. III. 601.*

³ *Ut veritatis splendor oculos nostros feriat. Zw. Epp. II. 321.*

⁴ See below, Book xvi. chap. II. anno 1529.

⁵ *Dei nunquam fallentis, cui nos nunquam deseruit, gratiam reputavi. Zw. Epp. II. 364.*

⁶ *Sabbati die, mane ante lucem, 1 Septembris. Ibid.*

¹ *Equi conductoris. Zw. Epp. II. 361.*

² *Der Tufel vere by imm gesin. Bulling. II.*

³ *Integer et sanus Basiliam pervenit. Zw. I.*

⁴ *Aliquis mercatorum fide dignos, comites.*

⁵ *Ich bin 14 Tag magd und Köchin gewesen. Beitz. v. 313. See her remarkable correspondence with the superintendent Rabus. Ibid. 191-354.*

⁶ *De iure presbiterii concilii civitatum et Zw. Epp. II. 364. See book xvi. of this History.*

⁷ *Per devia et sylvas, montes et vallas, tuffi cultos. Ibid. 365.*

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odies closer together. Philip entered in a manner truly royal.¹ "Ah!" pious Jonas, as he wandered through of the palace, "it is not in honour of fuses, but in honour of God and of us, that we are so munificently treat- se forests of Hesse!" After dinner, at day, Œcolampadius, Hedio, and esirous of entering into the prince's ent and saluted Luther. The latter d affectionately with Œcolampadius astle-court; but Bucer, with whom once been very intimate, and who v on Zwingle's side, having ap- him, Luther said to him, smiling ting his hand: "As for you, you d-for-nothing fellow and a knave!"² unhappy Carlstadt, who had begun te, was at that time in Friesland, g the spiritual presence of Christ, g in such destitution that he had ed to sell his Hebrew Bible to pro- d. The trial had crushed his pride, rote to the landgrave: "We are body, one house, one people, one l race; we live and die by one and Saviour. For this reason, I, poor xile, humbly pray your highness, ood of Jesus Christ, to allow me to it at the disputation."³

w bring Luther and Carlstadt face and yet how repel the unhappy he landgrave, to extricate himself difficulty, referred him to the Saxon Carlstadt did not appear.

of Hesse desired that, previously to e conference, the theologians should ivate interview. It was however d dangerous, says a contemporary, gle and Luther, who were both violent, to contend with one an- the very beginning; and as Œco- s and Melancthon were the mildest, e apportioned to the roughest cham- On Friday the 1st of October, after rvice, Luther and Œcolampadius ducted into one chamber, and Zwin- melancthon into another. The com- ere then left to struggle two and

incipal contest took place in the Zwingle and Melancthon. "It is 'said Melancthon to Zwingle, "that ong you speak of God after the f the Jews, as if Christ was not y God." "I think on the Holy replied Zwingle, "with the Council d the Athanasian creed." "Coun- ds! What does that mean?" asked on. "Have you not continually that you recognise no other autho- that of Scripture?" "We have

never rejected the councils," replied the Swiss reformer, "when they are based on the authority of the Word of God.⁴ The four first councils are truly sacred as regards doctrine, and none of the faithful have ever rejected them." This important declaration, handed down to us by Œcolampadius, characterizes the reformed theology.⁵

"But you teach," resumed Melancthon, "like Thomas Munzer, that the Holy Ghost acts quite alone, independently of the sacra- ments and of the Word of God." "The Holy Ghost," replied Zwingle, "works in us justification by the Word, but by the Word preached and understood, by the soul and the marrow of the Word, by the mind and will of God clothed in human language."⁶

"At least," continued Melancthon, "you deny original sin, and make sin consist only in actual and external works, like the Pela- gians, the philosophers, and the Papists."

This was the principal difficulty. "Since man naturally loves himself," replied Zwin- gle, "instead of loving God; in that there is a crime, a sin that condemns him."⁷ He had more than once before expressed the same opinion;⁸ and yet Melancthon exulted on hearing him: "Our adversaries," said he afterwards, "have given way on all these points!"

Luther had pursued the same method with Œcolampadius, as Melancthon with Zwingle. The discussion had in particular turned on baptism. Luther complained that the Swiss would not acknowledge that by this simple sacrament a man became a member of the Church. "It is true," said Œcolampadius, "that we require faith—either an actual or a future faith. Why should we deny it? Who is a Christian, if it be not he who be- lieves in Christ? However, I should be unwilling to deny that the water of baptism is, in a certain sense, a water of regenera- tion; for by it he, whom the Church knew not, becomes its child."⁹

These four theologians were in the very heat of their discussions, when domestics came to inform them that the prince's dinner was on the table. They immediately arose, and Zwingle and Melancthon meeting Luther and Œcolampadius, who were also quitting their chamber, the latter approached Zwin- gle, and whispered mournfully in his ear: "I have fallen a second time into the hands of Dr. Eck."¹⁰ In the language of the re- formers nothing stronger could be said.

It does not appear that the conference

¹ Ubi unquam concilia rejicimus, verbi divini auctoritati suffulgit Zw. Opp. iv. 191.

² The word *Reformed* is used to distinguish the doctrine and the church of Zwingle and Calvin from those of Luther.

³ Mens et medulla verbi, mens et voluntas Dei amicta ta- men humanis verbis. Zw. Opp. iv. 173.

⁴ Malum, peccatum. Ibid. 172.

⁵ De peccato originali ad Urb. Rhægium. Ibid. iii. 632.

⁶ Atque adeo ipse non negarim, aquam baptismi esse aquam regenerantem; sit enim puer ecclesie, qui datum ab ecclesia non agnoscebat. Zw. Opp. iv. 193.

⁷ Lutherum Œcolampadium ita excepit, ut ad me veniens clam quæratur, se denno in Eccliam incidisse. Zw. Opp. ii. 369.

in aroce hospitio et mensa regali. Corp. Ref. i. s. aliquantulum respondit: tu es nequam et ne- ti Annal. ad. 1529. pers. of Cassel. It zu den rühren. Bull. ii. 225.

between Luther and Œcolampadius was resumed after dinner. Luther's manner held out very little hope; but Melancthon and Zwingle returned to the discussion, and the Zurich doctor finding the Wittenberg professor escape him like an eel, as he said, and take "like Proteus a thousand different forms," seized a pen in order to fix his antagonist. Zwingle committed to writing whatever Melancthon dictated, and then wrote his reply, giving it to the other to read.¹ In this manner they spent six hours, three in the morning and three in the afternoon.² They prepared for the general conference.

Zwingle requested that it should be an open one; this Luther resisted. It was eventually resolved that the princes, nobles, deputies, and theologians, should be admitted; but a great crowd of citizens, and even many scholars and gentlemen, who had come from Frankfort, from the Rhine districts, from Strasburg, from Basle and other Swiss towns, were excluded. Brentz speaks of fifty or sixty hearers; Zwingle of twenty-four only.³

On a gentle elevation, watered by the Lahn, is situated an old castle, overlooking the city of Marburg; in the distance may be seen the beautiful valley of the Lahn, and beyond the mountain-tops rising one above another, until they are lost in the horizon. It was beneath the vaults and Gothic arches of an antique chamber in this castle, known as the Knight's Hall, that the conference was to take place.

On Saturday morning (2d October) the landgrave took his seat in the hall, surrounded by his court, but in so plain a dress that no one would have taken him for a prince. He wished to avoid all appearance of acting the part of a Constantine in the affairs of the Church. Before him was a table which Luther, Zwingle, Melancthon, and Œcolampadius approached. Luther, taking a piece of chalk, bent over the velvet cloth which covered it, and steadily wrote four words in large characters. All eyes followed the movement of his hand, and soon they read *Hoc est Corpus MEUM*.⁴ Luther wished to have this declaration continually before him, that it might strengthen his own faith, and be a sign to his adversaries.

Behind these four theologians were seated their friends,—Hedio, Sturm, Funck, Frey, Eberhard, Than, Jonas, Cruciger, and others besides. Jonas cast an inquiring glance upon the Swiss: "Zwingle," said he, "has a certain rusticity and arrogance;⁵ if he is

well versed in letters, it is in spite of the nerves and of the muses. In Œcol there is a natural goodness and meekness. Hedio seems to have liberality as kindness; but Bucer the cunning of a fox, that knows he himself an air of sense and prudence of moderate sentiments often in worse treatment than those of the parties.

Other feelings animated those who contemplated this assembly from a distance. The great men who had led the Reformation on the plains of Switzerland, and in the banks of the Rhine, and in the valleys of Switzerland, were there in person: the chiefs of that part of Christendom which had separated from Rome, were together to see if they could renounce their former errors. Accordingly, from all parts of Germany, prayers and anxious looks were directed towards Marburg. "Illustrious of the Word,"⁶ cried the evangelical through the mouth of the poet "penetrating Luther, mild Œcolampadius, magnanimous Zwingle, pious Sneyd, Melancthon, courageous Bucer, and excellent Oslander, valiant Brentz, Jonas, fiery Craton, Mænus, whose stronger than his body, great Dionysius Myconius—all you whom Prince that illustrious hero, has summoned to this assembly, whom the christians have sent to terminate the schism, show us the way of truth; the Church falls weeping at your feet, begs you by the bowels of Jesus to bring this matter to a happy issue, that the world may acknowledge in your work the work of the Holy Ghost himself."

The landgrave's chancellor, John Schepeler, having reminded them in the preface that the object of this colloquy was the establishment of union, "I protest," said Luther, "that I differ from my adversaries with regard to the doctrine of the Supper, and that I shall always differ from them. Christ has said, *This is my body*, which show me that a body is not I reject reason, common sense, arguments, and mathematical proofs. I believe above mathematics.⁷ We have the Word of God; we must adore it and perform its commands."

"It cannot be denied," said Œcolampadius, "that there are figures of speech in the Word of God; as *John is Elias*, *the Christ, I am the vine*. The expression *is my body*, is a figure of the same kind. Luther granted that there were figures in the Bible, but denied that this last expression was figurative.

All the various parties, however, the Christian Church is composed of

¹ At Melancthon, cum nimis lubricus esset et Protei in morem se in omnia transformaret, me compulsi, ut sumpto calamo manu armarem. Zw. Opp. II. 369.

² Interdum colloquium sex in horas traximus. Ibid. 370.

³ Quinquaginta aut sexaginta colloquio presentes. Zw. Opp. IV. 201. Pauci arbitri ad summum quatuor et viginti. Ibid. II. 370.

⁴ This is my body. Zw. Opp. IV. 175.

⁵ In Zwingle agreste quiddam est et arrogantium. Corp. Ref. I. p. 197.

⁶ Insignes verbi proceres. Bull. II. 236.

⁷ Et cupido supplet vobis Ecclesie voto.

Vestros cadit fides ad pedes. Ibid.

⁸ Deum esse supra mathematicum. Zw. Opp.

these words. In fact, the Romanists that *This is my body* signifies my body," but also "my blood," and even "my Divinity," and so on.¹ These words, therefore, at Rome, are a synecdoche, a figure part is taken for the whole. And, the Lutherans, the figure is still at.² Whether it be synecdoche, or metonymy, there is still a

to prove it, Ecolampadius employed syllogism:—Christ rejected in the sixth chapter, he could not admit in the words of the Eucharist.

Christ, who said to the people of *The flesh profiteth nothing*, re-hose very words the oral mandu- s body.

ore he did not establish it at the of his Supper."

—"I deny the minor (the second positions); Christ has not rejected induration, but only a material m, like that of the flesh of oxen."³

PADIUS.—"There is danger in at- so much to mere matter."

—"Every thing that God comes spirit and life. If we lift up the Lord's order, in that very perform a spiritual work. We attention to him who speaks, and at he says. God speaks: Men, ten!—God commands: let the r! and let us all together fall umblingly kiss the Word."⁴

PADIUS.—"But since we have the ating, what need of the bodily

—"I do not ask what need we but I see it written, *Eat, this is We* must therefore believe and do. o—we must do!⁵—If God should o eat dung, I would do it, with ice that it would be salutary."⁶ oint Zwingle interfered in the dis-

ust explain Scripture by Scrip- he. "We cannot admit two rpororeal manducation, as if Jesus n of eating, and the Capernaites n pieces, for the same word is n both cases. Jesus says that to sh corporeally profiteth nothing 33); whence it would result that en us in the Supper a thing that sless to us.—Besides, there are

denies that the body and blood of our Saviour with his soul and his divinity, and conse- whole Jesus Christ (totum Christum), is con- sacrament of the Eucharist, let him be sanc- of Trent, sess. 13. al persona. Form. concord. viii. carnis bovine aut ovine. Scult. p. 217. cipit quid; parat mundus; et omnes oscu- Zw. Opp. iv. 178. i stum sepe inculcabat. Ibid. num comedere, facerem. Ibid.

certain words that seem to me rather child- ish,—the dung, for instance. The oracles of the demons were obscure, not so are those of Jesus Christ."

LUTHER.—"When Christ says the flesh profiteth nothing, he speaks not of his own flesh, but of ours."

ZWINGLE.—"The soul is fed with the Spirit and not with the flesh."

LUTHER.—"It is with the mouth that we eat the body; the soul does not eat it."¹

ZWINGLE.—"Christ's body is therefore a corporeal nourishment, and not a spiritual."

LUTHER.—"You are captious."

ZWINGLE.—"Not so; but you utter contra- dictory things."

LUTHER.—"If God should present me wild apples, I should eat them spiritually. In the Eucharist, the mouth receives the body of Christ, and the soul believes in his words."

Zwingle then quoted a great number of passages from the Holy Scriptures, in which the sign is described by the very thing sig- nified; and thence concluded that, consider- ing our Lord's declaration in St. John, *The flesh profiteth nothing*, we must explain the words of the Eucharist in a similar manner.

Many hearers were struck by these argu- ments. Among the Marburg professors sat the Frenchman Lambert; his tall and spare frame was violently agitated. He had been at first of Luther's opinion,² and was then hesitating between the two reformers. As he went to the conference, he said: "I desire to be a sheet of blank paper, on which the finger of God may write his truth." Ere long he exclaimed, after hearing Zwingle and Ecolampadius: "Yes! the Spirit, 'tis that which vivifies!"³ When this conversion was known, the Wittenbergers, shrugging their shoulders, called it "Gallie fickleness." "What!" replied Lambert, "was St. Paul fickle because he was converted from Phari- saism? And have we ourselves been fickle in abandoning the lost sects of popery?"

Luther was, however, by no means shaken. "*This is my body*," repeated he, pointing with his finger to the words written before him. "*This is my body*. The devil himself shall not drive me from that. To seek to under- stand it, is to fall away from the faith."⁴

"But, doctor," said Zwingle, "St. John explains how Christ's body is eaten, and you will be obliged at last to leave off singing always the same song."

"You make use of unmannerly expres- sions," replied Luther.⁵ The Wittenbergers themselves called Zwingle's argument "his old song."⁶ Zwingle continued without be-

¹ Anima non edit ipsum (corpus) corporaliter. Zw. Epp. ii. 270.

² See his commentary on St. Luke xiii. 15, 20.

³ He added, that the body of Christ was in the Eucharist neither mathematically or commensurably, nor really (neque mathematicè seu commensurabilè, neque re ipsa). Epist. Lamb. de M. B. col.

⁴ Si interrogi, exido a fide. Zw. Epp. ii. 177.

⁵ Invidiose loqueris. Bull. ii. 224.

⁶ Veterem suam cantilenam. Zw. Opp. iv. 221.

ing disconcerted: "I ask you, doctor, whether Christ in the sixth chapter of St. John did not wish to reply to the question that had been put to him?"

LUTHER.—"Master Zwingle, you wish to stop my mouth by the arrogance of your language. That passage has nothing to do here."

ZWINGLE, *hastily*.—"Pardon me, doctor, that passage breaks your neck."

LUTHER.—"Do not boast so much! You are in Hesse, and not in Switzerland. In this country we do not break people's necks."

Then turning towards his friends, Luther complained bitterly of Zwingle; as if the latter had really wished to break his neck. "He makes use of camp terms and blood-stained words," said he.¹ Luther forgot that he had employed a similar expression in speaking of Carlstadt.

ZWINGLE resumed: "In Switzerland also there is strict justice, and we break no man's neck without trial. That expression signifies merely that your cause is lost and hopeless."

Great agitation prevailed in the Knight's Hall. The roughness of the Swiss and the obstinacy of the Saxon had come into collision. The landgrave, fearing to behold the failure of his project of conciliation, noddied assent to Zwingle's explanation. "Doctor," said he to Luther, "you should not be offended at such common expressions." It was in vain: the agitated sea could not again be calmed. The prince, therefore, arose, and they all repaired to the banqueting hall. After dinner they resumed their tasks.

"I believe," said Luther, "that Christ's body is in heaven, but I also believe that it is in the sacrament. It concerns me little whether it be against nature, provided that it be not against faith.² Christ is substantially in the sacrament, such as he was born of the Virgin."

ÆCOLAMPADIUS, *quoting a passage from St. Paul*: "We know not Jesus Christ after the flesh."³

LUTHER.—"After the flesh means, in this passage, after our carnal affections."⁴

ÆCOLAMPADIUS.—"You will not allow that there is a metaphor in these words, *This is my body*, and yet you admit a synecdoche."

LUTHER.—"Metaphor permits the existence of a sign only; but it is not so with synecdoche. If a man says he wishes to drink a bottle, we understand that he means the beer in the bottle. Christ's body is in the bread, as a sword in the scabbard,⁵ or as the Holy Ghost in the dove."

The discussion was proceeding in this manner, when Osiander, pastor of Nurem-

berg, Stephen Agricola, pastor of Augsburg, and Brentz, pastor of Halle in Swabia, author of the famous Syngamma, entered the hall. These also had been invited by the landgrave. But Brentz, to whom Luther had written that he should take care not to appear, had no doubt by his indecision regarded his own departure as well as that of his friends. Places were assigned them near Luther and Melancthon. "Listen, and speak if necessary," they were told. They took but little advantage of this permission. "All of us, except Luther," said Melancthon, "were silent personages."¹

The struggle continued.

When Zwingle saw that exegesis was not sufficient for Luther, he added dogmatical theology to it, and, subsidiarily, natural philosophy.

"I oppose you," said he, "with this article of our faith: *Ascendit in cælum*—he ascended into heaven. If Christ is in heaven, as regards his body, how can he be in the bread? The Word of God teaches us that he was like his brethren in all things (Heb. ii. 17). He therefore cannot be in several places at once."

LUTHER.—"Were I desirous of reasoning thus, I would undertake to prove that Jesus Christ had a wife; that he had black eyes,² and lived in our good country of Germany.³ I care little about mathematics."

"There is no question of mathematics here," said Zwingle, "but of St. Paul, who writes to the Philippians, *μαρτυρῶ δεῖλον λόγον*."⁴

LUTHER, *interrupting him*.—"Read it to us in Latin or in German, not in Greek."

ZWINGLE (*in Latin*).—"Pardon me: for twelve years past I have made use of the Greek Testament only." Then continuing to read the passage, he concluded from it, that Christ's humanity is of a finite nature like our own.

LUTHER, *pointing to the words written before him*.—"Most dear sirs, since my Lord Jesus Christ says, *Hoc est corpus meum*, I believe that his body is really there."

Here the scene grew animated. Zwingle started from his chair, sprung towards Luther, and said, striking the table before him:⁵

"You maintain then, doctor, that Christ's body is locally in the Eucharist; for you say Christ's body is really *there—there—there*," repeated Zwingle. "There is an adverb of place.⁶ Christ's body is then of such a nature as to exist in a place. If it is in a place, it is in heaven, whence it follows that it is not in the bread."

¹ Verbum istud, tanquam castrense et crementum. Hospin. p. 131.

² Non curo quod sit contra naturam, modo non contra fidem. Zw. Opp. iv. 176.

³ Cor. v. 16.

⁴ Pro carnalibus affectibus. Zw. Opp. iv. p. 302.

⁵ Corpus est in pane sicut gladius in vagina. Ibid.

¹ Φαίμυς καὶ οὐκ ἀνέστηκα. Corp. Ref. i. 1096.

² Quod uxorem et nigros oculos habuisset. Scultet. p. 224.

³ In Germania disturnum contubernium agitur. Zw. Opp. iv. 202.

⁴ Having taken the form of a servant. Phil. ii. 7.

⁵ Isti Zwincius illico prostratus. Scultet. p. 224.

⁶ Da, da, da. Isti est adverbium loci. Ibid.

—"I repeat that I have nothing mathematical proofs. As soon as of consecration are pronounced read, the body is there, however the priest who pronounces them."
 z.—"You are thus re-establishing

—"This is not done through the merits, but because of Christ's ordi- will not, when Christ's body is in near speak of a particular place. I will not."

z.—"Must every thing, then, exist as you will it?"
 dgrave perceived that the discus- rowing hot; and as the repast was e broke off the contest.²

ference was continued on the next ay, the 3d October, perhaps because emic (the Sweating Sickness) that roken out at Marburg, and which ow any great prolongation of the Luther, returning to the discussion rious evening, said:

"His body is in the sacrament, but it e as in a place."

z.—"Then it is not there at all."

—"Sophists say, that a body may e in several places at once. The s a body, and yet we cannot assert n a particular place."

z.—"Ah! you speak of sophists, e you really after all obliged to he onions and fleshpots of Egypt?"³ at you say, that the universe is in lar place, I beg all intelligent men his proof." Then Zwingle, who,

Luther may have said, had more row in his quiver, after establish- roposition by exegesis and philo- olved on confirming it by the tes- the Fathers of the Church.

"I," said he, "to what Fulgentius, Ruspas, in Numidia, said, in the ury, to Trasamond, king of the "The Son of God took the attri- rue humanity, and did not lose ue divinity. Born in time, accord- s mother, he lives in eternity ac- the divinity that he holds from r: coming from man, he is man, requently in a place; proceeding ather, he is God, and consequently every place. According to his ture, he was absent from heaven was upon earth, and quitted the n he ascended into heaven; but, to his divine nature, he remained , when he came down thence, and andon the earth when he returned

her still replied: "It is written,

This is my body." Zwingle, becoming im- patient, said, "All that is idle wrangling. An obstinate disputant might also maintain this expression of our Saviour to his mother, *Behold thy son*, pointing to St. John. Vain would be every explanation, he would con- tinue crying No, no! He said *Ecce filius tuus*, Behold thy son, behold thy son! Listen to a new testimony; it is from the great Au- gustine: 'Let us not think,' says he, 'that Christ, according to his human form, is pre- sent in every place; let us beware, in our endeavour to establish his divinity, of taking away his truth from his body. Christ is now every where present, like God; and yet, in consequence of his real body, he is in a definite part of heaven.'"¹

"St. Augustine," replied Luther, "is not here speaking of the Eucharist. Christ's body is not in the Eucharist, as in a place."

Ecclampadius saw that he might take advantage of this assertion of Luther's. "The body of Christ," said he, "is not locally in the Eucharist, therefore no real body is there; for every one knows that the essence of a body is its existence in a place."

Here finished the morning's discussion.

Ecclampadius, upon reflection, felt con- vinced that Luther's assertion might be looked upon as an approximation. "I re- member," said he after dinner, "that the doctor conceded this morning, that Christ's body was not in the sacrament as in a place. Let us therefore inquire amicably what is the nature of Christ's bodily presence."

"You will not make me take a step fur- ther," exclaimed Luther, who saw where they wished to drag him; "you have Ful- gentius and Augustine on your side, but all the other Fathers are on ours."

Ecclampadius, who seemed to the Wit- tembergers to be vexatiously precise,² then said, "Name these doctors. We will take upon ourselves to prove that they are of our opinion."

"We will not name them to you,"³ said Luther. "It was in his youth," added he, "that Augustine wrote what you have quoted; and, besides, he is an obscure author." Then, retreating to the ground which he had resolved never to quit, he was no longer content to point his finger at the inscription, *Hoc est corpus meum*, but seized the velvet cover on which the words were written, tore it off the table, held it up in front of Zwingle and Ecclampadius, and placing it before their eyes,⁴ "See!" said he, "see! This is our text: you have not yet driven us from it, as you had boasted, and we care for no other proofs."

¹ In loco aliquo omni propter veri corporis modum. Aug. Ep. p. 27.

² Quoniam omnes sperascentis mitiores, interdum videba- tur paulo more alior, sed citra contumeliam. Zw. Opp. iv. 201.

³ Non nominabimus illos. Scultet, p. 228.

⁴ Da hub Luther die Sammelgedruch auf, und zeigt ihm den Spruch, den er mit kreyden heit für sich geschriben. Oelander, Niederer's Nachrichten, ii. 114.

hland Ir das papetum uf. Zw. Opp. iii. 67.
 abat et diremit certamen. Ibid. iv. 179.
 et ollas Egyptiacas. Ibid. ii. part 3. 67.
 humanam substantiam, absciso oculo, cum
 et dereliquens terram cum ascendisset in
 sentius to King Trasamond, lib. ii.

"If this be the case," said Ecolampadius, "we had better leave off the discussion. But I will first declare, that, if we quote the Fathers, it is only to free our doctrine from the reproach of novelty, and not to support our cause by their authority." No better definition can be given of the legitimate use of the doctors of the Church.

There was no reason, in fact, for prolonging the conference. "As Luther was of an intractable and imperious disposition," says even his great apologist Seckendorf, "he did not cease from calling upon the Swiss to submit simply to his opinion."¹

The chancellor, alarmed at such a termination of the colloquy, exhorted the theologians to come to some understanding. "I know but one means for that," said Luther; "and this it is: Let our adversaries believe as we do." "We cannot," answered the Swiss. "Well then," rejoined Luther, "I abandon you to God's judgment, and pray that he will enlighten you." "We will do the same," added Ecolampadius.

While these words were passing, Zwingle sat silent, motionless, and deeply moved; and the liveliness of his affections, of which he had given more than one proof during the conference, was then manifested in a very different manner. He burst into tears in the presence of all.

The conference was ended. It had been in reality more tranquil than the documents seem to show, or perhaps the chroniclers appreciated such matters differently from ourselves. "With the exception of a few sallies, all had passed off quietly, in a courteous manner, and with very great gentleness," says an eye-witness.² "During the colloquy no other words than these were heard: 'Sir, and very dear friend, your charity,' or other similar expressions. Not a word of schism or of heresy. It might have been said that Luther and Zwingle were brothers, and not adversaries."³ This is the testimony of Brentz. But these flowers concealed an abyss, and Jonas, also an eye-witness, styles the conference "a very sharp contest."⁴

The contagion that had suddenly broken out in Marburg was creating frightful ravages, and filling everybody with alarm.⁵ All were anxious to leave the city. "Sirs," remarked the landgrave, "you cannot separate thus." And desirous of giving the doctors an opportunity of meeting one another with minds unoccupied by theological debates, he invited them to his table. This was Sunday night.

Philip of Hesse had all along shown the most constant attention, and each one ima-

gined him to be on his side. "I rather place my trust in the simple Christ than in the subtle thoughts was a remark he made, according to but Zwingle affirmed that this maintained the same opinions as himself, with regard to certain persons he did the change. Luther, sensible of the necessity of his defence as to the declaration the Fathers, transmitted a note to which several passages were pointed from Hilary, Chrysostom, Cyprian, and Ambrose, which he thought would favour.

The time of departure drew near, and nothing had been done. The landgrave earnestly at the union, as Luther his wife.⁶ He invited the theologians after another into his closet;⁷ he entreated, warned, exhorted, and them. "Think," said he, "of the of the christian republic, and remove cord from its bosom."⁸ Never had at the head of an army taken such a win a battle.

A final meeting took place, and edly the Church has seldom witnessed greater solemnity. Luther and Saxony and Switzerland, met for time. The sweating sickness was off men around them by thousands; the Fifth and the pope were in Italy; Ferdinand and the Roman princes were preparing to tear the spires in pieces; the thunder-clow more threatening every day; and seemed capable of saving the Protestants and the hour of departure was about—an hour that would separate them for ever.

"Let us confess our union in all which we agree," said Zwingle; "the rest, let us remember that we thers. There will never be peace the churches, if, while we maintain grand doctrine of salvation by faith not differ on secondary points."⁹ in fact, the true principle of christianity. The sixteenth century was still to sunk in scholasticism to understand let us hope that the nineteenth century comprehend it better.

"Yes, yes!" exclaimed the landgrave, "you agree! Give then a testimony unity, and recognise one another as I—" "There is no one upon earth who I more earnestly desire to be united with you," said Zwingle, appro-

¹ Lutherus vero ut erat fero et impetioso ingenio. Seck. p. 126.

² Omnia humanissime et summa cum mansuetudine transiebantur. Zw. Opp. iv. 301.

³ Amicissime Domine, vestra charitas, et id genus..... Dissensu Lutherum et Zwingium non adversarios. Ibid.

⁴ Acerbino certamine. Corp. Ref. i. 108.

⁵ Nisi Sander digne subito Marburgum invasisset et terrore omnium animos percussisset. Hospin. p. 131.

¹ Metit palam proclamasse. Corp. Ref. p. 126.

² Da Arbeit der Landgraf heftig. L. Fpp. iii.

³ Unumquemque nostrum seorsim aliquos Opp. iv. 261.

⁴ Compellens, rogans, monens, exhortans, Republice Christiane rationem habereamus, et medio tolleremus. Ibid.

⁵ Multa perierunt milia. Hospin. p. 131.

⁶ Quod nulla unquam Ecclesiarum pax contine in multis aliis dissentendi a se fecit Scultet. p. 207.

rg doctors.¹ Ecolampadius, Bucer, said the same.

ouldge them I acknowledge them
own ranks!" continued the landgrave.²
rts were moved; they were on the
ity: Zwingle, bursting into tears,
sence of the prince, the courtiers,
s (it is Luther himself who records
roached Luther, and held out his
o two families of the Reformation
t to be united: long quarrels were
e stifled in their cradle; but Lu-
ted the hand that was offered him:
e a different spirit from ours," said
s words communicated to the Swiss,
an electric shock. Their hearts
time Luther repeated them, and
frequently. He himself is our in-

consultation took place among the
rg doctors. Luther, Melancthon,
Brentz, Jonas, and Osiander con-
sented. Convinced that their pecu-
ne on the eucharist was essential
on, they considered all those who
as without the pale of the faith.
lly!"⁴ said Melancthon, who after-
uily coincided with Zwingle's sen-
"they condemn us, and yet they
should consider them as our bro-
"What versatility!" added Brentz:
used us but lately of worshipping
d, and they now ask for commu-
us!"⁵ Then, turning towards
nd his friends, the Wittembergers
ou do not belong to the communion
ristian Church; we cannot ac-
you as brethren!"⁶
iss were far from partaking of this
spirit. "We think," said Bucer,
r doctrine strikes at the glory of
ist, who now reigns at the right
e Father. But seeing that in all
u acknowledge your dependence
rd, we look at your conscience,
pels you to receive the doctrine
ss, and we do not doubt that you
Christ."

ve," said Luther—"we declare to
more that our conscience opposes
ing you as brethren."—"If such is
replied Bucer, "it would be folly

exceedingly astonished that you
nsider me as your brother," pur-
uer. "It shows clearly that you
ach much importance to your own

your choice," said Bucer, propos-
mma to the reformer: "either you

should not acknowledge as brethren those
who differ from you in any point—and if so,
you will not find a single brother in your
own ranks!—or else you will receive some
of those who differ from you, and then you
ought to receive us."

The Swiss had exhausted their solici-
tations. "We are conscious," said they, "of
having acted as if in the presence of God.
Posterity will be our witness."⁷ They were
on the point of retiring: Luther remained
like a rock, to the landgrave's great indig-
nation.⁸ The Hessian divines, Kraft, Lam-
bert, Sneyf, Lonicer, and Melander, united
their exertions to those of the prince.

Luther was staggered, and conferred anew
with his colleagues. "Let us beware,"
said he to his friends, "of wiping our noses
too roughly, lest blood should come."⁹

Then turning to Zwingle and Ecolampa-
dus, they said: "We acknowledge you as
friends; we do not consider you as brothers
and members of Christ's Church."¹⁰ But we
do not exclude you from that universal
charity which we owe even to our enemies."¹¹

The hearts of Zwingle, Ecolampadius,
and Bucer, were ready to burst,¹² for this
concession was almost a new insult. "Let
us carefully avoid all harsh and violent
words and writings," said they; "and let
each one defend himself without railing."¹³

Luther then advanced towards the Swiss,
and said: "We consent, and I offer you the
hand of peace and charity." The Swiss
rushed in great emotion towards the Wit-
tembergers, and all shook hands.¹⁴ Luther
himself was softened: christian charity re-
sumed her rights in his heart. "Assuredly,"
said he, "a great portion of the scandal is
taken away by the suppression of our fierce
debates; we could not have hoped for so
much. May Christ's hand remove the last
obstacle that separates us!"¹⁵ There is now a
friendly concord between us, and if we per-
severe in prayer, brotherhood will come."

It was desirable to confirm this important
result by a report. "We must let the chris-
tian world know," said the landgrave, "that,
except the manner of the presence of the
body and blood in the eucharist, you are
agreed in all the articles of faith."¹⁶ This
was resolved on; but who should be charged
with drawing up the paper? All eyes were
turned upon Luther. The Swiss themselves
appealed to his impartiality.

¹ Nemo alteri vel inter ipsos frater erit. Zw. Opp. iv. 184.

² Id testabitur posteritas. Ibid.

³ Principi illud durum videbatur. Ibid. 203.

⁴ Ne nimis mungero, sanguinem effunderis. L. Epp. in

his letter written to Gerbelius on the same day—Monday.

⁵ Agnoscere quidem velimus tanquam amicos, sed non

tanquam fratres. Zw. Opp. iv. 203.

⁶ Charitate que alicui hosti debetur. Ibid. 199.

⁷ Indignissime affecti sumus. Ibid.

⁸ Quisque suam sententiam doceat absque invidia. L.

Epp. iii. 314.

⁹ Deditimus tamen manus pacis et caritatis. Ibid. 313.

¹⁰ Utinam et ille reliquis scrupulis per Christum tandem

tolletur—in his letter written to Gerbelius after leaving

this meeting.

¹¹ Ut orbi Christiano notum fieret eos in omnibus fidei

capitulis consentire. Hospin. p. 127.

t keine 16th uff Erden. Bull. ii. 225.
corpe rapide urgebat. L. Epp. iii. 513.
pelam lacrymans coram Langravio et omni-
p. 124.
m substitution! Corp. Ref. i. 1108.
um adoratores panis Dei traduxerant. Zw.

unionione Ecclesie Christiane alienos esse.

Luther retired to his closet, lost in thought, uneasy, and finding the task very difficult. "On the one hand," said he, "I should like to spare their weakness;¹ but, on the other, I would not in the least degree strike at the holy doctrine of Christ." He did not know how to set about it, and his anguish increased. He got free at last. "I will draw up the articles," said he, "in the most accurate manner. Do I not know that whatever I may write, they will never sign them?"² Ere long fifteen articles were committed to paper, and Luther, holding them in his hand, repaired to the theologians of the two parties.

These articles are of importance. The two doctrines that were evolved in Switzerland and in Saxony, independently of each other, were brought together and compared. If they were of man, there would be found in them a servile uniformity, or a remarkable opposition. This was not the case. A great unity was found between the German and the Swiss Reformations, for they both proceeded from the same Divine teaching; and a diversity on secondary points, for it was by man's instrumentality that God had effected them.

Luther took his paper, and reading the first article, said:

"First, we believe that there is one sole, true, and natural God, creator of heaven and earth, and of all creatures; and that this same God, one in essence and in nature, is threefold in person, that is to say, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as was declared in the Nicene Council, and as all the Christian Church professes."

To this the Swiss gave their assent.

They were agreed also on the divinity and humanity of Jesus Christ; on his death and resurrection, on original sin, justification by faith, the operation of the Holy Ghost and of the Word of God, baptism, good works, confession, civil order, and tradition.

Thus far all were united. The Wittenbergers could not recover from their astonishment.³ The two parties had rejected, on the one hand, the errors of the papists, who make religion little more than an outward form; and, on the other, those of the Enthusiasts, who speak exclusively of internal feelings; and they were found drawn up under the same banners between these two camps. But the moment was come that would separate them. Luther had kept till the last the article on the Eucharist.

The reformer resumed:

"We all believe with regard to the Lord's Supper, that it ought to be celebrated in both kinds, according to the primitive institution; that the mass is not a work by which a Christian obtains pardon for another man,

whether dead or alive; that the as of the altar is the sacrament of the body and very blood of Jesus Christ; that the spiritual manducation of the bread and blood is specially necessary to every true Christian."⁴

It was now the turn of the Swiss to be astonished. Luther continued:

"In like manner, as to the use of the elements, we are agreed that, like the bread which was ordained of Almighty God, in order that weak consciences might be excited to the Holy Ghost to faith and charity."

The joy of the Swiss was redoubled. Luther continued: "And although we are not agreed on the question of the real body and blood of Christ being really present in the bread and wine, both the interested parties shall more and more a truly christian charity towards one another, so far as conscience allows, and we will all earnestly implore the Lord to condescend by his Spirit to confirm the sound doctrine."⁵

The Swiss obtained what they had unity in diversity. It was immediately resolved to hold a solemn meeting for the purpose of the articles.

They were read over again. Osiander, Zwingli, Bucer, and Hedwig, signed first on one copy; while Luther, Melancthon, Jonas, Osiander, Brentz, and Agricola signed their names on the other; both parties subscribed the copy of their adversaries' views. This important document was sent to the press.⁶

Thus the Reformation had made a step at Marburg. The opinion of the Swiss on the spiritual presence, and of the Lutherans on the bodily presence, are both founded on scriptural antiquity; but the two extremes have always been rejected: that of the Lutherans, on the one hand, who held the Eucharist nothing but a simple commemoration; and of the Papists, on the other, who adore in it a transubstantiation. Both are errors; while the doctrine of Zwingli, and the medium of Calvin, already maintained by some Fathers, were considered in ancient times as different views of the same truth. If Luther had yielded, it might have been for the Church would fall into the error of rationalism; if Zwingli, that it would fall into the extreme of popery. It is a thing for the Church that these views should be entertained; but it is a dangerous thing for individuals to attach themselves to one of them in such a manner

¹ Hat gern ihrer Schwachheit verschont. Niederer Nachr. S. 120.

² Doch zuletzt sprach er Ich will die artikel auf aller penne stellen, sy werden doch nicht annehmen. Ibid.

³ Quod mirari non satis potuimus. Brentius, Zw. Opp. iv. 228.

⁴ Quod spiritualis manducatio hujus corporis unicuique Christiano precipue necessaria sit. 2:2.

⁵ Osiander (a Lutheran) employs the accusative *rechten Verstand*, which would indicate a man, whereas an object that we do not possess; Bu-Scultet (both Reformed divines) have the dative *rechten Verstand*.

⁶ Bullinger and others indicate the 24 October on which the articles were signed; Osiander, Bucer, and whose narrative is very exact, says it was the 25th, which agrees with all the other data.

utilize the other. "There is only this smothering block," wrote Melancthon, "which embarrasses the Church of our Lord."¹ Romanists and Evangelicals, Saxons and Lutherans,—admitted the presence, and even the presence of Christ; but here was the point of separation: Is this predicted by the faith of the community by the *opus operatum* of the priest? The mass of Popery, Sacerdotalism, and the like, are inevitably contained in this system. If it is maintained that a wicked man has been said) operates this real presence of Christ by three words, we enter the church of the pope. Luther appeared ready to admit this doctrine, but he has been keen in a more spiritual manner; and his great man in his best moments, admitted merely an essential unity and a diversity in the two parties of the Reformation. Undoubtedly the Lord has left outward seals of his grace; but it is attached salvation to these signs. A vital point is the connexion of the Word with the Holy Ghost, the Head of the Church. This is the point at which the Swiss Reform pronounced which Lutheranism itself recognized after the Marburg conference, the controversy became more moderate. It was another advantage. The evangelists at Marburg marked with one voice their separation from the Papacy. It was not without fear (unfounded, with regard to Luther: these fears were reversed. "Now that we are agreed," said the Papists will no longer hope for a union ever be one of them."² The articles were the first bulwark common by the reformers against

not, then, in vain that, after the conference of Spire, Philip of Hesse endeavored at Marburg, to bring together the friends of the Gospel. But, if the religious as partially attained, the political most entirely failed. They could not form a confederation of Switzerland and Germany. Nevertheless, Philip of Hesse and his friends, with a view to this, had numerous conversations, which made the Saxons as they were not less opposed to the politics than to his theology. You have reformed the peasant's son Jonas to him, "you will also claim the princes' sable hat." The indignation collected all the doctors at Marburg on the last day, when they shook hands in a friendly manner,³ and each one of them leaving the town. On the Tuesday the 5th October, Philip of Hesse departed from Marburg early, and in the evening of the same day Luther departed,

accompanied by his colleagues; but he did not go forth as a conqueror. A spirit of dejection and alarm had taken possession of his mind.⁴ He writhed in the dust, like a worm, according to his own expression. He fancied he should never see his wife and children again, and cried out that he, "the consoler of so many tortured souls, was now without consolation!"⁵

This state might partly arise from Luther's want of brotherly feeling; but it had other causes also. Soliman had come to fulfil a promise made to King Ferdinand. The latter having demanded, in 1528, the surrender of Belgrade, the sultan had haughtily replied, that he would bring the keys himself to Vienna. In fact, the Grand Turk, crossing the frontiers of Germany, had invaded countries "on which the hoofs of the Mussulman war-horses had never trod," and eight days before the conference at Marburg, he had covered with his innumerable tents the plain and the fertile hills in the midst of which rise the walls of Vienna. The struggle had begun under ground, the two parties having dug deep galleries beneath the ramparts. Three different times the Turkish mines were exploded; the walls were thrown down;⁶ "the balls flew through the air like a flight of small birds," says a Turkish historian; "and there was a horrible banquet, at which the genius of death joyously drained their glasses."⁷

Luther did not keep in the background. He had already written against the Turks, and now he published a *Battle-Sermon*. "Mahomet," said he, "exalts Christ as being without sin; but he denies that he was the true God; he is therefore His enemy. Alas! to this hour the world is such that it seems every where to rain disciples of Mahomet. Two men ought to oppose the Turks: the first is Christian, that is to say, Prayer; the second is Charles, that is to say, The sword." And in another place, "I know my dear Germans well, fat and well-fed swine as they are; no sooner is the danger removed, than they think only of eating and sleeping. Wretched man! if thou dost not take up arms, the Turk will come; he will carry thee away into his Turkey; he will there sell thee like a dog; and thou shalt serve him night and day, under the rod and the cudgel, for a glass of water and a morsel of bread. Think on this; be converted, and implore the Lord not to give thee the Turk for thy school-master."⁸

The two arms pointed out by Luther were, in reality, vigorously employed; and Soliman, perceiving at last that he was not the "soul of the universe," as his poets had styled him,

¹ Ego vix et aegre domum reversus sum. L. Epp. iii. 280.

² Sic me vexante Angelo Satanæ, ut desperarem me vivum et saluum visurum meos. Ibid.

³ In eam urbem in tribus locis, a fœdore solo et pulvere superposito dilacti et pascuati. Ibid. 518.

⁴ Dachelaisade, quoted by Ranke.

⁵ "See: preliet erde, d. Türken. L. 9pp. (7) xx. 2001.

in Zoelenia heret scrupulus. Corp. Ref. i. 106.
non ultra possunt sperare Lutherum surum
pp. ii. 370.
id einander fröhlich gebotten. Bull. ii. 236.

but that there was a strength in the world superior to his own, raised the siege of Vienna on the 16th October; and "the shadow of God over the two worlds," as he called himself, "disappeared and vanished in the Bosphorus."

But Luther imagined that, when retiring from before the walls of Vienna, "the Turk, or at least his God, who is the devil," had rushed upon him; and that it was this enemy of Christ and of Christ's servants that he was destined to combat and vanquish in his frightful agony.¹ There is an immediate reaction of the violated law upon him who violates it. Now Luther had transgressed the royal law, which is charity, and he suffered the penalty. At last he re-entered Wittenberg, and flung himself into the arms of his friends, "tormented by the angel of death."²

Let us not, however, overlook the essential qualities of a reformer that Luther manifested at Marburg. There are in God's work, as in a drama, different parts. What various characters we see among the Apostles and among the Reformers! It has been said that the same characters and the same parts were assigned to St. Peter and to Luther, at the times of the Formation and of the Reformation of the Church.³ They were both in fact men of the initiative, who start forward alone, but around whom an army soon collects at the sight of the standard which they wave. But there was perhaps in the reformer a characteristic not existing to the same degree in the apostle: this was firmness.

As for Zwingle, he quitted Marburg in alarm at Luther's intolerance. "Lutheranism," wrote he to the landgrave, "will lie as heavy upon us as popery."⁴ He reached Zurich on the 19th October. "The truth," said he to his friends, "has prevailed so manifestly, that if ever any one has been defeated before all the world, it is Luther, although he constantly exclaimed that he was invincible."⁵ On his side, Luther spoke in a similar strain. "It is through fear of their fellow-citizens," added he, "that the Swiss, although vanquished, are unwilling to retract."⁶

¹ Forte ipsum Turcam partem in lato agone coror ferre et vincere, saltem ejus Deum, diabolum. *L. Epp. iii. 320.*

² Angelus Satanae, vel quisquis est diabolus mortis ita me fatigat. *Ibid. 313.*

³ *Irr. Vinet.*

⁴ Des Lutherium verbe so schwer, als das Papethum. *Ew. Epp. p. 374.*

⁵ Lutherus impudens et contumax aperte est victus. *Ibid. p. 370.*

⁶ Motuebant plebem suam ad quam non licebat reverti. *Bar. Opp. li. 23.*

If it should be asked, on which side the victory really was, perhaps we ought to say that Luther assumed the air of a conqueror, but Zwingle was so in reality. The conference propagated through all Germany the doctrine of the Swiss, which had been little known there until then, and it was adopted by an immense number of persons. Among these were Luffards, first rector of St. Martin's school at Brunswick, Dionysius Melander, Justus Lening, Hartmann, Ibach, and many others. The landgrave himself, a short time before his death, declared that this conference had induced him to renounce the oral manducation of Christ.¹

Still the dominant principle at this celebrated epoch was unity. The adversaries are the best judges. The Roman-catholics were exasperated that the Lutherans and Zwinglians had agreed on all the essential points of faith. "They have a fellow-feeling against the Catholic Church," said they, "as Herod and Pilate against Jesus Christ." The enthusiastic sects said the same,² and the extreme hierarchical as well as the extreme radical party deprecated alike the unity of Marburg.

Erelong a greater agitation eclipsed all these rumours, and events which threatened the whole evangelical body, proclaimed its great and intimate union with new force. The emperor, it was every where said, exasperated by the Protest of Spire, had landed at Genoa with the pomp of a conqueror. After having sworn at Barcelona to reduce the heretics under the power of the pope, he was going to visit this pontiff, humbly to bend the knee before him; and he would rise only to cross the Alps and accomplish his terrible designs. "The Emperor Charles," said Luther, a few days after the landing of this prince, "has determined to show himself more cruel against us than the Turk himself, and he has already uttered the most horrible threats. Behold the hour of Christ's agony and weakness. Let us pray for all those who will soon have to endure captivity and death."³

Such was the news that then agitated all Germany. The grand question was, whether the Protest of Spire could be maintained against the power of the emperor and of the pope. This was seen in the year 1530.

¹ Rommels Anmerkungen, p. 327-329.

² Pontificis et catholice multum diaphani consensu Marburgi. *Scultet. p. 300.*

³ Carolus Cesar multo atrocior minatur et auribus stetit in nos, quam Turca. *L. Epp. iii. 324.*

BOOK XIV.

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.—1530.

CHAPTER I.

seasons—Charles V. in Italy—The German Bishops—The Landgrave's Present—The Arrest—Their Release and Departure—Cries and Clement—Gattinara's Propositions—War Imminent—Luther's Objections—Coming—Charles's Conciliatory Language—His Motives.

ation was accomplished in the spiritual principle. It had pro- its teacher the Word of God; Faith; for king, Jesus Christ; Holy Ghost; and had by these rejected all worldly elements. een established by the law of a amendment; the Reformation, by an endless life.¹

any doctrine that distinguishes from every other religion, it is its

A heavenly life brought down to its work; thus the opposition of the Gospel to the spirit of the he great fact which signalized

of Christianity among the na- what its Founder had separated, ne together again; the Church to the arms of the world; and inal union it had been reduced able condition in which we find of the Reformation.

of the greatest tasks of the six- ry was to restore the spiritual ts rights. The Gospel of the d nothing to do with the world litics. While the Roman hie- become a matter of diplomacy intrigue, the Reformation was xercise no other influence over people than that which proceeds spel of peace.

ormation, having attained a cer- came untrue to its nature, began ltemporize with the world, and to follow up the spiritual prin- had so loudly proclaimed, it was od and to itself.

ard its decline was at hand.

isible for a society to prosper if sul to the principles it lays down. idoned what constituted its life, aught but death.

od's will that this great truth scribed on the very threshold of le was then raising in the world; ing contrast was to make this gloriously prominent.

One portion of the reform was to seek the alliance of the world, and in this alliance find a destruction full of desolation.

Another portion, looking up to God, was haughtily to reject the arm of the flesh, and by this very act of faith secure a noble victory.

If three centuries have gone astray, it is because they were unable to comprehend so holy and so solemn a lesson.

It was in the beginning of September 1529 that Charles V., the victor by battles or by treaties over the pope and the King of France, landed at Genoa. The shouts of the Spaniards had saluted him as he quitted the Iberian peninsula; but the dejected eyes, the bended heads, the silent lips of the Italians given over to his hands, alone welcomed him to the foot of the Apennines. Everything led to the belief that Charles would indemnify himself on them for the apparent generosity with which he had treated the pope.

They were deceived. Instead of those barbarous chiefs of the Goths and Huns,—instead of those proud and fierce emperors, who more than once had crossed the Alps and rushed upon Italy sword in hand and with cries of vengeance, the Italians saw among them a young and graceful prince, with pale features, a delicate frame, and weak voice, of winning manners, having more the air of a courtier than of a warrior, scrupulously performing all the duties of the Romish religion, and leading in his train no terrible cohorts of German barbarians, but a brilliant retinue of Spanish grandees, who condescendingly paraded the pride of their race and the splendour of their nation. This prince, the victor of Europe, spoke only of peace and amnesty; and even the Duke of Ferrara, who of all the Italian princes had most cause of fear, having at Modena placed the keys of the city in his hands, heard from his friendly lips the most unexpected encouragements.

Whence did this strange conduct proceed? Charles had shown plainly enough, at the time of the captivity of Francis I., that generosity towards his enemies was not his dominant virtue. It was not long before this mystery was explained.

Almost at the same time with Charles there arrived in Italy, by way of Lyons and Genoa, three German burgesses, whose whole equipage consisted of six horses.¹ These

¹ Hebrews viii. 14.

¹ Legatis attribuerunt equos sex. Beckford, H. 126.

were John Ehinger, burgomaster of Memmingen, who carried his head high, scattered money around him, and who was not remarkable for great sobriety; Michael Caden, syndic of Nuremberg, a worthy, pious, and brave man, but detested by the Count of Nassau, the most influential of Charles's ministers; and, lastly, Alexis Frauentraut, secretary to the Margrave of Brandenburg, who, having married a nun, was in very bad odour among the Roman-catholics. Such were the three men whom the Protestant princes, assembled at Nuremberg, commissioned to bear to the emperor the famous Protest of Spire. They had purposely chosen these deputies from a middle station, under the impression that they would incur less danger.¹ To carry such a message to Charles V. was, to say the truth, a task that few persons cared to execute. Accordingly a pension had been secured to the widows of these envoys in case of misfortune.

Charles was on his way from Genoa to Bologna, and staying at Piacenza, when the three Protestant deputies overtook him. These plain Germans presented a singular contrast to that Spanish pomp and Romish fervour by which the young prince was surrounded. Cardinal Gattinara, the emperor's chancellor, who sincerely desired a reform of the Church, procured them an audience of Charles V. on the 22d of September; but they were recommended to be sparing in their words, for there was nothing the emperor disliked so much as a Protestant sermon.

The deputies were not to be checked by these intimations; and after handing the protest to Charles, Frauentraut began to speak: "It is to the Supreme Judge that each one of us must render an account," said he, "and not to creatures who turn at every wind. It is better to fall into the most cruel necessity, than to incur the anger of God. Our nation will obey no decrees that are based on any other foundation than the Holy Scriptures."²

Such was the proud tone held by these German citizens to the emperor of the west. Charles said not a word—it would have been doing them too much honour; but he charged one of his secretaries to announce an answer at some future time.

There was no hurry to send back these paltry ambassadors. In vain did they renew their solicitations daily. Gattinara treated them with kindness, but Nassau sent them away with bitter words. A workman, the armourer to the court, having to visit Augsburg to purchase arms, begged the Count of Nassau to despatch the Protestant deputies. "You may tell them," replied the minister of Charles V., "that we will terminate their business in order that you may have travelling companions." But the armourer

having found other company, they were compelled to wait.³

These envoys endeavoured, at least, to make a good use of their time. "Take this book," said the landgrave to Caden at the very moment of departure, giving him a French work bound in velvet, and richly ornamented, "and deliver it to the emperor." It was a summary of the Christian Faith which the landgrave had received from Francis Lambert, and which had probably been written by that doctor. Caden sought an opportunity of presenting this treatise; and did so one day, as Charles was going publicly to mass. The emperor took the book, and passed it immediately to a Spanish bishop. The Spaniard began to read,⁴ and lighted upon that passage of Scripture in which Christ enjoins his apostles *not to exercise lordship*.⁵ The author took advantage of it to maintain that the minister, charged with spiritual matters, should not interfere with those which are temporal. The papist prelate bit his lips, and Charles, who perceived it, having asked, "Well, what is the matter?" the bishop in confusion had recourse to a falsehood.⁶ "This treatise," replied he, "takes the sword from the christian magistrate, and grants it only to nations that are strangers to the faith." Immediately there was a great uproar: the Spaniards above all were beside themselves. "The wretches that have endeavoured to mislead so young a prince," said they, "deserve to be hung on the first tree by the wayside!" Charles swore, in fact, that the bearer should suffer the penalty of his audacity.

At length, on the 12th October, Alexander Schweiss, imperial secretary, transmitted the emperor's reply to the deputies. It said that the minority ought to submit to the decrees passed in diet, and that if the Duke of Saxony and his allies were contumacious, means would not be wanting to compel them.⁷

Upon this Ehinger and Caden read aloud the appeal to the emperor drawn up at Spire, whilst Frauentraut, who had renounced his quality of deputy and assumed that of a notary,⁸ took notes of what was passing. When the reading was finished, the deputies advanced towards Schweiss, and presented the appeal. The imperial secretary rejected the document with amazement; the deputies insisted; Schweiss continued firm. They then laid the appeal on the table. Schweiss was staggered; he took the paper, and carried it to the emperor.

After dinner, just as one of the deputies (Caden) had gone out, a tumult in the hotel announced some catastrophe. It was the

¹ Ut essent tutiores. Beckend. ii. 133.

² Neque suarum esse virtutum aut officii, ut eos ad impossibilia et nociva edigant. Ibid. 134.

³ Hortleben, von den Ursachen des deutschen Kriegs. 50.

⁴ Libellum elegantior ornatum. Scultet. p. 221.

⁵ Cum obiter legisset. Ibid.

⁶ Luke xii. 28.

⁷ Falso et maligne relatum esset. Beckend. ii. 134.

⁸ Sibi non deforme media quibus ad id compelleretur. Ibid.

⁹ Tabellionis aive notarii officium. Ibid.

retary who returned duly accounted. The emperor is exceedingly irritated you on account of this appeal," the Protestants; "and he forbids pain of confiscation and death, in hotel, to write to Germany, or by message whatsoever."¹ Thus ambassadors under arrest, as he officers of his guard, desirous in showing his contempt, and of the princes. A servant slipped in alarm out of and ran to his master. The latter, finding himself free, wrote a hasty the whole business to the senate, and sent off his letters by express, and to share in the arrest of his col-

On the 3d of October, the emperor left carrying the three Germans with him. On the 30th he released Ehinger, Traut, who mounting their horses in the middle of the night, rushed at full speed; a road thronged with soldiers.

"As for you," said Granvelle, "you will stay under pain of death. He is waiting to show the pope as presented to him."² Perhaps he thought it a good joke to lay before the pontiff this prohibition issued by ministers of God to mingle in the affairs of nations. But Caden, procuring confusion of the court, secretly fled, and fled to Ferrara, and Venice, from which place he returned to the emperor.

When Charles appeared irritated many, the greater moderation he showed the Italians: heavy pecuniary contributions were all that he required. Beyond the Alps, in the centre of Europe, by means of these very religious overtures, that he desired to establish. He pressed on, and required two things: behind him,—peace; before him,—money.

On the 11th of November he entered Bogen, a thing about him was impressive: a crowd of nobles, the splendour of their robes, the haughtiness of the Spaniards, the four thousand ducats that were paid by handfuls among the people above all, the majesty and magnificence of the young emperor. The two divisions of Christendom were about to meet. The pope quitted his palace with all his household, and Charles, at the head of an army, would have conquered the whole of Europe in a few days, affecting the humility of a pilgrim, he fell on his knees, and kissed the emperor's feet.

...pana, ne pedem a diversario moveant. ...rior factus, rem omnem sensui aperuit. ...ptum exhibeat quoque Pontifex. Scilicet. ...cedit equum. Ibid. ...parum aurum quatuor milia ducatorum.

The emperor and the pope resided at Bologna in two adjoining palaces, separated by a single wall, through which a doorway had been opened, of which each had a key; and the young and politic emperor, with papers in his hand, was often seen visiting the old and crafty pontiff.

Clement obtained Sforza's forgiveness, who appeared before the emperor sick and leaning on a staff. Venice also was forgiven: a million of crowns arranged these two matters. But Charles could not obtain from the pope the pardon of Florence. That illustrious city was sacrificed to the Medici, "considering," it was said, "that it is impossible for Christ's vicar to demand anything that is unjust."

The most important affair was the Reformation. Some represented to the emperor that, victor over all his enemies, he ought to carry matters with a high hand, and constrain the Protestants by force of arms.¹ Charles was more moderate: he preferred weakening the Protestants by the Papists, and then the Papists by the Protestants, and by this means raising his power above them both.

A wiser course was nevertheless proposed in a solemn conference. "The Church is torn in pieces," said Chancellor Gattinara. "You (Charles) are the head of the empire; you (the pope) the head of the Church. It is your duty to provide by common accord against unprecedented wants. Assemble the pious men of all nations, and let a free council deduce from the Word of God a scheme of doctrine such as may be received by every people."²

A thunderbolt falling at Clement's feet could not have startled him more. The offspring of an illegitimate union, and having obtained the papacy by means far from honourable, and squandered the treasures of the Church in an unjust war, this pontiff had a thousand personal motives for dreading an assembly of Christendom. "Large congregations," replied he, "serve only to introduce popular opinions. It is not by the decrees of councils, but with the edge of the sword, that we should decide controversies."³

As Gattinara still persisted: "What!" said the pope, angrily interrupting him, "you dare contradict me, and excite your master against me!" Charles rose up; all the assembly preserved profound silence, and the prince resuming his seat, seconded his chancellor's request. Clement was content to say that he would reflect upon it. He then began to work upon the young emperor in their private conferences, and Charles

¹ Armis cogandos. Beckend. II. 119; Malmbourg. II. 124.

² Oratio de Congressu Bomanorum, in *Malmbourgh's Orationes*, IV. 37, and *Orationes Hist. Concil. 1529*, Augustin, I. 10. Respectable authors, Walsh, Muller, and Baumgarten, incorrectly quote at full length the speeches delivered at this conference. They are amplifications; but to deny that they have some historical foundation would be flying to the opposite extreme.

³ Non concilii decretis, sed armis controversas dignemur. Beckend. p. 249; Malmbourg the Second, II. 127.

promised at last to constrain the heretics by violence, while the pope should summon all other princes to his aid.¹ "To overcome Germany by force, and then erase it from the surface of the earth, is the sole object of the Italians," wrote a correspondent from Venice to the elector.²

Such was the sinister news which, by spreading alarm among the Protestants, should also have united them. Unfortunately a contrary movement was then taking place. Luther and some of his friends had revised the Marburg articles in a sense exclusively Lutheran, and the ministers of the Elector of Saxony had presented them to the conference at Schwabach. The reformed deputies from Ulm and Strasburg had immediately withdrawn, and the conference was broken up.

But new conferences had ere long become necessary. The express that Caden had forwarded from Piacenza had reached Nuremberg. Every one in Germany understood that the arrest of the princes' deputies was a declaration of war. The elector was staggered, and ordered his chancellor to consult the theologians of Wittenberg.

"We cannot on our conscience," replied Luther on the 18th November, "approve of the proposed alliance. We would rather die ten times than see our Gospel cause one drop of blood to be shed.³ Our part is to be like lambs of the slaughter. The cross of Christ must be borne. Let your highness be without fear. We shall do more by our prayers than all our enemies by their boastings. Only let not your hands be stained with the blood of your brethren! If the emperor requires us to be given up to his tribunals, we are ready to appear. You cannot defend our faith: each one should believe at his own risk and peril."⁴

On the 29th November an evangelical congress was opened at Smalkald, and an unexpected event rendered this meeting still more important. Ehinger, Caden, and Frauentraut, who had escaped from the grasp of Charles V., appeared before them.⁵ The landgrave had no further doubts of the success of his plan.

He was deceived. No agreement between contrary doctrines, no alliance between politics and religion—were Luther's two principles, and they still prevailed. It was agreed that those who felt disposed to sign the articles of Schwabach, and those only, should meet at Nuremberg on the 6th of January.

The horizon became hourly more threatening. The papists of Germany wrote one to another these few but significant words:

"The Saviour is coming."¹ A claimed Luther, "what a pitiless He will devour them all, as well as effect, two Italian bishops, autho Charles V., demanded in the pope's the gold and silver from the church third part of the ecclesiastical revenue proceeding which caused an immersion. "Let the pope go to the devil," replied a canon of Paderborn, as freely.² "Yes, yes!" archly replied "this is your saviour that is coming people already began to talk of omens. It was not only the living were agitated: a child still in its womb had uttered horrible shrieks: is accomplished," said Luther; "has reached the highest degree of the glory of the papacy is declining world is splitting on every side."³ former, dreading lest the end of the world should arrive before he had translated Bible, published the prophecies separately,—“a work,” said he, “of latter times.” “Historians tell added, “that Alexander the Great placed Homer under his pillow: that Daniel is worthy not only that kings princes should lay him under the but carry him in their hearts; so teach them that the government proceeds from the power of God, balanced in the hand of the Lord, upon the sea, or a cloud in the sky.

Yet the frightful phantom that Hesse had not ceased pointing out to allies, and whose threatening jaw already opening, suddenly vanished they discovered in its place the image of the most amiable of princes.

On the 21st January, Charles V. summoned all the states of the empire to Nuremberg, and had endeavoured to speak in the most conciliatory language. "Let us end to all discord," he said, "let us bury our antipathies, let us offer to our enemies the sacrifice of all our errors, and let us by our business to comprehend us with meekness the opinions of others as annihilate all that has been said on both sides contrary to right, and seek after christian truth. Let us under one and the same leader, Jesus, and let us strive thus to meet in communion, one church, and one unity.

What language! How was it that prince, who hitherto had spoken of sword, should now speak only of peace. Some may say that the wise Gattin share in it; that the act of convocation

¹ Position, ut essent Christiani principes, ipsos pro virtute servare. Galesardus, xiv. 100.

² Ut Germaniae et ei armis opprimeretur, funditus deleatur et excideretur. Galesius, l. ii.

³ Lieber sein mal tot zu seyn. Hpp. iii. 300.

⁴ Auf sein eigen Fahr glauben. Ibid. 307.

⁵ Advancement of gospel reformation. Beckond. ii. 140; Nieuwen. l. 200.

¹ Invictum scripiliant, discientes: Salvatoris vi. 100.

² Dat de Duvel dem Ravel int Liefd fare. N.

³ Infans in utero, audiente tota familia, ut est. Ibid.

⁴ Dedication of Daniel to John Frederick. I.

⁵ Schwebt in seiner Macht, wie ein Schiff in ja wie eine Wolke unter dem Himmel. L. Hpp.

⁶ Wie wir alle unter einem Christo seyn: Postenmann's Urkundenbuch, l. 1.

under the impression of the terror of the Turkish invasion; that the already saw with how little eager-Roman-catholics of Germany sees views; that he wished to intimidate; that this language, so full of passion, was but a mask which Charles to deceive his enemies; that he manage religion in true imperial like Theodosius and Constantine, first to unite both parties by the of his wisdom and of his favours, to himself, if kindness should fail, force afterwards. It is possible of these motives may have exertain influence on Charles, but the years to us nearer the truth, and formable to the character of this

les, however, showed any inclination, the fanatical Ferdinand was bring him back. "I will continue g without coming to any conclusion he to his brother; " and should reduced to that, do not fear; pre-not be wanting to chastise those d you will find men enough who ppy to aid you in your revenge."¹

CHAPTER II.

Ion—The Emperor made a Deacon—The Ro-ch and the State—Alarm of the Protestants—Advocates Passive Resistance—Bruck's noble titles of Faith prepared—Luther's Strong ther at Coburg—Charles at Innsbruck—Two Court—Gottlinara—The King of Denmark won rles—Piety of the Elector—Wiles of the Roman-

like Charlemagne in former times, leon in later days, desired to be y the pope, and had at first thought ; Rome for that purpose; but Ferd-essing letters compelled him to ologna.² He appointed the 22d for receiving the iron crown as Lombardy, and resolved to assume a crown, as emperor of the Romans, 15th of the same month—his birth- the anniversary of the battle of day which he thought always to him.³ ices of honour that belonged to the empire were given to strangers; ronation of the Emperor of Ger- was Spanish or Italian. The as carried by the Marquis of Mont- sword by the Duke of Urbino, and n crown by the Duke of Savoy. e German prince of little importance, t-palatine Philip, was present: he e orb. After these lords came the himself between two cardinals; then

the members of his council. All this procession defiled across a magnificent temporary bridge erected between the palace and the church. At the very moment the emperor drew near the church of San Petronio, where the coronation was to take place, the scaffolding cracked behind him and gave way: many of his train were wounded, and the multitude fled in alarm. Charles calmly turned back and smiled, not doubting that his lucky star had saved him.

At length Charles V. arrived in front of the throne on which Clement was seated. But before being made emperor, it was necessary that he should be promoted to the sacred orders. The pope presented him with the surplice and the amice to make him a canon of St. Peter's and of St. John Lateranus, and the canons of these two churches immediately stripped him of his royal ornaments, and robed him with the sacerdotal garments. The pope went to the altar and began mass, the new canon drawing near to wait upon him. After the offertory, the imperial deacon presented the water to the pontiff; and then kneeling down between two cardinals, communicated from the pope's hand. The emperor now returned to his throne, where the princes robed him with the imperial mantle brought from Constantinople, all sparkling with diamonds, and Charles humbly bent the knee before Clement VII.

The pontiff, having anointed him with oil and given him the sceptre, presented him with a naked sword, saying: "Make use of it in defence of the Church against the enemies of the faith!" Next taking the golden orb, studded with jewels, which the count-palatine held, he said: "Govern the world with piety and firmness!" Last came the Duke of Savoy, who carried the golden crown enriched with diamonds. The prince bent down, and Clement put the diadem on his head, saying: "Charles, emperor invincible, receive this crown which we place on your head, as a sign to all the earth of the authority that is conferred upon you."

The emperor then kissed the white cross embroidered on the pope's red slipper, and exclaimed: "I swear to be, with all my powers and resources, the perpetual defender of the pontifical dignity and of the Church of Rome."¹

The two princes now took their seats under the same canopy, but on thrones of unequal height, the emperor's being half a foot lower than the pontiff's, and the cardinal-deacon proclaimed to the people "The invincible emperor, Defender of the Faith." For the next half-hour nothing was heard but the noise of musketry, trumpets, drums, and fifes, all the bells of the city, and the shouts of the multitude. Thus was proclaimed anew the close union of politics with religion. The

Geschichte Ferdinands, iii. 632.
suo lettere di Germania che lo sollicitavano
in quella provincia. *Gineciardiel*, l. xx.
so quem semper felicem habuit. *Seckend*, ii.

¹ Omnibus viribus, ingenio, et facultatibus suis Pontificis dignitatis et Romane Ecclesie perpetuum fore defensorem. *Celestina*, Hist. Committ. Aug. 16.

mighty emperor, transformed to a Roman deacon and humbly serving mass, like a canon of St. Peter's, had typified and declared the indissoluble union of the Romish Church with the State. This is one of the essential doctrines of Popery, and one of the most striking characteristics that distinguish it from the evangelical and the Christian Church.

Nevertheless, during the whole of the ceremony the pope seemed ill at ease, and sighed as soon as the eyes of the spectators were turned away from him. Accordingly, the French ambassador wrote to his court that these four months which the emperor and pope had spent together at Bologna, would bear fruit of which the King of France would assuredly have no cause to complain.¹

Scarcely had Charles V. risen from before the altar of San Petronio, ere he turned his face towards Germany, and appeared on the Alps as the anointed of the Papacy. The letter of convocation, so indulgent and benign, seemed forgotten: all things were made new since the pope's blessings: there was but one thought in the imperial train, the necessity of rigorous measures; and the legate Campeggio continued to insinuate irritating words into Charles's ear. "At the first rumour of the storm that threatens them," said Granvelle, "we shall see the Protestants flying on every side, like timid doves upon which the Alpine eagle pounces."²

Great indeed was the alarm throughout the empire; the affrighted people, apprehensive of the greatest disasters, repeated every where that Luther and Melancthon were dead. "Alas!" said Melancthon, consumed by sorrow, when he heard these reports, "the rumour is but too true, for I die daily."³ But Luther, on the contrary, boldly raising the eye of faith towards heaven, exclaimed: "Our enemies triumph,—but ere long to perish." In truth the councils of the elector displayed an unprecedented boldness. "Let us collect our troops," said they; "let us march on the Tyrol, and close the passage of the Alps against the emperor."⁴ Philip of Hesse uttered a cry of joy when he heard of this. The sword of Charles had aroused his indolent allies at last. Immediately fresh couriers from Ferdinand were sent to hasten the arrival of Charles, and all Germany was in expectation.

Before carrying out this gigantic design, the elector desired to consult Luther once more. The emperor in the midst of the electors was only the first among his equals; and independent princes were allowed to resist another prince, even if he were of higher

rank than themselves. But Luthering above all things the intervention of a secular arm in church affairs, he replied on the 6th March in this extreme manner: "Our princes' subjects are emperor's subjects, and even more prince's are. To protect by arms the emperor's subjects against the emperor, be as if the burgomaster of Torgo to protect by force his citizens against the emperor's elector."

"What must be done then?"—replied Luther. "If the emperor march against us, let no prince take our defence. God is faithful: he abandon us." All preparations for immediately suspended, the land received a polite refusal, and the count was dissolved. It was the will of his cause should appear before the without league and without soldier faith alone for its shield.

Never perhaps has such boldness been in feeble and unarmed men, never, although under an appearance of blindness, was there so much wisdom and understanding.

The question next discussed in the council was, whether he should dictate. The majority of the councillor it. "Is it not risking every thing?" "to go and shut oneself up within of a city with a powerful enemy?" and the prince-electoral were of a opinion. Duty in their eyes was councillor than fear. "What!" "would the emperor insist so much presence of the princes at Augsburg, draw them into a snare? We can put such perfidy to him." The latter on the contrary, seconded the opinion of majority. "Remember Pienza," "Some unforeseen circumstance the emperor to take all his enemies cast of the net."

The chancellor stood firm. "princes only comport themselves in rage," said he, "and God's cause is The decision was in favour of the plan.

This diet was to be a lay council the very least a national convention Protestants foresaw that a few concessions would be made to them and then that they would be required to sacrifice their faith. It was therefore necessary to settle what were the essential principles of Christian truth, in order to know, by what means, and how far they come to an understanding with the series. The elector accordingly had sent on the 14th March to the four theologians of Wittenberg, setting a task before all other business.⁵

¹ Letter to M. L'Admiral, 25th February. Legrand, *Histoire du Divorce*, li. 305.

² *Tanquam columbe, adveniente aquila, dispergentur.* Roemer's *Anmerkungen*, p. 234.

³ *Per famam de qua scribis intelligo nimis veram esse, moritur animi quotidie.* Corp. Ref. li. 122.

⁴ *Cum copie quas habuit per Tyrolensem ditionem incedere occurrere ad Alpium transitum impedire.* Beckend. li. 110.

⁵ *Cum hæc comitia pro concilio aut conventu haberi videntur.* Beckend. li. 17. Letter to 1 Corp. Ref. li. 28.

⁶ *Universis sepositis aliis rebus.* L. Epp. li. 2.

lecting soldiers, this prince drew they were the best armament. Jonus, and Melancthon (Pomerania at Wittenberg), arrived at Easter week, asking leave to write articles in person to Charles the Emperor. "God forbid!" replied the elector, "I will not confess my Lord."

Having then confided to Melancthon the definitive arrangement of the conference, he ordered general prayers to be begun his journey on the 3d of April. One hundred and sixty horsemen, in rich scarlet cloaks embroidered

in was aware of the dangers that the elector, and hence many in the army, marched with downcast eyes and hearts. But Luther, full of faith, courage of his friends, by commencing with his fine voice that hymn, since become so famous: *Burg ist unser Gott, Our God is a fortress.*¹ Never did soul that knew its strength, but which, looking to God, ery fear, find such noble accents.

own strength we nought can do,
action yawns on every side;
is for us, our champion true,
of God to be our guide,
his name! The anointed One,
se God of armies he;
and heaven the Lord alone—
on field of battle won,
death victory.

in was sung during the diet, not at Augsburg, but in all the churches of the Empire. Its energetic strains often re-inspired the most dejected

before the troop reached Coburg, on the 23d April the elector resumed his journey at the very moment of departure: received an order to remain. He has said, "Hold your tongue, a harsh voice," wrote he to a friend submitted, however, without setting an example of that passive obedience which he so boldly advocated. He feared that Luther's presence would further exasperate his adversaries. Charles to extreme meanness of Augsburg had also written but effect. But at the same time anxious to keep the reformer close, that he might be able to confute. He was therefore left at Coburg, overlooking the town and the

river Itz, in the upper story on the south side. It was from this place he wrote those numerous letters dated from the *region of birds*; and it was there that for many months he had to maintain with his old enemy of the Wartburg, Satan, a struggle full of darkness and of anguish.

On the 2d May the elector reached Augsburg; it had been expected that he would stay away, and, to the great astonishment of all, he was the first at the rendezvous.¹ He immediately sent Dolzig, marshal of the court, to meet the emperor and to compliment him. On the 12th May Philip of Hesse, who had at last resolved on not separating himself from his ally, arrived with an escort of one hundred and ninety horsemen: and almost at the same time the emperor entered Innsbruck, in the Tyrol, accompanied by his brother, the queens of Hungary and Bohemia, the ambassadors of France, England, and Portugal, Campeggio, the papal legate, and other cardinals, with many princes and nobles of Germany, Spain, and Italy.

How to bring back the heretics to obedience to the Church was the great topic of conversation in this brilliant court among nobles and priests, ladies and soldiers, councillors and ambassadors. They, or Charles at least, were not for making them ascend the scaffold, but they wished to act in such a manner that, untrue to their faith, they should bend the knee to the pope. Charles stopped at Innsbruck to study the situation of Germany, and ensure the success of his schemes.

Scarcely was his arrival known ere a crowd of people, high and low, flocked round him on every side, and more than 270,000 crowns, previously raised in Italy, served to make the Germans understand the justice of Rome's cause. "All these heretics," was the cry, "will fall to the ground and crawl to the feet of the pope."²

Charles did not think so. He was, on the contrary, astonished to see what power the Reformation had gained. He momentarily even entertained the idea of passing by Augsburg, and of going straight to Cologne, and there proclaim his brother King of the Romans.³ Thus, religious interests would have given way to dynastic interests, at least so ran the report. But Charles the Fifth did not stop at this idea. The question of the Reformation was there before him, increasing hourly in strength, and it could not be eluded.

Two parties divided the imperial court. The one, numerous and active, called upon the emperor to revive simply the edict of Worms, and, without hearing the Protestants, condemn their cause.⁴ The legate

jects will be found in *Forstmann's Urkunden*, B. I., and in the Corp. Ref. iv. p. 572, seq. re presented were doubtless the *Articuli missi* not to be conceded. They treat of the both kinds, of celibacy, the mass, orders, the confession, distinction of meats, and of the Corp. Ref. iv. 291. attempted a very feeble translation of the a etiam et abjectum animum erigere et exultantem in seipso possent. Scult. p. 270. id diceret: Tace tu, habes malam vocem. L.

¹ *Mirantibus hominibus.* Beck. II. 155.

² *Kum kreutz kriechen werden.* *Matthæus Pred.* p. 91. The allusion is to the cross embroidered on the pope's slipper.

³ *Iter Coloniam versus decrevisse.* *Epp. Zw.* May 12.

⁴ *Alii censent Cæsarem debere, edicto proposito, sine ulla cogitatione damnare causam nostram.* Corp. Ref. II. 27.

was at the head of this party. "Do not hesitate," said he to Charles; "confiscate their property, establish the inquisition, and punish these obstinate heretics with fire and sword."¹ The Spaniards, who strongly seconded these exhortations, gave way to their accustomed debauchery, and many of them were arrested for seduction.² This was a sad specimen of the faith they wished to impose on Germany. Rome has always thought lightly of morality.

Gattinara, although sick, had painfully followed in Charles's train to neutralize the influence of the legate. A determined adversary of the Roman policy, he thought that the Protestants might render important services to Christendom. "There is nothing I desire so much," said he, "as to see the Elector of Saxony and his allies persevere courageously in the profession of the Gospel, and call for a free religious council. If they allow themselves to be checked by promises or threats, I hesitate myself, I stagger, and I doubt of the means of salvation."³ The enlightened and honest members of the Papal Church (and of whom there is always a small number) necessarily sympathize with the Reformation.

Charles V., exposed to these contrary influences, desired to restore Germany to religious unity by his personal intervention: for a moment he thought himself on the eve of success.

Amongst the persons who crowded to Innspruck was the unfortunate Christian, king of Denmark, Charles's brother-in-law. In vain had he proposed to his subjects undertaking a pilgrimage to Rome in expiation of the cruelties of which he was accused: his people had expelled him. Having repaired to Saxony, to his uncle the elector, he had there heard Luther, and had embraced the evangelical doctrines, as far at least as external profession goes. This poor dethroned monarch could not resist the eloquence of the powerful ruler of two worlds, and Christian, won over by Charles the Fifth, publicly placed himself again under the sceptre of the Roman hierarchy. All the papal party uttered a shout of triumph. Nothing equals their credulity, and the importance they attach to such worthless accessions. "I cannot describe the emotion with which this news has filled me," wrote Clement VII. to Charles, his hand trembling with joy; "the brightness of your majesty's virtues begins at last to scatter the darkness: this example will lead to conversions beyond number."

Things were in this state when Duke George of Saxony, Duke William of Bavaria, and the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, the three German princes who were the

greatest enemies to the Reformation, arrived at Innspruck.

The tranquillity of the elector, who had seen at Augsburg, had alarmed for they knew not the source whence derived his courage: they fancied meditating some perfidious design not without reason," said they: "that the Elector John has repaired to Augsburg, and that he appears with a considerable train: he will seize your person. Act then with care and allow us to offer your majesty six thousand horse."⁴ Conference immediately took place. The Protestants were affrighted. "They are a diet at Innspruck," said Melanchthon: the best means of having our hearer Gattinara prevailed on Charles to his neutrality.

While this agitation prevailed in Tyrol, the evangelical Christians of mustering in arms, as they were sent up their prayers to heaven Protestant princes were preparing an account of their faith.

The Elector of Saxony held the same among them. Sincere, upright, from his youth, early disgusted with brilliant tournaments in which he had taken part, John of Saxony had hailed the day of the Reformation. Gospel light had gradually penetrated his serious and reflective mind. His sure was to have the Holy Scriptures to him during the latter hours of the day. It is true that, having arrived at an advanced age, the pious elector sometimes fell asleep; but he would soon awake with a repeat the last passage aloud. He was moderate and a friend of peace, but possessed an energy that was powerful by the great interests of faith. The prince in the sixteenth century, perhaps since the primitive times of the Church, who has done so much for Saxony for the cause of the Gospel, accordingly it was against him that the efforts of the Papists were directed.

In order to gain him over, they put in operation very different tactics to those which had been previously used at Spire: the evangelicals had angry looks in every quarter; at on the contrary, the Papists gave hearty welcome; they represented the distance that separated the two parties as trifling, and in their private conversations made use of the mildest language thus to entice the credulous Protestant to take the bait," says an historian.⁵ yielded with simplicity to the manoeuvres.

¹ *Instructio data Cesaris dal Reverendissimo Campeggio.* Banks, li. 20.

² *Sich die Spanier zu Innspruck unfähig gehalten.* Corp. Ref. li. 56.

³ *Semper vacillaturum de vera et certa salutis adplicanda ratione.* Beck, li. 57.

⁴ *U' masculis ageret, sex mille equitum, offerentes.* Beck, li. 135.

⁵ *Ibi habentur de nostris cervicibus comiti.* n. 45.

⁶ Seckendorf.

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the Fifth was convinced that the Germans would not be able to resist. "The King of Denmark has been," said his courtiers to him, "why t the elector follow his example? raw him into the imperial atmosphere. John was immediately invited to converse familiarly with the emperorspruck, with an assurance that reckon on Charles's particular

nice-electoral, John Frederick, who, the advances of the Papists, had claimed: "We conduct our affairs awkwardness, that it is quite pitied himself to be caught by this. "The Papist princes," said he, "exert every means of black-characters. Go to Innsbruck in ut a stop to these underhand practice if you are unwilling, send me in a." me the prudent elector moderated recipitancy, and replied to Charles's that it was not proper to treat of the diet in any other place than b the emperor had himself appointed, in consequence, that his could hasten his arrival. This was heck that Charles met with.

CHAPTER III.

he Gospel Preached—The Emperor's Message ions prohibited—Firmness of the Elector—The eply—Preparation of the Confession—Luther's Son and his Father—Luther's Merriment—et at Coburg—Saxony, a Paradise below—To—Travail of the Church—Charles—The Pope's lanchton on Fasting—The Church, the Judge grave's catholic Spirit.

Augsburg was filling more and y day. Princes, bishops, deputies, i, cavaliers, soldiers in rich uniered by every gate, and thronged s, the public places, inns, churches, ss. All that was most magnificent y was there about to be collected. al circumstances in which the id Christendom were placed, the f Charles V. and his kindly manlove of novelty, of grand shows, rely emotions, tore the Germans homes. All those who had great to discuss, without reckoning a dlers, flocked from the various prohe empire, and hastily made their ds this illustrious city.¹ nidist of this crowd the elector and ave were resolved to confess Jesus d to take advantage of this convoorder to convert the empire. ad John arrived when he ordered theologians to preach daily with

open doors in the church of the Dominicans.¹ On Sunday the 8th May, the same was done in the church of St. Catherine; on the 13th, Philip of Hesse opened the gates of the cathedral, and his chaplain Sneyff there proclaimed the Word of salvation; and on the following Sunday (May 15) this prince ordered Cellarius, minister of Augsburg and a follower of Zwingle, to preach in the same temple. Somewhat later the landgrave firmly settled himself in the church of St. Ulric, and the elector in that of St. Catherine. These were the two positions taken up by these illustrious princes. Every day the Gospel was announced in these places to an immense and attentive crowd.²

The partisans of Rome were amazed. They expected to see criminals endeavouring to dissemble their faults, and they met with confessors of Christ with uplifted heads and words of power. Desirous of counterbalancing these sermons, the Bishop of Augsburg ordered his suffragan and his chaplain to ascend the pulpit. But the Romish priests understood better how to say mass than to preach the Gospel. "They only shout and bawl," said some. "They are stupid fellows," added all their hearers, shrugging their shoulders.³

The Romanists, ashamed of their own priests, began to grow angry,⁴ and unable to hold their ground by preaching, had recourse to the secular power. "The priests are setting wondrous machines at work to gain Cæsar's mind," said Melancthon.⁵ They succeeded, and Charles made known his displeasure at the hardihood of the princes. The friends of the pope then drew near the Protestants, and whispered into their ears, "that the emperor, victor over the King of France and the Roman pontiff, would appear in Germany to crush all the Gospellers."⁶ The anxious elector demanded the advice of his theologians.

Before the answer was ready, Charles's orders arrived, brought by two of his most influential ministers, the Counts of Nassau and of Nuenar. A more skilful choice could not have been made. These two nobles, although devoted to Charles, were favourable to the Gospel, which they professed not long after. The elector was therefore fully disposed to listen to their counsel.

On the 24th May, the two counts delivered their letters to John of Saxony, and declared to him the emperor's exceeding grief that religious controversies should disturb the good understanding which had for so many years united the houses of Saxony

¹ Rogantibus Augustanis publice in templum Dominicorum. Seck. Lat. p. 193.

² Täglich in den kirchen, unverstört; dazu kommt sehr viel Volk. Corp. Ref. II. 53.

³ Clamant et vociferantur. Audires homines stupidissimos atque etiam sensu communi carentes. Ibid. 56.

⁴ Urebat hoc pontifices. Scultet. p. 271.

⁵ 'O! ægyptiis miris machinis oppugnant. Corp. Ref. II. 70.

⁶ Evangelicos omnes obtuturum. Scultet. p. 280.

and Austria;¹ that he was astonished at seeing the elector oppose an edict (that of Worms) which had been unanimously passed by all the states of the empire; and that the alliances he had made tended to tear asunder the unity of Germany, and might inundate it with blood. They required, finally, that the elector would immediately put a stop to the evangelical preachings, and added, in a confidential tone, that they trembled at the thought of the immediate and deplorable consequences which would certainly follow the elector's refusal. "This," said they, "is only the expression of our own personal sentiments." It was a diplomatic manoeuvre, the emperor having enjoined them to give utterance to a few threats, but solely as if proceeding from themselves.²

The elector was greatly agitated. "If his majesty forbids the preaching of the Gospel," exclaimed he, "I shall immediately return home."³ He waited however for the advice of his theologians.

Luther's answer was ready first. "The emperor is our master," said he; "the town and all that is in it belong to him. If your highness should give orders at Torgau for this to be done, and for that to be left undone, the people ought not to resist. I should prefer endeavouring to change his majesty's decision by humble and respectful solicitation; but if he persists, might makes right; we have but done our duty."⁴ Thus spoke the man who has often been represented as a rebel.

Melancthon and the others were nearly of the same opinion, except that they insisted more on the necessity of representing to the emperor, "that in their sermons nothing controversial was introduced, but they were content simply to teach the doctrine of Christ the Saviour."⁵ Let us beware, above all," continued they, "of leaving the city. Let your highness with an intrepid heart confess in presence of his majesty by what wonderful ways you have attained to a right understanding of the truth,⁶ and do not allow yourself to be alarmed at these thunder-claps that fall from the lips of our enemies." To confess the truth—such was the object to which, according to the Reformers, every thing else should be subordinate.

Will the elector yield to this first demand of Charles, and thus begin, even before the emperor's arrival, that list of sacrifices, the end of which cannot be foreseen!

No one in Augsburg was firmer than John. In vain did the reformers represent that they were in the emperor's city, and only strang-

ers:¹ the elector shook his head in despair wrote to Luther how untractable is our old man! nevertheless he again returned to. Fortunately there was an intrepid man at the elector's right hand, the Bruck, who feeling convinced of honour, and above all, duty, friends of the Reformation to menaces of Charles, said to the elector's demand is but a worth to bring about the definitive abolition of the Gospel.² If we yield at present, we shall crush us by and by. Let us humbly beg his majesty to permit the continuance of the sermons." The time, a statesman stood in the forefront of the confessors of Jesus Christ, one of the characteristic features of great age, and it must not be that we would understand its history.

On the 31st May, the elector answered in writing to Charles's "It is not true," it bore, "that the Worms was approved of by his majesty. How could the elector, my brother, by approving it, have opposed the Word of Almighty God? I have succeeded in diets have decided impossible to be executed. relations of friendship that I have their only aim is to protect me from violence. Let my accusers lay eyes of his majesty the alliances made; I am ready to produce measures the emperor shall decide between us. As to the demand to suspend our nothing is proclaimed in them the serious truth of God, and never necessary to us. We cannot do without it!"⁴

This reply must necessarily have arrived at Charles; and it was to should be prepared to receive his claim their belief, and then be silent whole plan of the protestant confession was therefore necessary of small stature, frail, timid, at alarm, was commissioned to prearrangement of war. Philip Melancthon at it night and day: he weighed the expression, softened it down, and then frequently returned to his. He was wasting away his strength friends trembled lest he should task; and Luther enjoined him, as 12th of May, under pain of anathema measures for the preservation of body," and not "to commit suicide love of God."⁶ "God is as usual by repose," added he, "and indeed

¹ These instructions may be found in Celestin, l. 50, and Foretmann Urk. l. 220.

² Quicquid duri Electori denuntiabant suo veluti nomine et injussu dicebant. Sock. II. 126.

³ Den nichten heim zu reiten. Corp. Ref. II. 88.

⁴ L. Epp. IV. 12.

⁵ Nullas materias disputabiles a nobis doceri. Corp. Ref. II. 72.

⁶ Quo modo plane inextinguibili atque miscio. Ibid. 74.

¹ In ejus urbe jam sumus hospites. Corp.

² Sed noster senex difficilis est. Ibid.

³ Ein fugsamer Anfang der Niederbrechung. Ibid. 74.

⁴ Quo carere non possit. Sock. p. 126; M. p. 505.

⁵ Ut sub anathemate cogam te in regis pascuis tal. L. Epp. IV. 12.

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as him better than by keeping himself quiet. It is for this reason God willed the Sabbath should be so strictly observed."¹

Notwithstanding these solicitations, Melancthon's application augmented, and he wrote about an exposition of the Christian faith, in a mild, moderate, and as little removed possible from the doctrine of the Latin Church. At Coburg he had already put his hand to the task, and traced out in the first place the doctrines of the faith, according to the articles of Schwabach; and in the second, the abuses of the Church, according to the articles of Torgau, making altogether a new work. At Augsburg he gave it the correct and elegant form to this Confession.²

The Apology, as it was then called, was completed on the 11th May; and the elector sent it to Luther, begging him to mark what it to be changed. "I have said what I thought most useful," added Melancthon, who said that his friend would find the Confession too weak; for Eck is always circulating most diabolical calumnies against us, and we endeavoured to oppose an antidote to his poison."³

Luther replied to the elector on the 15th: "I have read Master Philip's Apology; it is well enough, and has no corrections to make. Besides, that would hardly suit for I cannot walk so meekly and so gently. May Christ our Lord grant that his work may produce much and great fruit."

On that day, however, the elector's council and theologians, in concert with Melancthon, improved the Confession, and endeavoured to render it such that the charmed should, in its own despite, hear it to the end.⁴

While the struggle was thus preparing at Coburg, Luther at Coburg, on the summit of a hill, "on his Sinai," as he called it, held his hands, like Moses towards heaven.⁵ He was the real general of the spiritual war was then waging; his letters were continually bearing to the combatants the direction which they needed, and numerous pamphlets issuing from his stronghold, like discharges of musketry, spread confusion in the enemy's camp.

The place where he had been left was, by solitude, favourable to study and to meditation.⁶ "I shall make a Zion of this Sinai," he wrote on the 22d April, "and I shall build three tabernacles; one to the Psalms, one to the Prophets, and a third —"

to Esop!" This last word may well startle us. The association belongs neither to the language nor the spirit of the Apostles. It is true that Esop was not to be his principal study; the fables were soon laid aside, and truth alone engaged Luther. "I shall weep, I shall pray, I shall never be silent," wrote he, "until I know that my cry has been heard in heaven."¹

Besides, by way of relaxation, he had something better than Esop; he had those domestic joys whose precious treasures the Reformation had opened to the ministers of the Word. It was at this time he wrote that charming letter to his infant son, in which he describes a delightful garden where children dressed in gold are sporting about, picking up apples, pears, cherries, and plums; they sing, dance, and enjoy themselves, and ride pretty little horses, with golden bridles and silver saddles.²

But the reformer was soon drawn away from these pleasing images. About this time he learnt that his father had gently fallen asleep in the faith which is in Jesus Christ. "Alas!" exclaimed he, shedding tears of filial love, "it is by the sweat of his brow that he made me what I am."³ Other trials assailed him; and to bodily pains were added the phantoms of his imagination. One night in particular he saw three torches pass rapidly before his eyes, and at the same moment heard claps of thunder in his head, which he ascribed to the devil. His servant ran in at the moment he fainted, and after having restored him to animation, read to him the Epistle to the Galatians. Luther, who had fallen asleep, said as he awoke, "Come, and despite of the devil let us sing the Psalm, *Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord!*" They both sang the hymn. While Luther was thus tormented by these internal noises, he translated the prophet Jeremiah, and yet he often deplored his idleness.

He soon devoted himself to other studies, and poured out the floods of his irony on the mundane practices of courts. He saw Venice, the pope, and the King of France, giving their hands to Charles V. to crush the Gospel. Then, alone in his chamber in the old castle, he burst into irresistible laughter. "Mr. *Par-ma-joy* (it was thus he designated Francis I.), *In-nomine Domini* (the pope), and the republic of Venice, pledge their goods and their bodies to the emperor..... *Sanctissimum fœdus*. A most holy alliance truly! This league between these four powers belongs to the chapter *Non-credimus*. Venice, the pope, and France become *imperialists*!..... But these are three persons in one substance, filled with unspeakable hatred

¹ *eo enim Sabbatum voluit tam rigide præ cæteris servare.* L. Epp. iv. 16.

² *re rhetorically. Fecit aliquando ὑπερηφάνους quam præ scripseram.* Corp. Ref. ii. 40.

³ *ta Ecclus addidit διαβολικότητας διαβολῆς contra.* Ibid. 45.

⁴ *Apologia quodlibet multa mutamus.* Ibid. 60.

⁵ *theologus Predigten, p. 92.*

⁶ *ingenue amantissimus et studiosus commodissimus.* L. Epp.

¹ *Orabo igitur et plorabo, non quiesciturus donec, &c.* L. Epp. iv. 2.

² This letter, which is a masterpiece of its kind, may be found in Luther's Epp. iv. 41, and also in Eddle's "Luther and his Times," p. 200.

³ *Per ejus sudores aulæ et fœnit qualis eum.* Epp. iv. 28.

against the emperor. Mr. *Par-ma-foy* cannot forget his defeat at Pavia; Mr. *In-nomine-Domini* is, 1st, an Italian, which is already too much; 2d, a Florentine, which is worse; 3d, a bastard—that is to say, a child of the devil; 4th, he will never forget the disgrace of the sack of Rome. As for the Venetians, they are Venetians: that is quite enough; and they have good reason to avenge themselves on the posterity of Maximilian. All this belongs to the chapter *Firmiter-credimus*. But God will help the pious Charles, who is a sheep among wolves. Amen."¹ The ex-monk of Erfurth had a surer political foresight than many diplomats of his age.

Impatient at seeing the diet put off from day to day, Luther formed his resolution, and ended by convoking it even at Coburg. "We are already in full assembly," wrote he on the 28th April and the 9th May. "You might here see kings, dukes, and other grandees, deliberating on the affairs of their kingdom, and with indefatigable voice publishing their dogmas and decrees in the air. They dwell not in those caverns which you decorate with the name of palaces: the heavens are their canopy; the leafy trees form a floor of a thousand colours, and their walls are the ends of the earth. They have a horror of all the unmeaning luxury of silk and gold; they ask neither coursers nor armour, and have all the same clothing and the same colour. I have not seen or heard their emperor; but if I can understand them, they have determined this year to make a pitiless war upon—the most excellent fruits of the earth.—Ah! my dear friends," said he to his colleagues, "to whom he was writing, 'these are the sophists, the papists, who are assembled before me from all quarters of the world to make me hear their sermons and their cries.' These two letters, dated from the 'empire of ravens and crows,' finish in the following mournful strain, which shows us the reformer descending into himself after this play of his imagination: 'Enough of jesting!—jesting which is, however, sometimes necessary to dispel the gloomy thoughts that overwhelm me.'"

Luther soon returned to real life, and thrilled with joy at beholding the fruits that the Reformation was already bearing, and which were for him a more powerful "apology" than even the Confession of Melancthon. "Is there in the whole world a single country to be compared to your highness's states," wrote he to the elector, "and which possesses preachers of so pure a doctrine, or pastors so fitted to bring about the reign of peace? Where do we see, as in Saxony, boys and girls well instructed in the Holy Scriptures and in the Catechism, increasing in wisdom and in stature, praying, believing,

talking of God and of Christ better than ~~has~~ been done hitherto by all the universities, convents, and chapters of Christendom?"² —"My dear Duke John, says the Lord to you, I commend this paradise to thee, the most beautiful that exists in the world, that thou mayest be its gardener." And then he added: "Alas! the madness of the papist princes changes this paradise of God into a dirty slough, and corrupting the youth, daily peoples with real devils their states, their tables, and their palaces."

Luther, not content with encouraging his prince, desired also to frighten his adversaries. It was with this intent that he wrote at that time an address to the members of the clergy assembled at Augsburg. A crowd of thoughts, like lansquenets armed *cap-a-pié*, "rushed in to fatigue and bewilder him;"³ and in fact there is no want of barbed words in the discourse he addresses to the bishops. "In short," said he to them in conclusion, "we know and you know that we have the Word of God, and that you have it not. O pope! if I live I shall be a pestilence to thee; and if I die, I shall be thy death!"⁴

Thus was Luther present at Augsburg, although invisible; and he effected more by his words and by his prayers than Agricola, Brentz, or Melancthon. These were the days of travail for the Gospel truth. It was about to appear in the world with a might destined to eclipse all that had been done since the time of St. Paul; but Luther only announced and manifested the things that God was effecting: he did not execute them himself. He was, as regards the events of the Church, what Socrates was to philosophy: "I imitate my mother (she was a midwife)," this philosopher was in the habit of saying; "she does not travail herself, but she aids others." Luther—and he never ceased repeating it—has created nothing; but he has brought to light the precious seed, hidden for ages in the bosom of the Church. The man of God is not he who seeks to form his age according to his own peculiar ideas; but he who, distinctly perceiving God's truth, such as it is found in his Word, and as it is hidden in his Church, brings it to his contemporaries with courage and decision.

Never had these qualities been more necessary, for matters were taking an alarming aspect. On the 4th June died Chancellor Gattinara, who was to Charles the Fifth "what Ulpian was to Alexander Severus," says Melancthon, and with him all the human hopes of the Protestants vanished. "It is God," Luther had said, "who has raised up for us a Naaman in the court of the King of Syria." In truth Gattinara alone resisted the pope. When Charles brought to him the

¹ To Cass. of Toulouen, 18th June. L. Epp. iv. 37.
² An selten Tischgesellschaften, messmates or table-companions. Ibid. 7.
³ Sed serio et necessario loco qui mihi irragantes cogitationes repellunt. Ibid. 11.

¹ Es wächst jetzt daher die zart Jugend von Knäblen in Meidlin. L. Epp. iv. 31.
² Ut plurimos Lansquenectos, prorsus vi repellere cogam qui insalutari non cessant obstrepere. Ibid. 12.
³ Peccis etiam vilis, moriens ero mors tua, Page. L. Ope. xx. 164.

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Rome: "Remember," said the "that you are master!" Hence-ry thing seemed to take a new (he pope required that Charles isfied with being his "licitor," as, to carry out his judgments heretics.¹ Eck, whose name Melancthon) was no bad imitator of Luther's crows, heaped one r² a multitude of pretended heritions, extracted from the rettings. They amounted to four four, and yet he made excuse aken unawares, he was forced to elf to so small a number, and he for a disputation with the Lubehey retorted on these proposi-number of ironical and biting vine, Venus, and baths, against and the poor doctor became the hing-stock.

s went to work more skilfully ochlous, who became chaplain orge of Saxony in 1527, begged with Melancthon, "for," added ot converse with your married Melancthon, who was looked evil eye at Augsburg, and who ed of being more solitary there in his castle,⁴ was touched by, and was still more fully pene-the idea that things should be e mildest manner possible.

sh priests and laymen made a, because on fast days meat was i at the elector's court. Melanc-his prince to restrict the liberty ants in this respect. "This dishe, "far from leading the simplehe Gospel, scandalizes them." i his ill-humour: "A fine holi-o make it a matter of conscience et to be night and day given up folly!"⁵ The elector did not ancthon's advice; it would have of weakness of which his adverl have known how to take

1st May, the Saxon Confession th communicated to the other ates, who required that it should in common in the name of them: the same time they desired to reservations with regard to the the state. "We appeal to a id Melancthon; "we will not

receive the emperor as our judge; the eccle-siastical constitutions themselves forbid him to pronounce in spiritual matters.¹ Moses declares that it is not the civil magistrate who decides, but the sons of Levi. St. Paul also says (1 Cor. xiv.), 'let the others judge,' which cannot be understood except of an entire christian assembly; and the Saviour himself gives us this commandment: 'Tell it unto the Church.' We pledge, therefore, our obedience to the emperor in all civil matters; but as for the Word of God, we demand liberty."

All were agreed on this point; but the dissent came from another quarter. The Lutherans feared to compromise their cause if they went hand in hand with the Zwinglians. "This is Lutheran madness," replied Bucer: "it will perish of its own weight."² But, far from allowing this madness "to perish," the reformed augmented the dis-union by exaggerated complaints. "In Saxony they are beginning to sing Latin hymns again," said they; "the sacred vestments are resumed, and oblations are called for anew."³ We would rather be led to slaughter, than be Christians after that fashion."

The afflicted landgrave, says Bucer, was "between the hammer and the anvil;" and his allies caused him more uneasiness than his enemies.⁴ He applied to Rhegius, to Brentz, to Melancthon, declaring that it was his most earnest wish to see concord prevail among all the evangelical doctors. "If these fatal doctrines are not opposed," replied Melancthon, "there will be rents in the Church that will last to the end of the world. Do not the Zwinglians boast of their full coffers, of having soldiers prepared, and of foreign nations disposed to aid them? Do they not talk of sharing among them the rights and the property of the bishops, and of proclaiming liberty?.... Good God! shall we not think of posterity, which, if we do not repress these guilty seditions, will be at once without throne and without altar?"⁵—"No, no! we are one," replied this generous prince, who was so much in advance of his age; "we all confess the same Christ, we all profess that we must eat Jesus Christ, by faith, in the eucharist. Let us unite." All was unavailing. The time in which true catholicity was to replace this sectarian spirit, of which Rome is the most perfect expression, had not yet arrived.

rem suum in hæreticon. Epp. iv. 10.
rum conclusionum concessit. Corp. Ref.

i prebyteris tuis privatim colloqui non in-
p. 52.
us sumus monachi quam vos in illa arce
16.

Tag und Nacht voll und toll seyn. Ibid.
aller Fürsten und Städte Nâmen. Ibid. II.

¹ Die constitutiones canonice den Kaysern verboten zu
richten und sprechen in geistlichen sachen. Corp. Ref. II.
p. 66.

² De Lutherania furoribus....sua ipsi mole ruunt. Zw.
Epp. II. 432.

³ Hinc Latine resumuntur cantiones, repetuntur sanctæ
vestes. Ibid. p. 437.

⁴ Cæsus inter secum et saxum stat, et de soclis magis
quam hostibus sollicitus est. Ibid.

⁵ Keine Kirche und kein Regiment. Corp. Ref. II. 66.

CHAPTER IV.

Agitation in Augsburg—Violence of the Imperialists—Charles at Munich—Charles's Arrival—The Nuncio's Blessing—The Imperial Procession—Charles's Appearance—Enters Augsburg—Te Deum—The Benediction—Charles desires the Sermons to be discontinued—Brandenburg offers his Head—The Emperor's Request for Corpus Christi—Refusal of the Princes—Agitation of Charles—The Princes oppose Tradition—Procession of Corpus Christi—Exasperation of Charles.

In proportion as the emperor drew near Augsburg, the anxieties of the Protestants increased. The burghers of this imperial city expected to see it become the theatre of strange events. Accordingly they said that if the elector, the landgrave, and other friends of the Reformation were not in the midst of them, they would all desert it.¹ "A great destruction threatens us," was repeated on every side.² One of Charles's haughty expressions above all disquieted the Protestants. "What do these electors want with me?" he had said impatiently; "I shall do what I please!"³ Thus arbitrary rule was the imperial law destined to prevail in the diet.

To this agitation of men's minds was added the agitation of the streets, or rather one led to the other. Masons and locksmiths were at work in all the public places and crossings, laboriously fastening barriers and chains to the walls, that might be closed or stretched at the first cry of alarm.⁴ At the same time about eight hundred foot and horse soldiers, whom the magistrates had enrolled in order to receive the emperor with magnificence, were seen patrolling the streets, dressed in velvet and silk.⁵

Matters were in this state, and it was about the middle of May, when a number of insolent Spanish quartermasters arrived, who, looking with contemptuous eyes on these wretched burghers, entered their houses, conducted themselves with violence, and even rudely tore down the arms of some of the princes.⁶ The magistrates having delegated councillors to treat with them, the Spaniards made an impudent reply. "Alas!" said the citizens, "if the servants are so, what will their master be?" The ministers of Charles were grieved at their impertinence, and sent a German quartermaster who employed the forms of German politeness to make them forget this Spanish haughtiness.

That did not last long, and they soon felt more serious alarm. The Council of Augsburg were asked what was the meaning of these chains and soldiers, and they were ordered, in the emperor's name, to take down the one and disband the other. The magistrates of the city answered in alarm, "For

more than ten years past we have intended putting up these chains;¹ and as for the soldiers, our object is simply to pay due honour to his majesty." After many parleys it was agreed to dismiss the troops, and that the imperial commanders should select afresh a thousand men, who should make oath to the emperor, but be paid by the city of Augsburg.

The imperial quartermasters then resumed all their insolence: and no longer giving themselves the trouble of entering the houses and the shops, they tore down the signboards of the Augsburg citizens, and wrote in their place how many men and horses the latter would be required to lodge.²

Such were the preludes to the work of conciliation that Charles V. had announced, and that he was so slow in beginning. Accordingly his delay, attributed by some to the crowds of people who surrounded him with their acclamations; by others to the solicitations of the priests, who opposed his entry into Augsburg until he had imposed silence on the ministers; and by others, finally, to the lessons the pope had given him in the arts of policy and stratagem,³ still more estranged the elector and his allies.

At last Charles, having quitted Innspruck two days after Gattinara's death, arrived at Munich on the 10th June. His reception was magnificent. About two miles from the town a temporary fortress had been erected, around which a sham-fight took place. Soldiers mounted to the assault, mines were exploded; discharges of artillery, clouds of smoke, the clash of arms, the shouts of the combatants, delighted the eyes and ears of the emperor;⁴ within the city, theatres had been raised in the open air, in which the *Jewess Esther*, the *Persian Cambyse*, and other pieces not less famous, were represented; and the whole, combined with splendid fireworks, formed the welcome given by the adherents of the pope to him whom they styled their saviour.

Charles was not far distant from Augsburg. As early as the 11th June, every day and every hour, members of the imperial household, carriages, waggons, and baggage entered the city, to the sound of the clacking whip and of the horn;⁵ and the burghers in amazement gazed with dejected eyes on all this insolent train, that fell upon their city like a flight of locusts.⁶

At five o'clock in the morning of the 15th June,⁷ the elector, the princes, and their councillors, assembled at the town-hall, and ere long arrived the imperial commissaries.

¹ Wo Sachsen, Hessen, und andere Lutherische nit hi waren. Corp. Ref. ii. 88.

² Minatur nobis Satan grande exitum. Ibid. 92.

³ Er wolte es machen, wie es ihm eben wäre. Ibid. 88.

⁴ Neu aufgerichtete Ketten und Stöckel. Ibid. 66.

⁵ Mit sammet und seide auf's kostlichst ausgestrichen. Ibid.

⁶ Die Jungen Fürsten zu Neuburg ihre wappen abgerissen. Ibid. 88.

¹ Vor zehn Jahren in Sinn gehabt. Corp. Ref. ii. 68.

² Gehen nicht mehr in die Häuser und schrieben an die Thür. Ibid. 82.

³ Cassarem instructum arte pontificum querere causam. Corp. Ref. ii. 31.

⁴ Das hat Kala. Maj. wohl gefallen. Forstemann, Urkunden, i. 246.

⁵ Alle stund die Wagen, der Troas und viel gestadte nach einander herein. Corp. Ref. ii. 90.

⁶ Finden aber wenig Freuden feuer. Ibid.

⁷ Zu morgens, um fünf Uhr. F. Urkunden, i. 281.

th orders for them to go out and meet arles. At three in the afternoon the nees and deputies quitted the city, and, ving reached a little bridge across the er Lech, they halted and waited for the peror. The eyes of every member of the iliant assemblage, thus stopping on the iling banks of an alpine torrent, were ected along the road to Munich. At gth, after waiting two or three hours, uds of dust and a loud noise announced the emperor. Two thousand of the imperial ard marched first; and as soon as Charles l come to within fifty paces of the river, electors and princes alighted. Their us, who had advanced beyond the bridge, eceiving the emperor preparing to do the ne, ran to him and begged him to remain horseback;¹ but Charles dismounted thout hesitation,² and approaching the nees with an amiable smile, cordially ook hands with them. Albert of Mentz, his quality of arch-chancellor of the eme, now welcomed the emperor, and the nt-palatine Frederick replied in behalf of arles.

While this was passing, three individuals nained apart on a little elevation;³ these re the Roman legate, proudly seated on a ile, glittering with purple, and accomnied by two other cardinals, the Archishop of Salzburg and the Bishop of Trent. ie Nuncio, beholding all these great perages on the road, raised his hands, and ve them his blessing. Immediately the peror, the king, and the princes who subtted to the pope, fell on their knees; the aniards, Italians, Netherlands, and nmans in their train, imitated their move-nts, casting however a side glance on the otestants, who, in the midst of this humbly strate crowd, alone remained standing.⁴ arles did not appear to notice this, but he utless understood what it meant. The ector of Brandenburg then delivered a tin speech to the legate. He had been ected because he spoke this language bet- than the princes of the Church; and ac- dingly, Charles, when praising his elo- ence, silyly put in a word about the negli- nce of the prelates.⁵ The emperor now pared to remount his horse; the Prince- ctoral of Saxony, and the young princes uneburg, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, d Anhalt, rushed towards him to aid him getting into his saddle: one held the bridle, other the stirrup, and all were charmed at magnificient appearance of their powerful ereign.⁶ The procession began to move on. First came two companies of lansquenets, nmanded by Simon Seitz, a citizen of

Augsburg, who had made the campaign of Italy, and was returning home laden with gold.¹ Next advanced the households of the six electors, composed of princes, counts, councillors, gentlemen, and soldiers; the household of the Dukes of Bavaria had slipped into their ranks, and the four hundred and fifty horsemen that composed it marched five abreast, covered with bright cuirasses, and wearing red doublets, while over their heads floated handsome many-coloured plumes. Bavaria was already in this age the main support of Rome in Germany.

Immediately after came the households of the emperor and of his brother, in striking contrast with this warlike show. They were composed of Turkish, Polish, Arabian, and other led horses; then followed a multitude of young pages, clad in yellow or red velvet, with Spanish, Bohemian, and Austrian nobles in robes of silk and velvet;² among these the Bohemians had the most martial air, and gracefully rode their superb and prancing coursers. Last the trumpeters, drummers, heralds, grooms, footmen, and the legate's cross-bearers, announced the approach of the princes.

In fact these powerful lords, whose contentions had so often filled Germany with confusion and war, now advanced riding peacefully side by side. After the princes appeared the electors; and the Elector of Saxony, according to custom, carried the naked and glittering imperial sword immediately before the emperor.³

Last came the prince, on whom all eyes were fixed.⁴ Thirty years of age, of distinguished port and pleasing features, robed in golden garments that glittered all over with precious stones,⁵ wearing a small Spanish hat on the crown of his head,⁶ mounted on a beautiful Polish hackney of the most brilliant whiteness, riding beneath a rich canopy of red, white, and green damask borne by six senators of Augsburg, and casting around him looks in which gentleness was mingled with gravity, Charles excited the liveliest enthusiasm, and every one exclaimed that he was the handsomest man in the empire, as well as the mightiest prince in the world.

He had at first desired to place his brother and the legate at his side; but the Elector of Mentz, attended by two hundred guards arrayed in silk, had claimed the emperor's right hand; and the Elector of Cologne, with a hundred well-armed attendants, had taken his station on the left. King Ferdinand and the legate followed after, and next came cardinals, ambassadors, and prelates, among whom was remarked the haughty

Ab Electorum filiis qui procurarent rogatus. Seck. II.

Mox ab equis descenderant. Cochleus.

Auf ein Ort geruckt. F. Urkunden, I. 254.

Primum constantis specimen. Seck. II. 101.

Prelatorum autem negligentiam accusaret. Ibid.

Consequenter juniores principes adjuverunt. Ibid.

F. Urkunden, I. 254.

¹ Bekleidt von gold. Lit. clothed with gold. F. Urkunden, I. 254.

² Viel sammelte unde seiden Röcke. I. Opp. xx. 301.

³ Noster princeps de more prætulit ensam. Corp. Ref. II. 119.

⁴ Omnium oculos in se convertit. Seck. II. 100.

⁵ Totius gemulis curcubabat. Ibid.

⁶ Ein klein Spanischer Hütlein. F. Urkunden, I. 254.

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Bishop of Osmâ, the emperor's confessor. The imperial cavalry and the troops of Augsburg closed the procession.

Never, according to the historians, had anything so magnificent been seen in the empire;¹ but they advanced slowly, and it was between eight and nine o'clock in the evening before they reached the gates of Augsburg.² Here they met the burgomaster and councillors, who prostrated themselves before Charles, and at the same time the cannon from the ramparts, the bells from all the steeples in full peal, the noise of trumpets and kettle-drums, and the joyful acclamations of the people, re-echoed with loud din. Stadion, bishop of Augsburg, and his clergy robed in white, struck up the *Adventisti desirabilis*; and six canons, advancing with a magnificent canopy, prepared to conduct the emperor to the cathedral, when Charles's horse, startled at this unusual sight, suddenly reared,³ and the emperor had some difficulty in mastering him. At length Charles entered the minster, which was ornamented with garlands and flowers, and suddenly illuminated by a thousand torches.

The emperor went up to the altar, and falling on his knees, raised his hands towards heaven.⁴ During the *Te Deum*, the Protestants observed with anxiety that Charles kept conversing in a low tone with the Archbishop of Mentz; that he bent his ear to the legate who approached to speak to him, and nodded in a friendly manner to Duke George. All this appeared to them of evil omen; but at the moment when the priests sang the *Te ergo quæsumus*, Charles, breaking off his conversations, suddenly rose, and one of the acolytes running to him with a gold embroidered cushion, the emperor put it aside, and knelt on the bare stones of the church. All the assembly knelt down with him; the elector and the landgrave alone remained standing. Duke George, astonished at such boldness, cast a threatening glance at his cousin. The Margrave of Brandenburg, carried away by the crowd, had fallen on his knees: but having seen his two allies standing, he hastily rose up again.

The Cardinal-archbishop of Salzburg then proceeded to pronounce the benediction; but Campeggio, impatient at having as yet taken no part in the ceremony, hastened to the altar, and rudely thrusting the archbishop aside, said sharply to him:⁵ "This office belongs to me, and not to you." The other gave way, the emperor bent down, and the landgrave, with difficulty concealing a smile, hid himself behind a candelabrum. The bells now rang out anew, the procession recommenced its march, and the princes conducted

the emperor to the palatinate (the given to the bishop's palace), which had been prepared for him. The crowd dispersed: it was after ten at night.

The hour was come in which the prospect of the papacy flattered themselves with rendering the Protestants to their faith. The arrival of the emperor, the procession of the holy sacrament was preparing, the late hour,—all he calculated beforehand; "the nocturnal treason were about to begin," said Sp.

A few minutes of general conversation took place in the emperor's apartments. The princes of the Romish party were allowed to retire; but Charles had given to the Elector of Saxony, to the Landgrave of Hesse, to George, margrave of Brandenburg, to the Prince of Anhalt, and to the Duke of Lüneburg, to follow him into his chamber.¹ His brother Ferdinand, who was to serve as interpreter, alone went with them. Charles thought that so long Protestant princes were before them, they would not yield; but that in a friendly interview, he might obtain what he desired of them.

"His majesty requests you to discourse the sermons," said Ferdinand. On these words the two elder princes (the elector and the margrave) turned pale, and not speak:² there was a long silence.

At last, the landgrave said: "We request your majesty to withdraw your request, our ministers preach only the pure Word of God, as did the ancient doctors of the Church. St. Augustine, St. Hilary, and so others. Of this your majesty may convince yourself. We cannot deprive ourselves of the food of the Word of God, his Gospel."³

Ferdinand, resuming the conversation in French⁴ (for it was in this language he conversed with his brother), informed the emperor of the landgrave's answer. It was more displeasing to Charles than the citations of Hilary and Augustine; he mounted to his cheeks, and nearly giving way to his anger,⁵ "I jest," said Ferdinand in a more friendly tone, "cannot desist from his demand. Your conscience," quickly replied the landgrave, "has no right to command. As Ferdinand still persisted, the margrave who had been silent until then, could no longer; and without ear interpreters, stretched out his neck to Charles, exclaiming in deep emotion: "I will not allow the Word of the Lord to be taken from me, rather than deny it. I would kneel down before your majesty."

¹ Antea in imperio non erat visa. Seck. II. 160.

² Ingressus est in urbem intra octavam et nonam. Ibid.

³ Da entsetzt sich K. M. Hengst für solchem Hime! P. Urkunden, I. 26.

⁴ Ihr hand angehebt. Ibid.

⁵ Cardinalium legatus castigatum abegit. Seck. II. 161.

¹ Ad conclave suum. Corp. Ref. pp. 106, 114.

² Die beide alte Fürsten zum höchsten entsetzt.

³ Se non posse cibo verbi Dei carere, nec sana ex Evangelium negare. Ibid. 114.

⁴ In Französischer Sprache. Ibid. 107.

⁵ Sich darob etwas angerit und erbitzt. Ibid. I.

⁶ K. M. gewissen sey aber kein Herr und meyste gewiszen. Ibid.

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head cut off!" As he uttered these ad magnanimous words, says a contemporary, the prince accompanied them with a significant gesture, and let his hands fall like the headsman's axe. The statement of the princes was at its height; had it been necessary, they would have instantly walked to the scaffold. He was moved; surprised and agitated, he cried out in his bad German, "a show of checking the landgrave: rince, not the head! not the head!" and scarcely uttered these few words, he checked himself.

were the only words that Charles heard before the princes during all the ignorance of the German language, sometimes also the etiquette of the Empire compelled him to speak only by the hand of his brother or of the count-palatine. He was in the habit of consecrating himself daily to divine worship, the people he talks more with God than with men. His habitual silence was not favourable to his plans. They required activity and urgency; but instead of that the German emperor, a mere puppet, nodding his head and winking his eyes. Charles somewhat very keenly the faults of this position. He was able to speak German," said he would willingly sacrifice any other language, even were it Spanish or French, rather than that, one of my states."² He saw that it was useless to insist on the cessation of these meetings; but he held his arrow in his quiver. The next day was the festival of *Corpus Christi*, and from that had never as yet been in all the princes and deputies present that were expected to take part in the festival. Would the Protestants refuse of courtesy at the very opening of a high each one came in a conciliatory tone. Have they not declared that the blood of Christ are really in the sacrament? Do they not boast of their opposition to Rome, and can they stand aloof, without being tainted with heresy? Now, if they are the pomp that surrounds "the sacrament," if they mingle with that of the clergy, glittering in luxury and with pride, who carry about the sacrament they have created; if they are when the people bow down; will they irrevocably compromise their faith? The sacrament is well prepared; its movement cannot fail; there is no more doubt that of the Italians is about to triumph in the simplicity of these German bores. and therefore resumes, and making a use of the very refusal that he had made with: "Since the emperor," said

he, "cannot obtain from you the suspension of your assemblies, he begs at least that you will accompany him to-morrow, according to custom, in the procession of the Holy Sacrament. Do so, if not from regard to him, at least for the honour of Almighty God."¹

The princes were still more irritated and alarmed. "Christ," said they, "did not institute his sacrament to be worshipped." Charles persevered in his demand, and the Protestants in their refusal.³ Upon this the emperor declared that he would not accept their excuse; that he would give them time for reflection, and that they must be prepared to reply early on the morrow.

They separated in the greatest agitation. The prince-electoral, who had waited for his father in the first hall along with other lords, sought, at the moment the princes issued from the emperor's chamber, to read on their countenance what had taken place. Judging from the emotion depicted on their features that the struggle had been severe, he thought that his father was incurring the greatest dangers, and accordingly, grasping him by the hand, dragged him to the staircase of the palace, exclaiming in affright, as if Charles's satellites were already at his heels, "Come, come quickly!"

Charles, who had expected no such resistance, was, in truth, confounded, and the legate endeavoured to exasperate him still more.⁴ Agitated, filled with anger and vexation, and uttering the most terrible threats,⁵ the young emperor paced hastily to and fro the halls of his palace; and unable to wait for the answer until the morrow, he sent in the middle of the night to demand the electoral's final decision. "At present we require sleep," replied the latter; "to-morrow we will let you know our determination."⁶ As for the landgrave, he could not rest any more than Charles. Scarcely had he returned home, when he sent his chancellor to the Nuremberg deputies, and had them awake to make them acquainted with what had taken place.⁷

At the same time Charles's demand was laid before the theologians, and Spalatin, taking the pen, drew up their opinion during the night. "The sacrament," it bore, "was not instituted to be worshipped, as the Jews worshipped the brazen image.⁸ We are here to confess the truth, and not for the confirmation of abuses. Let us therefore stay away!" This opinion confirmed the evangelical princes in their determination; and the day of the 16th June began to dawn.

¹ Et saltem in honorem Dei illud facerent. Corp. Ref. II. 116.

² Persistit Caesar in postulatione, peristerunt illi in recusatone. Ibid. 115.

³ A savitia Legati Romanensium captivi. Ibid. 116.

⁴ Hinc secutus sunt gravissimæ minæ, jactatæ savissimæ Caesaris indignationes. Ibid.

⁵ Quiesce alio opus esse dicens, responsum in diem alterum distulit. Seck. II. 162.

⁶ Hat nächten uns aufwecken lassen. Corp. Ref. II. 104.

⁷ Wie die Juden die Schlange haben angebetet. Ibid.

dictor, ita magnanimitate, says Brentz. Corp. Spanisch oder Französisch und dazu eines Latein. Ibid. II. 114.

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The elector of Saxony, feeling indisposed during the night, commissioned his son to represent him; and at seven o'clock the princes and councillors repaired on horseback to the emperor's palace.¹

The Margrave of Brandenburg was their spokesman. "You know," said he to Charles, "how, at the risk of our lives, my ancestors and myself have supported your august house. But, in the things of God, the commands of God himself oblige me to put aside all commandment of man. We are told that death awaits those who shall persevere in the sound doctrine: I am ready to suffer it." He then presented the declaration of the evangelical princes to the emperor. "We will not countenance by our presence," said they, "these impious human traditions, which are opposed to the Word of God. We declare, on the contrary, without hesitation, and with one accord, that we must expel them from the Church, lest those of its members that are still sound should be infected by this deadly poison."² "If you will not accompany his majesty for the love of God," said Ferdinand, "do so at least for love of the emperor, and as vassals of the empire."³ His majesty commands you." "An act of worship is in question," replied the princes, "our conscience forbids it." Then Ferdinand and Charles having conversed together in a low tone: "His majesty desires to see," said the king, "whether you will obey him or not."⁴ At the same time the emperor and his brother quitted the room; but the princes, instead of following him, as Charles had hoped, returned full of joy to their palaces.

The procession did not begin till noon. Immediately behind the canopy under which the Elector of Mentz carried the host, came the emperor alone, with a devout air, bearing a taper in his hand, his head bare and shorn like a priest's, although the noon-day sun darted on him its most ardent rays.⁵ By exposing himself to these fatigues, Charles desired to profess aloud his faith in what constitutes the essence of Roman-catholicism. In proportion as the spirit and the life had escaped from the primitive churches, they had striven to replace them by forms, shows, and ceremonies. The essential cause of the Romish worship is found in that decline of charity and faith which the Catholic Christians of the first ages have often deplored; and the history of Rome is summed up in this expression of St. Paul, *Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof*.⁶ But as the power was then beginning to revive in the Church, the form began also to decline. Barely a hundred citizens of

Augsburg had joined in the procession 16th June. It was no longer the former times: the christian people lay anew to love and to believe.

Charles, however, under an air of concealed a wounded heart. The less able to command himself, and that this obstinacy of the princes the cause of great mischief to it. When the procession was over (it lasted an hour), Charles could no longer restrain extreme irritation; and he had returned to his palace, when he decided he would give the Protestant prince conduct, and that on the very next obstinate and rebellious men should Augsburg;⁷ the diet would then take resolutions as were required for the good of the Church and of the Empire. He doubted the legate who had given Charles this idea, which, if executed, would have led to a religious war. But so the princes of the Roman party, desiring to serve peace, succeeded, though not without difficulty, in getting the emperor to his threatening order.⁸

CHAPTER V.

The Sermons prohibited—Compromise proposed—The Herald—Curiosity of the Citizens—Preachers—The Medley of Popery—Luther the Prince—Veni Spiritus—Mass of the Host—The Sermon—Opening of the Diet—The Elector—Inalicious Plan of the Romanists—Valdes then—No Public Discussion—Evangelical trials.

CHARLES, being defeated on the subject of the procession, resolved to take his revenge at the assemblies, for nothing galled these sermons. A crowd continued to fill the vast church of the Franciscans, Zwinglian minister of lively and powerful eloquence was preaching on the Joshua.⁹ He placed the kings of Canaan before them: the children of Israel before them: the congregation heard them speak and act, and every one recognized in the emperor and the ultra-princes, and in the people of God the agents of the Reformation. In consequence hearers quitted the church enthusiastic in their faith, and filled with the desire to destroy the idolatry of the idolaters of the ground. On the 16th June, the emperor deliberated on Charles's demand, it was rejected by the majority. "A scarecrow," said they; "the Papal desire to see if the nail shakes in and if they can start the hare thicket."

The next morning (17th Jun

¹ Heute zu sieben Uhren sind gemeldete Fürsten. Corp. Ref. iii. 107.

² Celestin. l. 82.

³ Ut vasaulli et principes imperii. Cochleus, p. 102.

⁴ Sie wollen sehen, ob sie L. M. gehorchaam leisten oder nicht. Corp. Ref. ii. 108.

⁵ Clericalliter, detonso capillo. Zw. Epp. ii. 471. Nudo capite sub meridiano solis ardoris. Pallavincini, l. 229.

⁶ Timothy ii. 2.

⁷ Sarpi, Council of Trent, l. 99.

⁸ Ut mox altera die, cum salvo-conductu, Lu rept domum. Cochli. p. 103.

⁹ Pacis et concordie avidi, supplicarunt ejus sedate ira. Ibid.

¹⁰ Maximus populi concursus amplissima sede.

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he princes replied to the emperor. Our ministers to preach purely gospel would be rebellion against him; not that his Word be bound. As that we are, we need this Divine mount our troubles.¹ Moreover, Charles has declared, that in this diet he should be examined with im-

Now, to order us henceforward the sermons, would be to condemn hand."

immediately convoked the other and spiritual princes, who arrived at the palatine palace, and sitting until the evening;² the discourse exceedingly animated. "This ing," said some of the speakers, "stant princes, as they quitted the ad sermons delivered in public."³ At this new affront, Charles with contained himself. Some of the however, entreated him to accept tion, to which he consented; but ants were immovable. Did these hom they imagined to reduce so far in Augsburg only to humiliate The honour of the chief of the it be saved at any cost. "Let us enounce our preachers," said the the Protestants will not then per- ing theirs!"

mittee accordingly proposed that r should set aside both Papist and preachers, and nominate a few with authority to announce the of God, without attacking either parties.⁴ "They shall be neutral they to the Protestants; "neither his partisans shall be admitted." ey will condemn our doctrine."— means. The preacher shall do it read the text of the Gospels, and a general confession of sins.⁵ sical states required time to re- t.

ist accept it," said Melancthon; obstinacy should lead the empe- hearing our Confession, the evil reater still."

: called to Augsburg," said Agri- ive an account of our doctrine, preach."⁶

is heard a little disorder in the city," palatin. "The sacramentarians tasts preach here as well as we: t out of this confusion."

do the Papists propose?" said logians; "to read the Gospels s without explanation. But is

not that a victory? What! we protest against the interpretations of the Church; and lo! the priests are to read the Word of God without notes or commentaries, that is to say, transforming themselves into Protestant ministers!" "O! admirable wisdom of the courtiers!" exclaimed Melancthon, smiling.¹

To these motives were added the opinions of the lawyers. As the emperor ought to be considered the rightful magistrate of an imperial city, so long as he made it his residence, all jurisdiction in Augsburg really belonged to him.

"Well, then," said the Protestant princes, "we agree to silence our preachers, in the hope that we shall hear nothing offensive to our consciences. If it were otherwise, we should feel ourselves constrained to repel so serious an insult."² Besides," added the elector, as he withdrew, "we expect that if at any time we desire to hear one of our chaplains in our own palace, we shall be free to do so."³

They hastened to the emperor, who desired nothing better than to come to an understanding with the Protestants on this subject, and who ratified every thing.

This was Saturday. An imperial herald was immediately sent out, who, parading the streets of the city at seven in the evening to the sound of trumpets,⁴ made the following proclamation:—"O yes, O Yes!⁵ Thus ordains his imperial majesty, our most gracious lord: no one shall be allowed to preach in Augsburg except by his majesty's nomination, under penalty of incurring his majesty's displeasure and punishment."

A thousand different remarks were exchanged in the houses of the citizens of Augsburg. "We are very impatient," said they, "to see the preachers appointed by the emperor, and who will preach (O! unprecedented wonder!) neither against the evangelical doctrine nor against the doctrine of the pope!"⁶ "We must expect," added another, "to behold some *Tragelaph* or some chimera with the head of a lion, a goat's body, and a dragon's tail."⁷ The Spaniards appeared well satisfied with this agreement, for many of them had never heard a single sermon in their lives: it was not the custom in Spain; but Zwingle's friends were filled with indignation and alarm.⁸

At length Sunday the 19th of June arrived;

anime nutrimento carere. Celestinus, Hist. orat. Urkunden, l. 2d.

ridie. Seck. 163. Den ganzen Tag. Corp. conciones continuat. Seckend. p. 166. nes tam papistarum quam evangelicorum rp. Ref. ii. 116.

recient Evangelium et epistolam γεγραμ- bid. 119.

parochi Augustanorum, added he. Ibid.

¹ Vide miram sapientiam Aulicorum. Corp. Ref. ii. 119.

² Ut de remediis propulsande injurie cogitent. Seck. 2.

³ Ob je einer einen Prediger in seiner Herber für sich pre- 105.

diglen liess. Corp. Ref. ii. 113.

⁴ Per tubicinas et heraldum. Sturm, Zw. Epp. p. 686.

⁵ Hört, Hört. Corp. Ref. ii. 184.

⁶ Omnes hunc avidissime expectant. Ibid. 116.

⁷ Chimæram aut Tragelaphum aliquem expectamus.

Ibid. The *Tragelaph* is a fabulous animal partaking of the

nature of a goat and a stag. Representations of it were

common on drinking-bowls and goblets among the ancient

Greeks.

⁸ Multos deterreat. Sturm to Zwingle, Epp. p. 686.

every one hastened to the churches, and the people who filled them, with eyes fixed on the priest and with attentive ears,¹ prepared to listen to what these new and strange preachers would say.² It was generally believed that their task would be to make an evangelico-papistical discourse, and they were very impatient to hear this marvel. But

"The mountain in labour gave birth to a mouse!"

The preacher first read the common prayer; he then added the Gospel of the day, finished with a general confession of sins, and dismissed his congregation. People looked at one another in surprise: "Verily," said they, "here is a preacher that is neither Gospeller nor Papist, but strictly textual."³ At last all burst into laughter; "and truly," adds Brentz, "there was reason enough."⁴ In some churches, however, the chaplains, after reading the Gospel, added a few puerile words, void of Christianity and of consolation, and in no way founded on the Holy Scripture.⁵

After the so-called sermon, they proceeded to the mass. That in the cathedral was particularly noisy. The emperor was not present, for he was accustomed to sleep until nine or ten o'clock,⁶ and a late mass was performed for him; but Ferdinand and many of the princes were present. The pealing notes of the organ, the resounding voices of the choir echoed through the minster, and a numerous and motley crowd, rushing in at all the doors, filled the aisles of the temple. One might have said that every nation in the world had agreed to meet in the cathedral of Augsburg. Here were Frenchmen, there Spaniards, Moors in one place, Moriscos in another, on one side Italians, on the other Turks, and even, says Brentz, those who are called Stratiots.⁷ This crowd was no bad representation of the medley of popery.

One priest alone, a fervent Romanist, dared offer an apology for the mass in the church of the Holy Cross. Charles, wishing to maintain his authority, had him thrown into the Grayfriars' prison, whence he contrived to escape. As for the evangelical pastors of Augsburg, almost all left the city to hear the Gospel elsewhere. The Protestant princes were anxious to secure for their churches the assistance of such distinguished men. Discouragement and alarm followed close upon this step, and even the firmest were moved. The elector was inconsolable

at the privation imposed upon him by the emperor. "Our Lord God," said he, heaving a deep sigh, "has received an order to be silent at the Diet of Augsburg."¹ From that time forward Luther lost the good opinion he had previously entertained of Charles, and foreboded the stormiest future. "See what will be the end of all this," said he. "The emperor, who has ordered the elector to renounce the assemblies, will afterwards command him to renounce the doctrine; the diet will enter upon its paroxysm, and nothing will remain for us but to rely upon the arm of the Lord." Then giving way to all his indignation, he added: "The Papists, abandoned to devils, are transported with rage; and to live they must drink blood."² They wish to give themselves an air of justice, by giving us one of obstinacy. At Augsburg you have not to deal with men, but with the very gates of hell." Melancthon himself saw his hopes vanish. "All, except the emperor," said he, "hate us with the most violent hatred. The danger is great, very great."³.....Pray to Christ that he may save us!" But Luther, however full of sorrow he might be, far from being cast down, raised his head and endeavoured to reanimate the courage of his brethren. "Be assured and doubt not," wrote he to them, "that you are the confessors of Jesus Christ, and the ambassadors of the Great King."⁴

They had need of these reflections, for their adversaries, elated by this first success, neglected nothing that might destroy the Protestants; and taking another step forward, proposed forcing them to be present at the Romish ceremonies.⁵ "The Elector of Saxony," said the legate to Charles, "ought in virtue of his office of grand-marshal of the empire to carry the sword before you in all the ceremonies of the diet. Order him therefore to perform his duty at the mass of the Holy Ghost, which is to open the sittings." The emperor did so immediately, and the elector, uneasy at this message, called together his theologians. If he refused, his dignity would be taken away; and if he obeyed, he would trample his faith under foot (thought he), and would do dishonour to the Gospel.

But the Lutheran divines removed the scruples of their prince. "It is for a ceremony of the empire," said they, "as grand-marshal, and not as a Christian, that you are summoned; the Word of God itself, in the history of Naaman, authorizes you to comply with this invitation."⁶ The friends of Zwingle did not think so; their walk was more de-

¹ *Arrectis auribus.* Corp. Ref. II. 116.

² *Quid novi novus conclamationis altitatus ait.* Ibid. 117.

³ *Sic habes conclamationem neque evangelicam neque papisticam, sed nudam textualem.* Ibid.

⁴ *Rident omnes, et certe res valde ridicula est.* Ibid.

⁵ *Fauca quedam, eaque puerilia et inepta, nec Christiane, absque fundamento verbi Divini et consolatione.* Ibid. II. 163.

⁶ *Dormire solet usque ad nonam aut decimam.* Corp. Ref. II. 117.

⁷ *Ibi vigas hic Gallos, hic Hispanos, hic Ethiopes, illic etiam Ethiopias, hic Italos, illic etiam Turcas, aut quos vocant Stratiotas.* Ibid.

¹ *Hac ratione, Deo-que verbo silentium est impositum.* Beck. II. 163.

² *Ut nisi sanguinem biberint, vivere non possint.* Ibid.

³ *Magnum omnino periculum est.* Corp. Ref. II. 116.

⁴ *Et nides vivificabit et consolabitur vos, quia Magni Regis estis legati.* I. Epp. IV. 20.

⁵ *Sacri. Hist. Council of Trent, book I. 20.*

⁶ *Kings v. 14. Exemplo Naaman, Beck. II. 167; Supp. p. 20.*

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at of Wittenberg. "The mar- themselves to be put to death," rather than burn a grain of in- the idols." Even some of the earing that the *Veni Spiritus* was aid, wagging their heads: "We h afraid that the chariot of the is the Word of God, having away by the papists, the Holy te their mass, will never reach

Neither these fears nor these re listened to.

y the 20th June, the emperor ar, with the electors and princes , having entered the cathedral, ts on the right side of the choir; re placed the legate, the arch- bishops; in the middle were the

Without the choir, in a gallery ed it, were ranged the land- her Protestants, who preferred distance from the host.² The ag the sword, remained upright : at the moment of the adora- olytes having closed the gates immediately after,³ Vincent rchbishop of Bassano, preached He commenced with the Turks rages, and then, by an unex- began suddenly to exalt the above the Germans. "The he, "have but one prince whom ; but the Germans have many one. The Turks live under one only custom, one only religion; e Germans there are some who ishing for new laws, new cus- igions. They tear the seamless ; they abolish by devilish in- sacred doctrines established by nsent, and substitute for them, ery and obscenity.⁴ Magnani- or, powerful king!" said he, rds Charles and his brother, r swords, wield them against us disturbers of religion, and em back into the fold of the ere is no peace for Germany so sword shall not have entirely is heresy.⁵ O St. Peter and St. upon you; upon you, St. Peter, you may open the stony hearts ces with your keys; and upon , that if they show themselves s, you may come with your ut in pieces this unexampled

arse, intermingled with pane- ristides, Themistocles, Scipio,

Cato, the Curtii and Scævola, being con- cluded, the emperor and princes arose to make their offerings. Pappenheim returned the sword to the elector, who had intrusted it to him; and the grand-marshal, as well as the margrave, went to the offertory, but with a smile, as it is reported.¹ This fact is but little in harmony with the character of these princes.

At length they quitted the cathedral. No one, except the friends of the nuncio, was pleased with the sermon. Even the Arch- bishop of Mentz was offended at it. "What does he mean," exclaimed he, "by calling on St. Paul to cut the Germans with his sword?" As nothing more than a few inarticulate sounds had been heard in the nave, the Pro- testants eagerly questioned those of their party who had been present in the choir. "The more these priests inflame people's minds, and the more they urge their princes to bloody wars," said Brentz at that time, "the more we must hinder ours from giving way to violence."² Thus spoke a minister of the Gospel of peace after the sermon of the priests of Rome.

After the mass of the Holy Ghost, the emperor entered his carriage,⁴ and having reached the town-hall, where the sittings of the diet were to take place, took his seat on a throne covered with cloth of gold, while his brother placed himself on a bench in front of him; then all around them were ranged the electors, forty-two sovereign princes, the deputies from the cities, the bishops, and ambassadors, forming, indeed, that illus- trious assembly which Luther, six weeks before, had imagined he saw sitting in the air.⁴

The count-palatine read the imperial pro- position. It referred to two points; the war against the Turks, and the religious contro- versy. "Sacrificing my private injuries and interests to the common good," said the em- peror, "I have quitted my hereditary king- doms, to pass, not without great danger, into Italy, and from thence to Germany. I have heard with sorrow of the divisions that have broken out here, and which, striking not only at the imperial majesty, but still more at the commandments of Almighty God, must engender pillage, conflagration, war, and death."⁵ At one o'clock the em- peror, accompanied by all the princes, re- turned to his palace.

On the same day the elector gathered around him all his co-religionists, whom the emperor's speech had greatly excited, and exhorted them not to be turned aside by any

ritus vehiculo, quod est verbum Dei, Spiritus- agustian pite pedum imbecillitate perve- Corp. Ref. II. 116.

ori adoratione hostie. Seck. II. 119.

ori fores clause, nec quisquam orationi Ref. II. 120.

usatione eliminant, et ad scurrilia ac in- ducunt. Pallavicini, Hist. Trid. C. I. 23.

hos quos in perversos illos perturbatores.

funditus per gladium hæres illa. Ibid.

¹ Protestanten etiam ad offerendum munuscula in altari, ut moris erat, accessisse, sed cum risu. Spalat. Seck. II. 167.

² Ut nostros principes ab importuna violentia retineamus. Corp. Ref. II. 120.

³ Imperator cum omnibus in curiam vectus est. Sturm te Zw. Epp. II. 430.

⁴ Ex voluerum momedularumque regno. L. Epp. IV. 33.

⁵ Nicht anders dann zu Raub, Brandt, und Krieg. F.

Urkunden, I. 367.

threats from a cause which was that of God himself.¹ All seemed penetrated with this expression of Scripture: "Speak the word, and it shall not stand; for God is with us."²

The elector had a heavy burden to bear. Not only had he to take the lead among the princes, but he had further to defend himself against the enervating influence of Melancthon. Throughout the whole of the diet this prince offers to our notice no mere abstraction of the state, but the noblest individuality. Early on Tuesday morning, feeling the necessity of that invisible strength which, according to a beautiful figure in the Holy Scriptures, causes us to ride upon the high places of the earth; and seeing, as was usual, his domestics, his councillors, and his son assembled around him, John begged them affectionately to withdraw.³ He knew that it was only by kneeling humbly before God that he could stand with courage before Charles. Alone in his chamber, he opened and read the Psalms; then falling on his knees, he offered up the most fervent prayer to God;⁴ and afterwards, wishing to confirm himself in the immovable fidelity that he had just vowed to the Lord, he went to his desk, and there committed his resolutions to writing. Dolzig and Melancthon afterwards saw these lines, and were filled with admiration as they read them.⁵

Being thus tempered anew in heavenly thoughts, John took up the imperial proposition and meditated over it; then having called in his son and the chancellor Brück, and Melancthon shortly after, they all agreed that the deliberations of the diet ought to commence with the affairs of religion; and his allies, who were consulted, concurred in this advice.

The legate had conceived a plan diametrically opposed to this. He desired to stifle the religious question, and for this end required that the princes should examine it in a secret committee.⁶ The evangelical Christians entertained no doubt that if the truth was proclaimed in the great council of the nation, it would gain the victory; but the more they desired a public confession, the more it was dreaded by the pope's friends. The latter wished to take their adversaries by silence, without confession, without discussion, as a city is taken by famine without fighting and without a storm: to gag the Reformation, and thus reduce it to powerlessness and death, were their tactics. To have silenced the preachers was not enough: the princes must be silenced also. They wished to shut up the Reformation as in a dungeon,

and there leave it to die, thinking thus get rid of it more surely than it to the scaffold.

This plan was well conceived, and it was maintained to be put in execution, purpose it was necessary to Protestants that such a method was the surest for them. The person for this intrigue was Alphonsus, secretary to Charles V., a Spaniard, a worthy individual, and who showed a leaning towards the Catholic Policy often makes use of good most perfidious designs. It was Valdez should address the most Protestants—Melancthon.

On the 16th or 17th of June, after the arrival of Charles, V. Melancthon to call on him. "I am, my dear," said he, "imagine that I teach impious doctrines on the subject of Jesus Christ, on the blessed God." Accordingly, they threw more meritorious work in killing than in slaying a Turk.

"I know it," replied Melancthon, "I have not yet been able to succeed your fellow-countrymen abandoned. But what, pray, do they desire?"

"The Lutheran question is complicated and so unseemly as fancies. We do not attack the Church, as is commonly believed; the whole controversy is reducible to points. The two kinds in the Lord's Supper, the marriage and the abolition of private marriage could agree on these articles easy to come to an understanding with others."

"Well, I will report this to Charles V.," said he, "I am charmed at the suggestion. 'Go,' said he to Valdez, 'part these things to the legate Master Philip to transmit to your short exposition of what they want they deny.'"

Valdez hastened to Campeggio, you relate pleases me tolerably. "As for the two kinds of marriage, and the marriage of priests be means of accommodation: not consent to the abolition of masses." This would have been getting off one of the greatest reforms of the Church.

On Saturday, June 18, Valdez called on Melancthon again. "The emperor has a moderate and concise exposition," and he is persuaded that it is advantageous to treat of this

¹ Cohortatus est ad intrepidam causam Dei assensionem. Beck. ii. 108.

² Isaiah viii. 10.

³ Mense remotis omnibus consiliariis et ministris. Beck. ii. 109.

⁴ Precibus ardentissimis a Deo successum negotii petitis. Ibid.

⁵ Quae cum admiratione legisse dicuntur. Ibid.

⁶ Si acturi sunt secreto et inter sese, nulla publica dispositione vel audientia. L. Epp. iv. 63.

¹ Hispanis persuasum esse Lutherano sine trinitate. Ex relatione Spalatini.

² Non adeo per eos Ecclesiam Catholicam vulgo putaretur. Ibid. 100.

³ Mit holder Gestalt sacraments ode Mänsch Elm. Corp. Ref. ii. 125.

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ely,¹ avoiding all public hearing prolix discussion, which would ender anger and division."—aid Melancthon, "I will reflect

hon was almost won over: a secret agreed better with his disposition. t often repeated that peace should after above all things? Thus g induced the legate to hope that ruggle would be avoided, and that be content, as it were, to send inst the Reform, and strangle it in

tely the chancellor and the Elec- lid not think fit to entertain the is with which Charles had com- the worthy Valdez. The resolu- em lay members of the Church on the false step its doctors were ke; and the wiles of the Italians nat evangelical firmness. Melanc- only permitted to lay the Confes- the Spaniard, that he might look l in despite of the moderation em- it, Valdez exclaimed: "These too bitter, and your adversaries : put up with them!"³ Thus e legate's manœuvre.

CHAPTER VI.

Zeal—The Signing of the Confession—C. Urage- ces—Melancthon's Weakness—The Legate's ays—The C ncession in Danger—The Protest- arm—Melancthon's Despondency—Luther's Anxiety—Luther's Texts—His Letter to Me- antih.

compelled to resign himself to a ing, ordered on Wednesday, 22d the elector and his allies should Confession ready for the ensuing he Roman party were also invited a confession of faith; but they emselves, saying that they were ith the Edict of Worms.

erors order took the Protestants s, for the negotiations between d Melancthon had prevented the 1 putting the finishing stroke to sion. It was not copied out fair; nclusions, as well as the exordium, definitively drawn up. In conse- this, the Protestants begged the p of Mentz to obtain for them the a day; but their petition was They therefore laboured inces- m during the night, to correct and the Confession.

In einer Enge und Stille vorsu nehmen. Corp. Hist. Comit. August. p. 193. Intelligo hoc s; moliri, ut omnino nihil agatur de negotiis Ibid. 47.
utant *winzigen* esse quam ut ferro pos- l. Ibid. 149.
abgeschlagen. Ibid. 127.

On Thursday, 23d June, all the Protestant princes, deputies, councillors, and theologians met early at the elector's. The Confession was read in German, and all gave their adhesion to it, except the landgrave and the Strasburgers, who required a change in the article on the sacrament.¹ The princes rejected their demand.

The Elector of Saxony was already prepar- ing to sign it, when Melancthon stopped him: he feared giving too political a colour- ing to this religious business. In his idea it was the Church that should appear, and not the State. "It is for the theologians and ministers to propose these things," said he;² "let us reserve for other matters the authority of the mighty ones of the earth."—"God forbid that you should exclude me," replied the elector; "I am resolved to do what is right without troubling myself about my crown. I desire to confess the Lord. My electoral hat and my ermine are not so precious to me as the cross of Jesus Christ. I shall leave on earth these marks of my greatness; but my Master's cross will accom- pany me to heaven."

How resin such christian language! Me- lancthon gave way.

The elector then approached, signed, and handed the pen to the landgrave, who at first made some objections; however the enemy was at the door; was this a time for dis- union? At last he signed, but with a decla- ration that the doctrine of the Eucharist did not please him.³

The margrave and Luneburg having joy- fully subscribed their names, Anhalt took the pen in his turn, and said: "I have tilted more than once to please others; now, if the honour of my Lord Jesus Christ requires it, I am ready to saddle my horse, to leave my goods and life behind, and rush into eternity, towards an everlasting crown." Then, hav- ing signed, this youthful prince said, turning to the theologians, "I would rather renounce my subjects and my states, rather quit the country of my fathers staff in hand, rather gain my bread by cleaning the shoes of the foreigner, than receive any other doctrine than that which is contained in this Confes- sion." Nuremberg and Reutlingen alone of the cities subscribed their signatures;⁴ and all resolved on demanding of the emperor that the Confession should be read publicly.⁵

The courage of the princes surprised every one. Rome had crushed the members of the Church, and had reduced them to a herd of slaves, whom she dragged silent and humili- ated behind her: the Reformation enfran- chised them, and with their rights it restored

¹ Argentinienses ambierunt aliquid ut excepto articulo sacramenti susciperetur. Corp. Ref. II. 130.
² Non principum nomine edi sed decentium, qui theologi vocantur. Carcer. p. 120.

³ Landgravius subscribit nobiscum, sed tamen dicit sibi, de sacramento, a nostris non satisfacere. Corp. Ref. II. 135.

⁴ Confessioni tantum subscripserunt Nuremberga et Reutlingen. Ibid.

⁵ Decretum est ut publice recitanda concessio ab Impera- tore peteretur. Seck. II. 169.

to them their duties. The priest no longer enjoyed the monopoly of religion: each head of a family again became priest in his own house, and all the members of the Church of God were thenceforward called to the rank of confessors. The laymen are nothing, or almost nothing, in the sect of Rome, but they are the essential portion of the Church of Jesus Christ. Wherever the priestly spirit is established, the Church dies; wherever laymen, as these Augsburg princes, understand their duty and their immediate dependence on Christ, the Church lives.

The evangelical theologians were moved by the devotedness of the princes. "When I consider their firmness in the confession of the Gospel," said Brenzt, "the colour mounts to my cheeks. What a disgrace that we, who are only beggars beside them, are so afraid of confessing Christ!"¹ Brenzt was then thinking of certain towns, particularly of Halle, of which he was pastor, but no doubt also of the theologians.

The latter in truth, without being deficient in devotedness, were sometimes wanting in courage. Melancthon was in constant agitation; he ran to and fro, slipping in every where (says Cochleus in his *Philippics*), visiting not only the houses and mansions of private persons, but also insinuating himself into the palaces of cardinals and princes, nay, even into the court of the emperor; and, whether at table or in conversation, he spared no means of persuading every person, that nothing was more easy than to restore peace between the two parties.²

One day he was with the Archbishop of Salzburg, who, in a long discourse, gave an eloquent description of the troubles produced, as he said, by the Reformation, and ended with a peroration "written in blood," as Melancthon characterized it.³ Philip in agony had ventured during the conversation to slip in the word conscience. "Conscience!" hastily interrupted the archbishop, "Conscience!—What does that mean? I tell you plainly that the emperor will not allow confusion to be thus brought upon the empire."

"Had I been in Melancthon's place," said Luther, "I should have immediately replied to the archbishop: And our emperor,—ours,—will not tolerate such blasphemy."—"Alas," said Melancthon, "they are all as full of assurance as if there was no God."⁴

Another day Melancthon was with Campeggio, and conjured him to persevere in the moderate sentiments he appeared to entertain. And at another time, as it would seem, he was with the emperor himself.⁵ "Alas!" said the alarmed Zwinglians, "after having

qualified one-half of the Gospel, Melancthon is sacrificing the other."¹

The wives of the Ultramontanists were added to Philip's dejection, in order to arrest the courageous proceedings of the princes. Friday, 24th June, was the day fixed for reading the Confession, but measures were taken to prevent it. The sitting of the diet did not begin till three in the afternoon; the legate was then announced; Charles went to meet him as far as the top of the grand staircase, and Campeggio, taking his seat in front of the emperor, in King Ferdinand's place, delivered a harangue in Ciceronian style. "Never," said he, "has St. Peter's bark been so violently tossed by such various waves, whirlwinds, and abysses."² The Holy Father has learnt these things with pain, and desires to drag the Church from these frightful gulfs. For the love of Jesus Christ, for the safety of your country and for your own, O mighty Prince! get rid of these errors, deliver Germany, and save Christendom!"

After a temperate reply from Albert of Mentz, the legate quitted the town-hall, and the evangelical princes stood up; but a fresh obstacle had been provided. Deputies from Austria, Carinthia, and Carniola, first received a hearing.³

Much time had thus elapsed. The evangelical princes, however, rose up again, and the Chancellor Brück said: "It is pretended that new doctrines not based on Scripture, that heresies and schisms, are spread among the people by us. Considering that such accusations compromise not only our good name, but also the safety of our souls, we beg his majesty will have the goodness to hear what are the doctrines we profess."

The emperor, no doubt by arrangement with the legate, made reply that it was too late; besides, that this reading would be useless; and that the princes should be satisfied with putting in their Confession in writing. Thus the mine, so skilfully prepared, worked admirably; the Confession, once handed to the emperor, would be thrown aside, and the Reformation would be forced to retire, without the Papists having even condescended to hear it, without defence, and overwhelmed with contumely.

The Protestant princes, uneasy and agitated, insisted. "Our honour is at stake," said they; "our souls are endangered."⁴ We are accused publicly; publicly we ought to answer." Charles was shaken; Ferdinand leant towards him, and whispered a few words in his ear;⁵ the emperor refused a second time.

¹ Ut cum militaris tam multa, cedat et reliqua. *Nv. Epp.* ii. 473.

² Neque unquam tam variis sectarum turbinibus navis Petri fluctuaverit. *Seck.* ii. 169.

³ Oratio valde lugubris et miserabilis contra Turcos. *Corp. Ref.* ii. 154.

⁴ Verum etiam ad animarum dispendium aut salutem aternam. *Seck.* ii. 159.

⁵ Ihre Seelen, Ehre und Glimpf belanget. *Corp. Ref.* ii. 155.

⁶ Viderant enim cum subinde aliquid illi in aurem insinurrat. *Seck.* ii. 162.

¹ Rubore suffunder non mediocri, quod nos, pre illis mendicet, &c. *Corp. Ref.* ii. 125.

² Carissat hinc inde, perptans ac penetrans. *Cochl. Phil.* 4. in Apol.

³ Addebat Epilogum plane sanguine scriptum. *Corp. Ref.* ii. 126.

⁴ Securi sunt quasi nullus sit Deus. *Ibid.* 126.

⁵ Melancthon a Cesare, Salisburgensi et Campeggio vocatus est. *Zw. Epp.* ii. 473.

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the elector and princes, in still said for the third time, with earnestness: "For the love of read our Confession! No sulted in it." Thus were seen, and, a few faithful men, desiring ies to confess their faith; and the great emperor of the west, y a crowd of cardinals, prelates, endeavouring to stifle the mani-he truth.² It was a serious, decisive struggle, in which the its were discussed!

arles appeared to yield: "His ts your request," was the reply ; "but as it is now too late, he ransmit him your written Con-to-morrow, at two o'clock, the prepared to hear it read at the ce."³

s were struck by these words, ng to grant them every thing, anted nothing. In the first not in a public sitting at the t privately in his own palace, ror was willing to hear them;⁴ d no doubt that if the Confes-hands it was all over with the g. They therefore remained work has been done in great they, and it was the truth; t with us to-night, that we may The emperor was obliged to, Protestants returned to their joy; while the legate and his aving that the Confession was w the morrow approach with creasing anxiety.

se who prepared to confess the rth, was one, however, whose led with sadness:—it was Me-laced between two fires, he saw , and many even of his own ach his weakness; while the r detested what they called his His friend Camerarius, who urg about this time, often found in thought, uttering deep sighs, bitter tears.⁵ Brentz, moved sion, coming to the unhappy sit down by his side and weep id Jonas endeavoured to console r manner, by exhorting him to k of Psalms, and cry to God heart, making use of David's than of his own.

telligence arrived which formed ic of conversation in Augsburg, y spreading terror among the y the pope, gave a momentary

relief to Melancthon. It was said that a mule in Rome had given birth to a colt with crane's feet. "This prodigy," said Melancthon thoughtfully, "announces that Rome is near its end;"¹ perhaps because the crane is a bird of passage, and that the pope's mule thus gave signs of departure. Melancthon immediately wrote to Luther, who replied that he was exceedingly rejoiced that God had given the pope so striking a sign of his approaching fall.² It is good to recall to memory these puerilities of the age of the reformers, that we may better understand the high range of these men of God in matters of faith.

These idle Roman stories did not long console Melancthon. On the eve of the 25th of June, he was present in imagination at the reading of that Confession which he had drawn up, which was about to be proclaimed before the world, and in which one word too many or too few might decide on the approbation or the hatred of the princes, on the safety or ruin of the Reformation and of the empire. He could bear up no longer, and the feeble Atlas, crushed under the burden of the world upon his shoulders, gave utterance to a cry of anguish. "All my time here is spent in tears and mourning," wrote he to Vitus Diedrich, Luther's secretary in the castle of Coburg;³ and on the morrow he wrote to Luther himself: "My dwelling is in perpetual tears.⁴ My consternation is indescribable.⁵ O my father! I do not wish my words to exaggerate my sorrows; but without your consolations, it is impossible for me to enjoy here the least peace."

Nothing in fact presented so strong a contrast to Melancthon's distrust and dejection, as the faith, calmness, and exultation of Luther. It was of advantage to him that he was not then in the midst of the Augsburg vortex, and that he was able from his stronghold to set his foot with tranquillity upon the rock of God's promises. He was sensible himself of the value of this peaceful hermitage, as he called it.⁶ "I cannot sufficiently admire," said Vitus Diedrich, "the firmness, cheerfulness, and faith of this man, so astonishing in such cruel times."

Luther, besides his constant reading of the Word of God,⁷ did not pass a day without devoting three hours at least to prayer, and they were hours selected from those the most favourable to study.⁸ One day, as Diedrich approached the reformer's chamber, he

¹ Rome quendam mula peperit, et partus habuit pedes gravis. Vides significari exitum Romæ per schismata. Corp. Ref. II. 126.

² Gaudeo Pape signum datum in mula puerpera, ut citius pereat. L. Epp. iv. 4.

³ Hic consumitur omne mihi tempus in lacrymis et luctu. Corp. Ref. II. 126.

⁴ Versatur hic in miseris curis et plane perpetuis lacrymis. Ibid. p. 140.

⁵ Mira consternatio animorum nostrorum. Ibid.

⁶ Ex eremo tacita. L. Epp. iv. 61. It is thus he dates his letter.

⁷ Assidue autem illa diligentiore verbi Dei tractatione alit. Corp. Ref. II. 130.

⁸ Nullus abit dies, quin ut minimum tres horas easque studiis optimis in orationibus ponal. Ibid.

al heftig angehalten. Corp. Ref. II. 128.
nt Camerarius magno numero cardinales et
ed. Seck. II. 169.
ablicæ in pratorio, sed privatim in palatio
124.
pirantem sed profundentem lacrymas con-
123.
ebat hæc scribenti, una lacrymans. Corp.

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heard his voice,¹ and remained motionless, holding his breath, a few steps from the door. Luther was praying, and his prayer (said the secretary) was full of adoration, fear, and hope, as when one speaks to a friend or to a father.² "I know that thou art our Father and our God," said the reformer, alone in his chamber, "and that thou wilt scatter the persecutors of thy children, for thou art thyself endangered with us. All this matter is thine, and it is only by thy constraint that we have put our hands to it. Defend us then, O Father!" The secretary, motionless as a statue, in the long gallery of the castle, lost not one of the words that the clear and resounding voice of Luther bore to his ears.³ The reformer was earnest with God, and called upon him with such unction to accomplish his promises, that Diedrich felt his heart glow within him.⁴ "Oh!" exclaimed he, as he retired, "how could these prayers do otherwise than prevail in the desperate struggle at Augsburg!"

Luther might also have allowed himself to be overcome with fear, for he was left in complete ignorance of what was taking place in the diet. A Wittenberg messenger, who should have brought him forests of letters (according to his own expression), having presented himself: "Do you bring any letters?" asked Luther. "No!" "How are those gentlemen?" "Well!" Luther, grieved at such silence, returned and shut himself up in his chamber.

Erelong there appeared a courier on horseback carrying despatches from the elector to Torgau. "Do you bring me any letters?" asked Luther. "No!" "How are those gentlemen?" continued he fearfully. "Well!" "This is strange," thought the reformer. As a waggon had left Coburg laden with flour (for they were almost in want of provisions at Augsburg), Luther impatiently awaited the return of the driver; but he returned empty. Luther then began to revolve the gloomiest thoughts in his mind, not doubting that they were concealing some misfortune from him.⁵ At last another individual, Jobst Nymptzen, having arrived from Augsburg, Luther rushed anew towards him, with his usual question: "Do you bring me any letters?" He waited trembling for the reply. "No!" "And how are those gentlemen?" "Well!" The reformer withdrew, a prey to anger and to fear.

Then Luther opened his Bible, and to console himself for the silence of men, conversed with God. There were some passages of Scripture in particular that he read continu-

ally. We point them out below.¹ more; he wrote with his own hand declarations of Scripture over the windows, and on the walls of the castle one place were these words from the Psalm: *I shall not die, but live, and do the works of the Lord.* In another, the 12th chapter of Proverbs: *The wicked seduceth them; and over his passage from the 4th Psalm: I will me down in peace and sleep; for thou only makest me dwell in safety.* Never did man so environ himself with the of the Lord, or so dwell in the atmosphere of his Word and live by his breath, as at Coburg.

At length letters came. "If the which we live were not opposed to it have imagined some revenge," wrote to Jonas; "but the hour of prayer is my growing angry, and anger prevails praying.² I am delighted at that mind which God gives our prince. Melancthon, it is his philosophy that him, and nothing else. For our cause the very hands of Him who can unspeakable dignity; *No one shall possess of my hands.* I would not have hands, and it would not be desirable were so.³ I have had many things hands, and I have lost them all; I never I have been able to place in still possess."

On learning that Melancthon's still continued, Luther wrote to him these are words that should be preserved.

"Grace and peace in Christ! in say, and not in the world, Amen with exceeding hatred those extremes which consume you. If the cause abandon it; if the cause is just, we believe the promises of Him who calls us to sleep without fear? Can the more than kill us? Christ will not ing to the work of justice and of truth lives; he reigns; what fear, then have? God is powerful to upraise if it is overthrown, to make it permanent motionless, and if we are not of it, he will do it by others.

"I have received your Apology cannot understand what you mean, ask what we must concede to the We have already conceded too much and day I meditate on this affair, to over and over, diligently searching tures, and the conviction of the truth

¹ Semel mihi contigit ut orantem eum audirem. Corp. Ref. ii. 159.

² Tanta spe et fide ut cum patre et amico colloqui sentiat. Ibid.

³ Tum orantem clara voce, procul stans, audivi. Ibid.

⁴ Ardebat mihi quousque animus singulari quodam impetu. Ibid.

⁵ Hic cupi cogitare tristitia, suspirans, vos aliquid mali me celare velle. L. Epp. iv. 60.

¹ 1 Tim. iii. 12; Philip. ii. 12, 13; John x. 17, xvi. 18; Psalm xlii. 1, 2; 1 John iv. 4; Psalm 14; John xvi. 33; Luke xvii. 5; Psalm xlviii. 11 xcl. 14, 15; Sirach. ii. 11; 1 Maccab. ii. 61; Mat Peter v. 6, 7; Matth. x. 28; Rom. iv. and vi. 1; 1 Sam. iv. 19; xxii. 4-5; ii. 30; 2 Tim. ii. 15, Eph. iii. 20, 21. Among these passages will be verses taken from the Apocrypha, but whom might easily be found in the Word of God.

² Sed orandi tempus non sinebat Israel, et in orare. L. Epp. iv. 66.

³ Nec velle, nec consultum esset, in nostra Ibid.

⁴ The Confession revised and corrected.

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ry day becomes stronger in my
the help of God, I will not per-
letter of all that we have said to
us.

e of this affair torments you, be-
not understand it. But if you
ld not have the least share in it.
it in a 'common place,' that you
l either in your rhetoric or in
phy: that place is called Faith.¹
which subsist all things that we
understand nor see. Whoever
uch them, as you do, will have
sole reward.

t is not with us, where is he in
niverse? If we are not the
re, I pray, is the Church? Is
of Bavaria, is it Ferdinand, is it
it the Turk, who is the Church?
not the Word of God, who is it
as it?

must have faith, lest the cause
ld be found to be without faith.²
l, Christ, that is to say, the Mas-
world, falls with us. I would
ith Christ, than remain standing

e Luther. The faith which ani-
flowed from him like torrents of
r. He was indefatigable: in a
e wrote to Melancthon, Spalatin,
icola, and John Frederick, and
sters full of life. He was not
ying, speaking, and believing.
e moment the evangelical Christ-
ed one another every where to
uch was the arsenal in which the
re forged that the confessors of
ed before the Diet of Augsburg.

CHAPTER VII.

1530—The Palatine Chapel—Recollections
—The Confession—Prologue—Justification—
Free Will and Works—Faith—Interest of
the Princes become Preachers—The Confes-
—Church and State—The two Governments
Argumentation—Prudence—Church and
word—Moderate Tone of the Confession—its
w Baptism.

the 25th June arrived. This
l to be the greatest day of the
, and one of the most glorious in
of Christianity and of mankind.
apel of the Palatine Palace, where
r had resolved to hear the Con-
ld contain only about two hun-
s,⁴ before three o'clock a great
to be seen around the building
ing the court, hoping by this
tel a few words: and many hav-

eam in locum quemdam communem, quem in
m habes nec in philosophia tua; is vocatur
r. 53.

opus fide, ne causa fidei sit sine fide. Ibid.

scribunt, tam diligenter ibi Ecclesiam

nam ducentos. Jonas, Corp. Ref. II. 157.

ing gained entrance to the chapel, all were
turned out except those who were, at the
least, councillors to the princes.

Charles took his seat on the throne. The
electors or their representatives were on his
right and left hand; next to them, the other
princes and states of the empire. The legate
had refused to appear in this solemnity, lest
he should seem by his presence to authorize
the reading of the Confession.¹

Then stood up John elector of Saxony, with
his son John Frederick, Philip landgrave of
Hesse, the Margrave George of Brandenburg,
Wolfgang prince of Anhalt, Ernest duke of
Brunswick-Luneburg, and his brother Fran-
cis, and last of all the deputies of Nuremberg
and Reutlingen. Their air was animated and
their features were radiant with joy.² The
apologies of the early Christians, of Tertullian
and Justin Martyr, hardly reached in writing
the sovereigns to whom they were addressed.
But now, to hear the new apology of resusci-
tated Christianity, behold that puissant em-
peror, whose sceptre, stretching far beyond
the Columns of Hercules, reaches the utmost
limits of the world, his brother the King of
the Romans, with electors, princes, prelates,
deputies, ambassadors, all of whom desire to
destroy the Gospel, but who are constrained
by an invisible power to listen, and, by that
very listening, to honour the Confession!

One thought was involuntarily present in
the minds of the spectators,—the recollection
of the Diet of Worms.³ Only nine years be-
fore, a poor monk stood alone for this same
cause in a hall of the town-house at Worms,
in presence of the empire. And now in his
stead behold the foremost of the electors,
princes, and cities! What a victory is de-
clared by this simple fact! No doubt Charles
himself cannot escape from this recollection.

The emperor, seeing the Protestants stand
up, motioned them to sit down; and then the
two chancellors of the elector, Brück and
Bayer, advanced to the middle of the chapel,
and stood before the throne, holding in their
hands, the former the Latin and the other the
German copy of the Confession. The emperor
required the Latin copy to be read.⁴ "We
are Germans," said the Elector of Saxony,
"and on German soil; I hope therefore your
majesty will allow us to speak German." If
the Confession had been read in Latin, a
language unknown to most of the princes,
the general effect would have been lost. This
was another means of shutting the mouth of
the Gospel. The emperor complied with the
elector's demand.

Bayer then began to read the evangelical
Confession, slowly, seriously, distinctly, with
a clear, strong, and sonorous voice, which
re-echoed under the arched roof of the chapel.

¹ Sarpi, Hist. Council Trent, i. 101.

² Latio et alacri animo et vultu. Scultet. I. 272.

³ Ante decemium in conventu Wormsensi. Corp. Ref.

II. 153.

⁴ Cesar Latinum prelegi volebat. Seck. II. 154.

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and carried even to the outside this great testimony paid to the truth.¹

"Most serene, most mighty, and invincible emperor and most gracious lord," said he, "we who appear in your presence, declare ourselves ready to confer amicably with you on the fittest means of restoring one sole, true, and same faith, since it is for one sole and same Christ that we fight.² And in case that these religious dissensions cannot be settled amicably, we then offer to your majesty to explain our cause in a general, free, and Christian council."³

This prologue being ended, Bayer confessed the Holy Trinity, conformably with the Nicene Council,⁴ original and hereditary sin, "which bringeth eternal death to all who are not born again,"⁵ and the incarnation of the Son, "very God and very man."⁶

"We teach, moreover," continued he, "that we cannot be justified before God by our own strength, our merits, or our works; but that we are justified freely for Christ's sake through faith,⁷ when we believe that our sins are forgiven in virtue of Christ, who by his death has made satisfaction for our sins: this faith is the righteousness that God imputeth to the sinner.

"But we teach, at the same time, that this faith ought to bear good fruits, and that we must do all the good works commanded by God, for the love of God, and not by their means to gain the grace of God."

The Protestants next declared their faith in the Christian Church, "which is," said they, "the assembly of all true believers and all the saints,"⁸ in the midst of whom there are, nevertheless, in this life, many false Christians, hypocrites even, and manifest sinners; and they added, "that it is sufficient for the real unity of the Church that they agree on the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments, without the rites and ceremonies instituted by men being every where the same."⁹ They proclaimed the necessity of baptism, and declared "that the body and blood of Christ are really present and administered in the Lord's Supper to those who partake of it."¹⁰

The chancellor then successively confessed

the faith of the evangelical Christians touching confession, penance, the nature of the sacraments, the government of the Church, ecclesiastical ordinances, political government, and the last judgment. "As regards free will," continued he, "we confess that man's will has a certain liberty of accomplishing civil justice, and of loving the thing that reason comprehends; that man can do the good that is within the sphere of nature—plough his fields, eat, drink, have a friend, put on a coat, build a house, take a wife, feed cattle, exercise a calling; as also he can, of his own movement, do evil, kneel before an idol, and commit murder. But we maintain that without the Holy Ghost he cannot do what is righteous in the sight of God."

Then, returning to the grand doctrine of the Reformation, and recalling to mind that the doctors of the pope "have never ceased impelling the faithful to puerile and useless works, as the custom of chaplets, invocations of saints, monastic vows, processions, fasts, feast-days, brotherhoods," the Protestants added, that as for themselves, while urging the practice of truly christian works, of which little had been said before their time,¹ "they taught that man is justified by faith alone; not by that faith which is a simple knowledge of the history, and which wicked men and even devils possess, but by a faith which believes not only the history, but also the effect of the history;² which believes that through Christ we obtain grace; which sees that in Christ we have a merciful Father; which knows this God; which calls upon him; in a word, which is not without God, as the heathen are."

"Such," said Bayer, "is a summary of the doctrine professed in our churches, by which it may be seen that this doctrine is by no means opposed to Scripture, to the universal Church, nor even to the Romish Church, such as the doctors describe it to us;³ and since it is so, to reject us as heretics is an offence against unity and charity."

Here terminated the first part of the Confession, the aim of which was to explain the evangelical doctrine. The chancellor read with so distinct a voice, that the crowd which was unable to enter the hall, and which filled the court and all the approaches of the episcopal palace, did not lose a word.⁴ This reading produced the most marvellous effect on the princes who thronged the chapel. Jonas watched every change in their countenances,⁵ and there beheld interest, asto-

¹ Qui clare, distincte, tarde et voce adeo grandi et sonora eam pronuntiavit. Scultet. p. 275.

² Ad unam veram concordem religionem, sicut omnes sub uno Christo sumus et militamus. Confessio, Prefatio. Urkund. i. 474.

³ Causam dicturos in tali generali, libero, et Christiano concilio. Ibid. 473.

⁴ Et tamen tres sunt persone ejusdem essentie. Ibid. 482.

⁵ Vitium originis, affertis eternam mortem his qui non repaenunt. Ibid. 483.

⁶ Unus Christus, vere Deus, et vere homo. Ibid.

⁷ Quod homines non possint justificari coram Deo, propriis viribus, meritis, aut operibus, sed gratis, propter Christum, per fidem. Ibid. 484.

⁸ Congregatio sanctorum et vere credentium. Ibid. 487.

⁹ Ad veram unitatem Ecclesie, satis est consensio de doctrina Evangelii et administratione sacramentorum, nec necesse est, &c. Ibid. 486.

¹⁰ Quod corpus et sanguis Christi, vere adsint et distribuuntur venientibus in cena Domini. F. Urkund. i. 488.

¹ De quibus rebus olim parum docebant concionatores: tantum puerilia et non necessaria opera urgebant. F. Urkund. i. 493.

² Non tantum historie notitiam, sed fidem que credit non tantum historie, sed etiam effectum historie. Ibid. 485.

³ Nihil inesse quod discrepat a Scripturis vel ab Ecclesia Catholica, vel ab Ecclesia Romana, quatenus ex Scripturis nota est. Ibid. 501.

⁴ Verum etiam in area inferiori et vicinis locis exstant potuerit. Scultet. p. 274.

⁵ Jonas scribit vixisse se vultus omnium de quo nihil sibi dei narrationem coram. I. Epp. iv. 71.

and even approbation depicted by he adversaries imagine they have wonderful thing by forbidding the of the Gospel," wrote Luther to ; "and they do not see, poor crea- by the reading of the Confession sence of the diet, there has been hing than in the sermons of ten exquisite subtlety! admirable ex- Master Agricola and the other es reduced to silence; but in their ar the Elector of Saxony and the es and lords, who preach before l majesty and the members of the ire, freely, to their beard, and be- oses. Yes, Christ is in the diet, s not keep silence: *the Word of be bound*. They forbid it in the are forced to hear it in the palace; ers cannot announce it, and great claim it; the servants are forbid- en to it, and their masters are o hear it; they will have nothing it during the whole course of the hey are forced to submit to hear day than is heard ordinarily in a When all else is silent, the cry out, as says our Lord Jesus

rt of the Confession destined to errors and abuses still remained. inued: he explained and demon- doctrine of the two kinds; he ie compulsory celibacy of priests, that the Lord's Supper had been to a regular fair, in which it was ersion of buying and selling, and been re-established in its primi- by the Reformation, and was in the evangelical churches with w devotion and gravity. He at the sacrament was adminis- one who had not first made con- his faults, and he quoted this of Chrysostom: "Confess thyself e Lord, thy real Judge; tell thy ith the tongue, but in thy con- l in thy heart."

xt came to the precepts on the of meats and other Roman usages. such a festival," said he; "re- a prayer, or keep such a fast; be uch a manner, and so many other of men—this is what is now styled and christian life; while the good cribed by God, as those of a father who toils to support his wife, his his daughters—of a mother who dren into the world, and takes m—of a prince or of a magistrate is his subjects, are looked upon as rgs, and of an imperfect nature." astic vows in particular, he repre- as the pope could give a dispen- them, those vows ought therefore shed.

The last article of the Confession treated of the authority of the bishops: powerful princes crowned with the episcopal mitre were there; the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, Salzburg, and Bremen, the Bishops of Bamberg, Wurzburg, Eichstadt, Worms, Spire, Strasburg, Augsburg, Constance, Coire, Passau, Liege, Trent, Brixen, and of Lebus and Ratzburg, fixed their eyes on the humble confessor. He fearlessly continued, and energetically protesting against that confusion of Church and State which had characterized the Middle Ages, he called for the distinction and independence of the two societies.

"Many," said he, "have unskillfully founded the episcopal and the temporal power; and from this confusion have resulted great wars, revolts, and seditions.¹ It is for this reason, and to reassure men's consciences, that we find ourselves constrained to establish the difference which exists between the power of the Church and the power of the sword."²

"We therefore teach that the power of the keys or of the bishops is, conformably with the Word of the Lord, a commandment emanating from God, to preach the Gospel, to remit or retain sins, and to administer the Sacraments. This power has reference only to eternal goods, is exercised only by the minister of the Word, and does not trouble itself with political administration. The political administration, on the other hand, is busied with every thing else but the Gospel. The magistrate protects, not souls, but bodies and temporal possessions. He defends them against all attacks from without, and, by making use of the sword and of punishment, compels men to observe civil justice and peace."³

"For this reason we must take particular care not to mingle the power of the Church with the power of the State.⁴ The power of the Church ought never to invade an office that is foreign to it; for Christ himself said: *My kingdom is not of this world*. And again: *Who made me a judge over you?* St. Paul said to the Philippians: *Our citizenship is in heaven*.⁵ And to the Corinthians: *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God*.

"It is thus that we distinguish the two governments and the two powers, and that we honour both as the most excellent gifts that God has given us here on earth.

"The duty of the bishops is therefore to

¹ Nonnulli incommode commiscuerunt potestatem ecclesiasticam et potestatem gladii; et ex hac confusione, &c. Ursund. Concil. Aug. l. 58.

² Coacti sunt ostendere discrimen ecclesiasticæ potestatis et potestatis gladii. Ibid.

³ Politica administratio versatur enim circa alias res quam Evangelium; magistratus defendit non mentes sed corpora—et coercet homines gladio. Ibid. 341.

⁴ Non igitur commiscendæ sunt potestates ecclesiasticæ et civilis. Ibid.

⁵ Greek, *πολιτῖσμα*, Philip. iii. 20. Scott and Henry Comment.

preach the Gospel, to forgive sins, and to exclude from the Christian Church all who rebel against the Lord, but without human power, and solely by the Word of God.¹ If the bishops act thus, the churches ought to be obedient to them, according to this declaration of Christ: *Whoever heareth you, heareth me.*

"But if the bishops teach any thing that is contrary to the Gospel, then the churches have an order from God which forbids them to obey (Matth. vii. 15; Galatians i. 8; 2 Cor. xiii. 8, 10). And St. Augustine himself, in his letter against Petilian, writes: 'We must not obey the catholic bishops, if they go astray, and teach any thing contrary to the canonical Scriptures of God.'²

After some remarks on the ordinances and traditions of the Church, Bayer came to the epilogue of the Confession.

"It is not from hatred that we have spoken," added he, "nor to insult any one; but we have explained the doctrines that we maintain to be essential, in order that it may be understood that we admit of neither dogma nor ceremony which is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and to the usage of the universal Church."

Bayer then ceased to read. He had spoken for two hours: the silence and serious attention of the assembly were not once disturbed.³

This Confession of Augsburg will ever remain one of the masterpieces of the human mind enlightened by the Spirit of God.

The language that had been adopted, while it was perfectly natural, was the result of a profound study of character. These princes, these warriors, these politicians who were sitting in the Palatine Palace, entirely ignorant as they were of divinity, easily understood the Protestant doctrine; for it was explained to them not in the style of the schools, but in that of everyday life, and with a simplicity and clearness that rendered all misunderstanding impossible.

At the same time the power of argumentation was so much the more remarkable, as it was the more concealed. At one time Melancthon (for it was really he who spoke through the mouth of Bayer) was content to quote a single passage of Scripture or of the Fathers in favour of the doctrine he maintained; and at another he proved his thesis so much the more strongly, that he appeared only to be declaring it. With a single stroke he pointed out the sad consequences that would follow the rejection of the faith he professed, or with one word showed its importance for the prosperity of the Church; so that, while listening to him, the most violent enemies were obliged to

acknowledge to themselves that there was really something to say in favour of the new sect.

To this force of reasoning the apology added a prudence no less remarkable. Melancthon, while declining with firmness the errors attributed to his party, did not even appear to feel the injustice of these erroneous imputations; and while pointing out those of Popery, he did not say expressly they were those of his adversaries; thus carefully avoiding every thing that might irritate their minds. In this he showed himself wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove.

But the most admirable thing of all is the fidelity with which the Confession explains the doctrines most essential to salvation. Rome is accustomed to represent the reformers as the creators of the Protestant doctrines; but it is not in the sixteenth century that we must look for the days of that creation. A bright track of light, of which Wickliffe and Augustine mark the most salient points, carries us back to the apostolic age: it was then that shone in all their brilliancy the creative days of evangelical truth. Yet it is true (and if this is what Rome means, we fully concur in the idea), never since the time of St. Paul had the Christian doctrine appeared with so much beauty, depth, and life, as in the days of the Reformation.

Among these doctrines, that of the Church, which had been so long disfigured, appeared at this time in all its native purity. With what wisdom, in particular, the confessors of Augsburg protest against that confusion of religion and politics which, since the deplorable epoch of Constantine, had changed the kingdom of God into an earthly and carnal institution! Undoubtedly what the Confession stigmatizes with the greatest energy is the intrusion of the Church into the affairs of the State; but can it be thought that it was to approve the intrusion of the State in Church affairs? The evil of the Middle Ages was the having enslaved the State to the Church, and the confessors of Augsburg rose like one man to combat it. The evil of the three centuries which have passed away since then, is to have subjected the Church to the State; and we may believe that Luther and Melancthon would have found equally powerful thunders against this disorder. What they attack in a general sense, is the confusion of the two societies; what they demand, is their independence. I do not say their separation, for separation of Church and State was quite unknown to the reformers. If the Augsburg confessors were unwilling that things from above should monopolize those of the earth, they would have been still less willing for things of the earth to oppress those from heaven.

There is a particular application of this principle, which the Confession points out.

¹ Excludere a communione Ecclesie, sine vi humana sed verbo. Urkund. Confes. Augs. i. 544.

² Nec catholicis episcopis consentiendum est, sicuti forte alluntur, aut contra canonicas Dei scripturas aliquid sentiunt. Ibid.

³ Mit grosser Stille und Ernst. Brück's Apologie, p. 29.

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As the bishops should reprimand those they wickedness, "but without human ; and solely by the Word of God." It ore rejects the use of the sword in the sement of heretics. This we see is a ive principle, fundamental and essen- the Reformation, as the contrary doc- is a primitive principle, fundamental sential to the Papacy. If among Pro- tes we find any treatise, or even any de opposed to this, it is but an isolated hich cannot invalidate the official prin- of the reform—it is one of those excep- which always serve to confirm the

ally, the Augsburg Confession does not the rights of the Word of God; it de- o be its handmaid and not its rival; it ot found, it does not regulate the faith, imply professes it. "Our churches " it says; and it will be remembered uther considered it only as a sermon ed by princes and kings. Had it de- ore, as has since been maintained, by ery circumstance it would have been ed.

s, however, the Confession able to fol- all things the exact path of truth? We e permitted to doubt it.

rofesses not to separate from the teach- the Catholic Church, and even from f the Romish Church—by which is no signified the ancient Roman Church— ejects the popish particularism which, out eight centuries, imprisoned men's ences. The Confession, however, seems id with superstitious fears when there question of deviating from the views ained by some of the Fathers of the h, of breaking the toils of the hierarchy, f acting, as regards Rome, without ble forbearance. This, at least, is what hor, Melancthon, professes. "We do t forward any dogma," said he, "which founded on the Gospel, or on the teach- the Catholic Church; we are prepared cede every thing that is necessary for iscopal dignity;¹ and provided the s do not condemn the Gospel, we pre- all the rites that appear indifferent to a word, there is no burden that we if we can bear it without guilt."²

y will think, no doubt, that a little ndependence would have been proper matter, and that it would have been to have passed over the ages that have d the times of the apostles, and have t put in practice the grand principle the Reformation had proclaimed: e is no other foundation for articles of an the Word of God."³

ancthon's moderation has been admired; truth, while pointing out the abuses

sauros omnia que ad dignitatem Episcoporum sta-
a pertinent. Corp. Ref. II. 431.
an detraclavimus onus, quod sine scelere suspici
fuit.

verbum Dei condit articulos fidei.

of Rome, he was silent on what is most re- volting in them, on their disgraceful origin, their scandalous consequences, and is content to show that they are in contradiction to the Scripture. But he does more; he is silent on the divine right claimed by the pope, on the number of the sacraments, and on several other points. His great business is to justify the renovated, and not to attack the de- formed Church. "Peace, peace!" was his cry. But if, instead of all this circumspec- tion, the Reformation had advanced with courage, had wholly unveiled the Word of God, and had made an energetic appeal to the sympathies of reform then spread in men's hearts, would it not have taken a stronger and more honourable position, and would it not have secured more extensive conquests?

The interest that Charles the Fifth showed in listening to the Confession seems doubtful. According to some, he endeavoured to under- stand that foreign language;¹ according to others, he fell asleep.² It is easy to recon- cile these contradictory testimonies.

When the reading was finished, Chancellor Brück, with the two copies in his hand, ad- vanced towards the emperor's secretary and presented them to him. Charles the Fifth, who was wide awake at this moment, him- self took the two Confessions, handed the German copy, considered as official, to the Elector of Mentz, and kept the Latin one for himself.³ He then made reply to the Elector of Saxony and to his allies, that he had gra- ciously heard their Confession;⁴ but as this affair was one of extreme importance, he required time to deliberate upon it.

The joy with which the Protestants were filled shone in their eyes.⁵ God had been with them; and they saw that the striking act which had so recently been accomplished imposed on them the obligation of confessing the truth with immovable perseverance. "I am overjoyed," wrote Luther, "that I have lived until this hour, in which Christ has been publicly exalted by such illustrious confessors and in so glorious an assembly."⁶ The whole evangelical church, excited and renovated by this public confession of its re- presentatives, was then more intimately united to its Divine Chief, and baptized with a new baptism. "Since the apostolic age," said they (these are the words of a contem- porary), "there has never been a greater work or a more magnificent confession."⁷

The emperor, having descended from his throne, approached the Protestant princes,

¹ Satis attentus erat Cæsar. Jonas in Corp. Ref. II. 164.

² Cum nostra confessio legeretur, obdormivit. Brentius in Corp. Ref. II. 545.

³ The Latin copy, deposited in the archives of the imperial house, should be found at Brussels; and the German copy, sent afterwards to the Council of Trent, ought to be in the Vatican.

⁴ Gnediglich vernehmen. F. Urkund. II. 2.

⁵ Cum incredibili protestantium gaudio. Beck. II. 170.

⁶ Miri vehementer placet vixisse in hanc horam. L. App.

IV. 71.

⁷ Gröser und höher Werk. Mathæus, Hist. p. 98-99.

and begged them in a low tone not to publish the Confession;¹ they acceded to his request, and every one withdrew.

CHAPTER VIII.

Effect on the Romanists—Luther demands Religious Liberty—His dominant idea—Song of Triumph—Ingenuous Confessions—Hopes of the Protestants—Failure of the Popish Intrigues—The Emperor's Council—Violent Discussions—A Refutation proposed—Its Authors—Rome and the Civil Power—Perils of the Confessors—Melancthon's Minimum—The Emperor's Sister—Melancthon's Fall—Luther opposes Concession—The Legate repels Melancthon—The Pope's Decision—Question—Melancthon's School-matters—Answer.

THE Romanists had expected nothing like this. Instead of a hateful controversy, they had heard a striking confession of Jesus Christ; the most hostile minds were consequently disarmed. "We would not for a great deal," was the remark on every side, "have missed being present at this reading."² The effect was so prompt, that for an instant the cause was thought to be definitively gained. The bishops themselves imposed silence on the sophists and clamours of the Fabers and the Ecks.³ "All that the Lutherans have said is true," exclaimed the Bishop of Augsburg; "we cannot deny it."⁴—"Well, doctor," said the Duke of Bavaria to Eck, in a reproachful tone, "you had given me a very different idea of this doctrine and of this affair."⁵ This was the general cry; accordingly the sophists, as they called them, were embarrassed. "But, after all," said the Duke of Bavaria to them, "can you refute by sound reasons the Confession made by the elector and his allies?"—"With the writings of the apostles and prophets—no!" replied Eck; "but with those of the Fathers and of the councils—yes!"⁶ "I understand," quickly replied the duke; "I understand. The Lutherans, according to you, are in Scripture; and we are outside."

The Archbishop Hermann, elector of Cologne, the Count-palatine Frederick, Duke Erick of Brunswick-Luneburg, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, and the Dukes of Pomerania, were gained over to the truth; and Hermann sought ere long to establish it in his electorate.

The impression produced in other countries by the Confession was perhaps still greater. Charles sent copies to all the courts; it was translated into French, Italian,⁷ and even into Spanish and Portuguese; it circulated through all Europe, and thus accomplished

what Luther had said: "Our Confession will penetrate into every court, and the sound thereof will spread through the whole earth."⁸ It destroyed the prejudices that had been entertained, gave Europe a sounder idea of the Reformation, and prepared the most distant countries to receive the seeds of the Gospel.

Then Luther's voice began to be heard again. He saw that it was a decisive moment, and that he ought now to give the impulse that would gain religious liberty. He boldly demanded this liberty of the Roman-catholic princes of the diet;⁹ and at the same time endeavoured to make his friends quit Augsburg. Jesus Christ had been boldly confessed. Instead of that long series of quarrels and discussions which was about to become connected with this courageous act, Luther would have wished for a striking rupture, even should he seal with his blood the testimony rendered to the Gospel. The stake, in his idea, would have been the real catastrophe of this tragedy. "I absolve you from this diet, in the name of the Lord,"¹⁰ wrote he to his friends. "Now home, return home, again I say home! Would to God that I were the sacrifice offered to this new council, as John Huss at Constance!"¹¹

But Luther did not expect so glorious a conclusion: he compared the diet to a drama. First, there had been the exposition, then the prologue, afterwards the action, and now he waited for the tragic catastrophe, according to some, but which, in his opinion, would be merely comic.¹² Every thing, he thought, would be sacrificed to political peace, and dogmas would be set aside. This proceeding, which, even in our own days, would be in the eyes of the world the height of wisdom, was in Luther's eyes the height of folly.

He was especially alarmed at the thought of Charles's intervention. To withdraw the Church from all secular influence, and the governments from all clerical influence, was then one of the dominant ideas of the great reformer. "You see," wrote he to Melancthon, "that they oppose to our cause the same argument as at Worms, to wit, still and for ever the judgment of the emperor. Thus Satan is always harping on the same string, and that emaciated strength¹³ of the civil power is the only one which this myriad-willed spirit is able to find against Jesus Christ." But Luther took courage, and boldly raised his head. "Christ is coming," continued he; "he is coming, sitting at the

¹ In still angeredet und gebethen. Corp. Ref. II. 143.

² Brück's Geschichte der Handl. in den Sachen des Glaubens zu Augsburg. Fürstmann Archiv. p. 60.

³ Multi episcopi ad pacem sunt inclinati. L. Epp. IV. 70.

⁴ Illa que recitata sunt, vera sunt, sunt pura veritas; non possumus indicari. Corp. Ref. II. 154.

⁵ So haben im vor nicht genug. Mathes. Hist. p. 29.

⁶ Mit Prophezen und Aposteln schriften—nicht, Mathes. Hist. p. 29.

⁷ Cesar sibi fecit nostram confessionem reddi Italica et Gallica lingua. Corp. Ref. II. 155. The French translation will be found in Fürstmann's Urkunden, I. 527.—Articles principes de la foy.

⁸ Perrumpet in omnes aulas Principum et Regum. L. Epp. IV. 96.

⁹ Epistle to the Elector of Mentz. Ibid. 74.

¹⁰ Ego absolvo vos in nomine Domini ab isto conventu. Ibid. 96.

¹¹ Vellem ego sacrificium esse hujus novissimi concilii, sicut Johannes Huss Constantie. Ibid. 110.

¹² Sed catastrophe illi tragicam, nos comicam expectamus. Ibid. 85.

¹³ Sic Satan chorda semper oberrat eadem, et mille-artibus ille non habet contra Christum, nisi unum illud eumbe rebur. Ibid. 100.

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...Of whom? not of the emperors long ago have been lost, himself: let us fear nothing. King of kings, and the Lord of lords this title at Augsburg, he is in it all the earth, and in all

ing of triumph was, on the part of the Augsburg, the first hat followed this courageous doubtless in the annals of the one of their adversaries at first in triumph, and the others were a powerful reaction took place

owing morning, Charles having mourn and tired for want of sleep, his ministers who appeared in apartments was the count-palace and embarrassed as his master yield something," said he "and I would remind your majesty: Emperor Maximilian was will the two kinds in the Eucharist, of priests, and liberty with rests." Charles the Fifth eagerly proposition as a means of safety. He and Campeggio soon arrived, him to withdraw it.

wondered for a moment by the deed struck her, rose up again with stay with the mother," exclaimed of Wartzburg, meaning by it of Rome; "the mother, the My lord," wittily replied Brentz, it, for the mother, forget either the Son!"—"Well! I grant it," archbishop of Salzburg to one of "I also should desire the common kinds, the marriage of priests, union of the mass, and liberty as and other traditions.....But I should be a monk, a poor monk, who reform us all, is what we cannot "I should have no objection," bishop, "for Divine worship to do every where as it is at Wittenberg we can never consent that this should issue from such a council as Melancthon insisted with the pope of Salzburg on the necessity of the clergy: "Well! and how can we reform us?" said the latter we priests have always been doing." This is one of the most professions that the Reformation had from the priests. Every day monks and doctors, brimful of so-called piety seen arriving at Augsburg, striving to inflame the hatred of the princes.¹ "If we have friends," said Melancthon on the day of the Confession, "now we

possess them no longer. We are here alone, abandoned by all, and contending against measureless dangers."²

Charles, impelled by these contrary parties, affected great indifference. But without permitting it to be seen, he endeavoured, meanwhile, to examine this affair thoroughly. "Let there not be a word wanting," he had said to his secretary, when requiring from him a French translation of the Confession "He does not allow anything to be observed," whispered the Protestants one to another, convinced that Charles was gained; "for if it were known, he would lose his Spanish states: let us maintain the most profound secrecy." But the emperor's courtiers, who perceived these strange hopes, smiled and shook their heads. "If you have money," said Schepper, one of the secretaries of state, to Jonas and Melancthon, "it will be easy for you to buy from the Italians whatever religion you please;³ but if your purse is empty, your cause is lost." Then assuming a more serious tone: "It is impossible," said he, "for the emperor, surrounded as he is by bishops and cardinals, to approve of any other religion than that of the pope."

This was soon evident. On the day after the Confession (Sunday, 26th June), before the breakfast hour,⁴ all the deputations from the imperial cities were collected in the emperor's antechamber. Charles, desirous of bringing back the states of the empire to unity, began with the weakest. "Some of the cities," said the count-palatine, "have not adhered to the last Diet of Spire: the emperor calls upon them to submit to it."

Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Constance, Ulm, Reutlingen, Heilbronn, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Windsheim, Jany, and Weissemburg, which were thus summoned to renounce the famous protest, thought the moment curiously chosen. They asked for time.

The position was complicated: discord had been thrown into the midst of the cities, and intrigue was labouring daily to increase it.⁵ It was not only between the popish and the evangelical cities that disagreement existed; but also between the Zwinglian and the Lutheran cities, and even among the latter, those which had not adhered to the Confession of Augsburg manifested great ill-humour towards the deputies of Reutlingen and Nuremberg. This proceeding of Charles the Fifth was therefore skillfully calculated, for it was based on the old axiom, *Divide et impera*.

But the enthusiasm of faith overcame all these stratagems, and on the next day (27th June), the deputies from the cities transmitted a reply to the emperor, in which

ut monachus debeat nos reformare omnes.

in und Winkel. L. Opp. ix. 307.
sunt huc sophista ac monachi. Corp.

¹ Nos hic soli ac deserti. Corp. Ref. II. 141.

² Nos, si pecuniam haberemus, facile religionem quam vellemus emturos ab Italia. Ibid. 154.

³ Heute vor dem morgengessen. Ibid. 143.

⁴ Es sind unter uns Südtien, viel practica und Saltzburger weissen. Ibid. 141.

they declared that they could not adhere to the *Recess* of Spiros "without disobeying God, and without compromising the salvation of their souls."¹

Charles, who desired to observe a just medium, more from policy than from equity, wavered between so many contrary convictions. Desirous nevertheless of essaying his mediating influence, he convoked the states faithful to Rome, on Sunday, 26th June, shortly after his conference with the cities.

All the princes were present: even the pope's legate and the most influential Roman divines appeared at this council, to the great scandal of the Protestants. "What reply should be made to the Confession?" was the question set by Charles the Fifth to the senate that surrounded him.²

Three different opinions were proposed. "Let us beware," said the men of the papacy, "of discussing our adversaries' reasons, and let us be content with executing the edict of Worms against the Lutherans, and with constraining them by arms."³—"Let us submit the Confession to the examination of impartial judges," said the men of the empire, "and refer the final decision to the emperor. Is not even the reading of the Confession an appeal of the Protestants to the imperial power?" Others, in the last place (and these were the men of tradition and of ecclesiastical doctrine), were desirous of commissioning certain doctors to compose a refutation, which should be read to the Protestants and ratified by Charles.

The debate was very animated: the mild and the violent, the politic and the fanatical, took a decided course in the assembly. George of Saxony and Joachim of Brandenburg showed themselves the most inveterate, and surpassed in this respect even the ecclesiastical princes.⁴ "A certain clown, whom you know well, is pushing them all from behind,"⁵ wrote Melancthon to Luther; "and certain hypocritical theologians hold the torch and lead the whole band." This clown was doubtless Duke George. Even the princes of Bavaria, whom the Confession had staggered at first, immediately rallied around the chiefs of the Roman party. The Elector of Mentz, the Bishop of Augsburg, and the Duke of Brunswick, showed themselves the least unfavourable to the evangelical cause. "I can by no means advise his majesty to employ force," said Albert. "If his majesty should constrain their consciences, and should afterwards quit the empire, the first victims sacrificed would be the priests; and who knows whether, in the midst of these disorders, the Turks would not suddenly fall upon

us?" But this somewhat interested wisdom of the archbishop did not find many supporters, and the men of war immediately plunged into the discussion with their harsh voices. "If there is any fighting against the Lutherans," said Count Felix of Werderberg, "I gratuitously offer my sword, and swear never to return it to its scabbard until it has overthrown the stronghold of Luther." This nobleman died suddenly a few days after, from the consequences of his intemperance. Then the moderate men again interfered: "The Lutherans attack no one article of the faith," said the Bishop of Augsburg; "let us come to an arrangement with them; and to obtain peace, let us concede to them the sacrament in both kinds and the marriage of priests. I would even yield more, if it were necessary." Upon this loud cries arose: "He is a Lutheran," they exclaimed, "and you will see that he is fully prepared to sacrifice even the private masses!"—"The masses! we must not even think of it," remarked some with an ironical smile; "Rome will never give them up, for it is they which maintain her cardinals and her courtiers, with their luxury and their kitchens."⁶ The Archbishop of Salzburg and the Elector of Brandenburg replied with great violence to the motion of the Bishop of Augsburg. "The Lutherans," said they abruptly, "have laid before us a Confession written with black ink on white paper. Well: If I were emperor, I would answer them with red ink."⁷—"Sirs," quickly replied the Bishop of Augsburg, "take care then that the red letters do not fly in your faces!" The Elector of Mentz was compelled to interfere and calm the speakers.

The emperor, desirous of playing the character of an umpire, would have wished the Roman party at least to have placed in his hands an act of accusation against the Reformation: but all was now altered; the majority, becoming daily more compact since the Diet of Spiers, no longer sided with Charles. Full of the sentiment of their own strength, they refused to assume the title of a party, and to take the emperor as a judge. "What are you saying," cried they, "of diversity between the members of the empire? There is but one legitimate party. It is not a question of deciding between two opinions whose rights are equal, but of crushing rebels, and of aiding those who have remained faithful to the constitution of the empire."

This haughty language enlightened Charles: he found they had outstripped him, and that, abandoning his lofty position of arbiter, he must submit merely to be the agent of the orders of the majority. It was this majority which henceforward commanded in Augsburg. They excluded the imperial councillors who advocated more equi-

¹ Ohne Verletzung der gewissen gegen Gott. F. Urkund.

² Adversarii nostri jam deliberant quid velint respondere. Corp. Ref. II. 26th June.

³ Rem agendam esse vi, non audientiam causam. Ibid.

⁴ Hi sunt duces, at quidem acerrimi alterius partis. Ibid.

⁵ Causas unus gubernat rusticus. Ibid. 26th June, 178.

⁶ Cardinal, Churtsusanen, Praecht und Küchen. Brief Apol. p. 63.

⁷ Wir wollten antworten mit einer Schrift mit Rotbuch geschrieben. Corp. Ref. II. 147.

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and the Archbishop of Mentz ed for a time to appear in the

ity ordered that a refutation of ical doctrine should be imme- up by Romish theologians. If eted for this purpose moderate e Bishop of Augsburg, the Re- ould still have had some chance h the great principles of Christi- was to the enemies of the Re- old champions of Rome and exasperated by so many defeats, olved to intrust this task.

numerous at Augsburg, and not great esteem. "The princes," "have brought their learned m, and some even their *unlearned* s."¹ Provost Faber and Doctor troop; behind them was drawn of monks, and above all of Do- ls of the Inquisition, and im- ompense themselves for the op- y had so long endured. There incial of the Dominicans, Paul vicar John Bourkard, one of onrad Koelein, who had written er's marriage; with a number s, Augustines, Franciscans, and several bishops. Such were the e number of twenty, were l to refute Melancthon.

beforehand have argued of the workmen. Each one understood a question, not of refuting the out of branding it. Campeggio, s suggested this ill-omened list as well aware that these doctors le of measuring themselves with

but their names formed the l standard of popery, and an- e world clearly and immediately : proposed doing. This was the it. Rome would not leave Chris- hope.

rever, requisite to know whether the emperor who was its organ, of pronouncing in this purely tter. Charles put the question t Evangelicals and to the Roman-

ghness," said Luther, who was e elector, "may reply with : Yes, if the emperor wish it, dge! I will bear every thing on let him decide nothing contrary of God. Your highness cannot ror above God himself.⁴ Does commandment say, *Thou shalt Gods before me?*"

of the papal adherents was quite a contrary sense. "We think,"

said they, "that his majesty, in accord with the electors, princes, and states of the empire, has the right to proceed in this affair, as Roman Emperor, guardian, advocate, and sovereign protector of the Church and of our most holy faith."¹ Thus, in the first days of the Reformation, the Evangelical Church frankly ranged itself under the throne of Jesus Christ, and the Roman Church under the sceptre of kings. Enlightened men, even among Protestants, have misunderstood this double nature of Protestantism and Popery.

The philosophy of Aristotle and the hierarchy of Rome, thanks to this alliance with the civil power, were at length about to see the day of their long-expected triumph arrive. So long as the schoolmen had been left to the force of their syllogisms and of their abuse, they had been defeated; but now Charles the Fifth and the diet held out their hands to them; the reasonings of Faber, Eck, and Wimpina were about to be countersigned by the German chancellor, and confirmed by the great seals of the empire. Who could resist them? The Romish error has never had any strength except by its union with the secular arm; and its victories in the Old and in the New World are owing, even in our days, to state patronage.²

These things did not escape the piercing eye of Luther. He saw at once the weakness of the argument of the papist doctors and the power of Charles's arm. "You are waiting for your adversaries' answer," wrote he to his friends in Augsburg; "it is already written, and here it is: The Fathers, the Fathers; the Church, the Church, the Church; usage, custom; but of the Scriptures—nothing!³ Then the emperor, supported by the testimony of these arbiters, will pronounce against you;⁴ and then will you hear boastings from all sides that will ascend to heaven, and threats that will descend even to hell."

Thus changed the situation of the Reform. Charles was obliged to acknowledge his weakness; and to save the appearance of his power, he took a decisive part with the enemies of Luther. The emperor's impartiality disappeared: the state turned against the Gospel, and there remained for it no other saviour than God.

At first many gave way to extreme dejection: above all, Melancthon, who had a nearer view of the cabals of the adversaries, exhausted moreover by long vigils, fell almost into despair.⁵ "In the presence of these formidable evils," cried he, "I see no more hope."⁶ And then, however, he added—"Except the help of God."

¹ Römischen Kaiser, Vogt, Advocaten und Obristen Beschirmer der kirchen. F. Uckland. II. 10.

² Otahelte for instance.

³ Patres, Patres, Patres; Ecclesia, Ecclesia; usus, consuetudo, præterea e Scriptura nihil. L. Epp. IV. 96.

⁴ Pronuntiabit Caesar contra vos. Ibid.

⁵ Quædam tristitia et quasi desperatione vocatur.

Corp. Ref. II. 163.

⁶ Quid nobis sit sperandum in tantis odiis inimicorum.

Ibid. 164.

enatum. Corp. Ref. II. 175.
s suos inruditos et ineptos.
sent extracted from the archives of Bava-
II. 9
Kaiser nicht über Gott setzen. L. Epp. IV.

The legate immediately set all his batteries to work. Already had Charles several times sent for the elector and the landgrave, and had used every exertion to detach them from the Evangelical Confession.¹ Melancthon, uneasy at these secret conferences, reduced the Confession to its *minimum*, and entreated the elector to demand only the two kinds in the Eucharist and the marriage of priests. "To interdict the former of these points," said he, "would be to alienate a great number of Christians from the communion; and to forbid the second would be depriving the Church of all the pastors capable of edifying it. Will they destroy religion and kindle civil war, rather than apply to these purely ecclesiastical constitutions a mitigation that is neither contrary to sound morals nor to faith?"² The Protestant princes begged Melancthon to go himself and make these proposals to the legate.³

Melancthon agreed; he began to flatter himself with success; and, in truth, there were, even among the papists, individuals who were favourable to the Reformation. There had recently arrived at Augsburg, from beyond the Alps, certain propositions tolerably Lutheran,⁴ and one of the emperor's confessors boldly professed the doctrine of justification by faith, cursing "those asses of Germans," as he called them, "who are incessantly braying against this truth."⁵ One of Charles's chaplains approved of even the whole of the Confession. There was something farther still: Charles the Fifth having consulted the grandes of Spain, who were famous for their orthodoxy: "If the opinions of the Protestants are contrary to the articles of the faith," they had replied, "let your majesty employ all his power to destroy this faction; but if it is a question merely of certain changes in human ordinances and external usages, let all violence be avoided."⁶ "Admirable reply!" exclaimed Melancthon, who persuaded himself that the Romish doctrine was at the bottom in accordance with the Gospel.

The Reformation found defenders in even still higher stations. Mary, sister of Charles the Fifth, and widow of King Louis of Hungary, arriving at Augsburg three days after the reading of the Confession, with her sister-in-law the Queen of Bohemia, Ferdinand's wife, assiduously studied the Holy Scriptures; she carried them with her to the hunting parties, in which she found little pleasure, and had discovered therein the jewel of the Reform,—the doctrine of gratuitous salvation. This pious princess made her chaplain read evangelical sermons to her,

and often endeavoured, although with ~~para~~ dence, to appease her brother Charles with regard to the Protestants.¹

Melancthon, encouraged by these demonstrations, and at the same time alarmed by the threats of war that the adversaries were continually uttering, thought it his duty to purchase peace at any cost, and resolved in consequence to descend in his propositions as low as possible. He therefore demanded an interview with the legate in a letter whose authenticity has been unreasonably doubted.² At the decisive moment the heart of the reform champion fails,—his head turns—he staggers—he falls; and in his fall he runs the risk of dragging with him the cause which martyrs have already watered with their blood.

Thus speaks the representative of the Reformation to the representative of the papacy:—

"There is no doctrine in which we differ from the Roman Church;³ we venerate the universal authority of the Roman Pontiff, and are ready to obey him, provided he does not reject us, and that of his clemency, which he is accustomed to show towards all nations, he will kindly pardon or approve certain little things that it is no longer possible for us to change.....Now then, will you reject those who appear as suppliants before you? Will you pursue them with fire and sword?Alas! nothing draws upon us in Germany so much hatred, as the unshaken firmness with which we maintain the doctrines of the Roman Church.⁴ But with the aid of God, we will remain faithful, even unto death, to Christ and to the Roman Church, although you should reject us."⁵

Thus did Melancthon humble himself. God permitted this fall, that future ages might clearly see how low the Reformation was willing to descend in order to maintain unity, and that no one might doubt that the schism had come from Rome; but also, assuredly, that they might learn how great, in every important work, is the weakness of the noblest instruments.

Fortunately there was then another man who upheld the honour of the Reformation. At this very time Luther wrote to Melancthon: "There can be no concord between Christ and Belial. As far as regards me, I will not yield a hair's breadth.⁶ Sooner than yield, I should prefer suffering everything, even the most terrible evils. Concede so much the less, as your adversaries require the more. God will not aid us until we are abandoned by all."⁷ And fearing some weak-

¹ Legati Norimberg ad Senatum. Corp. Ref. II. 161.

² Melancthon ad Duc. Sax. Elect. Ibid. 162.

³ Principes nostri miserunt nos ad R. D. V. Ibid. 171.

⁴ Pervenit ad nos propositiones quedam Italiane satis Lutherane. Ibid. 162.

⁵ Latio Germanis asinia, nobis in hac parte obgnanti-

bun. Ibid.

⁶ Hispanici proceres preclare et sapienter responderunt Cmsert. Ibid. 172.

¹ "H $\alpha\delta\iota\lambda\alpha\theta\iota$ $\delta\iota\upsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ studet nobis placere in-

terem. Corp. Ref. II. 172.

² See the Corp. Ref. II. 168.

³ Dogma nullum habemus diversum ab Ecclesia Romana.

Ibid. 170.

⁴ Quam quia Ecclesia Romana dogmata summe con-

stantia defendimus. Ibid.

⁵ Vel si recusabitis nos in gratiam recipere. Ibid.

⁶ At certe pro me persona, ne plium quidem cedam. L.

Epp. IV. 88.

⁷ Neque enim juvabimur ni deserti prius simus. Ibid. II.

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t of his friends, Luther added: ot tempting God, you would seen me at your side!"¹ It, had Luther's presence been or the legate had consented to and Melancthon was about to mpeggio.²

uly was the day appointed by his letter inspired Philip with guine hopes. "The cardinal t he will accede the usage of and the marriage of priests," a eager to visit him!"³

ight decide the destiny of the e legate accepted Philip's *ulti*-angelical countries would be r the power of the Romish ll would have been over with n; but it was saved through l blindness of Rome. The ring it on the brink of the that a last blow would settle l, like Luther, to concede n-ven a hair's breadth." The er, even while refusing, as- of kindness, and of yielding to ce. "I might have the power ain concessions, but it would se it without the consent rinces;⁴ their will must be em in particular conjures the vent us from yielding the least grant nothing." The Roman e most amiable smile, then did gain the chief of the Protest- Melancthon retired filled with dvances he had made, but still mpeggio. "No doubt," said Coclæus have been before- at the legate's."⁵ Luther en-erent opinion. "I do not trust Italians," said he; "they are Vhen an Italian is good, he is t then he is a black swan."

r the Italians who were con-ly after the 12th of July ar-e's instructions. He had re- fession by express,⁶ and six- sufficed for the transmission, n, and the return. Clement mention either of discussions Charles was to march straight send an army into Germany, eformation by force. At Augs- , it was thought best not to go work, and recourse was had to

we have them," said the Ro- sible of the reproach that had

¹ coram vidissetis me. L. Epp. iv. 32. thensare solito et Campegium etiam.

² Campegium. Ibid. 174. fecerunt, nial de voluntate principum

m veniebant Eocius et Coclæus. Ibid.

o ad Romam per venerarios missa est.

been made against them, of having misrepre- sented the Reformation, they accused the Protestants themselves of being the cause. "These it is," they said, "who, to give them- selves an air of being in accord with us, now dissemble their heresy; but we will catch them in their own nets. If they confess to not having inserted in their Confession all that they reject, it will be proved that they are trifling with us. If, on the contrary, they pretend to have said everything, they will by that very circumstance be compelled to admit all that they have not condemned." The Protestant princes were therefore called to- gether, and they were asked if the Reform- ation was confined to the doctrines indicated in the Apology, or if there was something more.¹

The snare was skilfully laid. The papacy had not even been mentioned in Melancthon's Confession; other errors besides had been omitted, and Luther himself complained of it aloud. "Satan sees clearly," said he, "that your Apology has passed lightly over the ar- ticles of purgatory, the worship of saints, and, above all, of the Pope and of Antichrist." The princes requested to confer with their allies of the towns; and all the Protestants assembled to deliberate on this momentous incident.

They looked for Melancthon's explanation, who did not decline the responsibility of the affair. Easily dejected through his own anxiety, he became bold whenever he was di- rectly attacked. "All the essential doc- trines," said he, "have been set forth in the Confession, and every error and abuse that is opposed to them has been pointed out. But was it necessary to plunge into all those questions so full of contention and animosity, that are discussed in our universities? Was it necessary to ask if all Christians are priests, if the primacy of the pope is of right divine, if there can be indulgences, if every good work is a deadly sin, if there are more than seven sacraments, if they may be adminis- tered by a layman, if divine election has any foundation in our own merits, if sacerdotal consecration impresses an indelible character, if auricular confession is necessary to salva- tion?.....No, no! all these things are in the province of the schools, and by no means essential to faith."²

It cannot be denied that in the questions thus pointed out by Melancthon there were important points. However that may be, the evangelical committee were soon agreed, and on the morrow they gave an answer to Charles's ministers, drawn up with as much frankness as firmness, in which they said "that the Protestants, desirous of arriv- ing at a cordial understanding, had not wished to complicate their situation, and had proposed, not to specify all the errors that

¹ An plura volumus Cuesari proponere contrarium quam fecerimus. Corp. Ref. ii. 182.

² Melancthon's Judicium. Ibid. 182.

had been introduced into the Church, but to confess all the doctrines that were essential to salvation; that if, nevertheless, the adverse party felt itself urged to maintain certain abuses, or to put forward any point not mentioned in the Confession, the Protestants declared themselves ready to reply in conformity with the Word of God.¹ The tone of this answer showed pretty clearly that the evangelical Christians did not fear to follow their adversaries wherever the latter should call them. Accordingly the Roman party said no more on this business.

CHAPTER IX.

The Refutation—Charles's Discontent—Interview with the Princes—The Swiss at Augsburg—Tetrapolitan Confession—Zwingli's Confession—Afflicting Divisions—The Elector's Faith—His Peace—The Lion's Skin—The Refutation—One Concession—Scripture and the Hierarchy—Imperial Commands—Interview between Melancthon and Campegius—Policy of Charles—Stormy Meeting—Resolutions of the Consistory—The Prayers of the Church—Two Miracles—The Emperor's Menace—The Prince's Courage—The Mask—Negotiations—The Spectres at Spire—Tumult in Augsburg.

THE commission charged to refute the Confession met twice a-day,² and each of the theologians who composed it added to it his refutations and his hatred.

On the 13th July the work was finished. "Eck with his band,"³ said Melancthon, "transmitted it to the emperor." Great was the astonishment of this prince and of his ministers at seeing a work of two hundred and eighty pages filled with abuse.⁴ "Bad workmen waste much wood," said Luther, "and impious writers soil much paper." This was not all; to the Refutation were subjoined eight appendices on the heresies that Melancthon had dissembled (as they said), and wherein they exposed the contradictions and "the horrible sects" to which Lutheranism had given birth. Lastly, not confining themselves to this official answer, the Romish theologians, who saw the sun of power shining upon them, filled Augsburg with insolent and abusive pamphlets.

There was but one opinion on the Papist Refutation; it was found confused, violent, and blood-thirsty.⁵ Charles the Fifth had too much good taste not to perceive the difference that existed between this coarse work and the noble dignity of Melancthon's Confession. He rolled, handled, crushed, and so damaged the two hundred and eighty pages of his doctors, that when he returned them two days after, says Spalatin, there were not more than twelve entire. Charles would have been ashamed to have such a pamphlet read in the diet, and he required, in conse-

quence, that it should be drawn shorter, and in more moderate language. That was not easy, "for the ad confused and stupified," says Bre the noble simplicity of the Evangelic Confession, neither knew where to b where to end; they accordingly to three weeks to do their work over.

Charles and his ministers had gr of its success; leaving, therefore, logians for a moment, they imagine manœuvre. "Let us take each of testant princes separately," said th lated, they will not resist." Acc on the 15th July, the Margrave of burg was visited by his two cot Electors of Mentz and of Branden by his two brothers the Margraves and John Albert. "Abandon faith," said they to him, "and retu which existed a century ago. If y there are no favours that you ma pect from the emperor; if not, anger."⁶

Shortly after, Duke Frederick of the Count of Nassau, De Rogen Truchses were announced to the E the part of Charles. "You have the emperor," said they, "to cor marriage of your son with the P Juliers, and to invest you with the dignity; but his majesty declare you do not renounce the heresy o of which you are the principal al cannot accede to your demand." same time the Duke of Bavaria, e the most urgent solicitations, acc with the most animated gestures, most sinister threats,⁷ called upon t to abandon his faith. "It is I added Charles's envoys, "that you h an alliance with the Swiss. The cannot believe it; and he orders y him know the truth."

The Swiss! it was the same thi bellion. This alliance was the ph cessantly invoked at Augsburg Charles the Fifth. And in reality or at least friends of the Swiss, ready appeared in that city, and thi ed the position still more serious.

Bucer had arrived two days b reading of the Confession, and Capi day subsequent to it.⁸ There wa report that Zwingli would join the for a long time all in Augsburg, e Strasburg deputation, were ignora

¹ Aus Gottes Wort, weiter bericht zu thun. F. Urkundenbuch, II. 19.

² His die convenire dicantur. Zw. Epp. II. 472.

³ Eccles cum sua communi catione. Corp. Ref. II. 193.

⁴ Longum et plenum conviciis scriptum. Ibid.

⁵ Adeo confusa, incensata, violenta, sanguinolenta et crudelia ut puduerint. Ibid. 196.

¹ Hodie auctoribus ipsa Sophistis, a Cesare redditam ut emendetur et civilis componatur. II. 196.

² Nostra confessione stultior, attonitior. Ibid.

³ Ibid. 206; F. Urkund. II. 83.

⁴ Mit reden und Gebärden prächtig erzelt.

⁵ Minus diras promissis ingentibus adficiis. II. 454.

⁶ Venimus huc, ego pridie solemnitate Di Capito sic dominica sequente. Ibid. 472.

⁷ Rumor apud nos est, et te cum suis Helve advolaturum. Ibid. 431, 467.

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of these doctors.¹ It was only a few days after their arrival that Melancthon it positively,² so great was the joy in which the Zwinglians were enshrouded themselves. This was not without reason: a conference with Melancthon had been requested by them. Melancthon wrote, "I should be glad to see our cause by an interview with

and Capito in their retreat, which was open to them, had taken advantage of the opportunity to draw up the *Tetrapolitan Confession*, or the confession of the four deputies of Strasburg, Constance, and Lindau, presented it to the emperor.³ These cities purged themselves of the reproach of war and revolt, and been continually objected against them, they declared that their only motive was the glory, and professed the truth boldly, but without insolence and curriosity."⁴

At about the same time caused a confession to be communicated to which excited a general uproar. "I do not dare to say," exclaimed the emperor, "that the *mitred and withered* (which he means the bishops) is in his what hump-backs and the scrofulous body?"⁵ "Does he not insinuate the Lutherans; that we are to look back after the onions and Egypt?" "One might say with him that he had lost his senses," exclaimed Melancthon.⁷ "All ceremonies, to him, ought to be abolished; all ought to be suppressed. In a word, it is perfectly *Helvetic*, that is to say, barbarous."

It formed an exception to this condescension, and this was Luther. "It pleases me tolerably, and so does it to me," wrote he to Jonas.⁸ By Bucer, he doubt the *Tetrapolitan Confession*: it should be noted.

Three Confessions, laid at the feet of the Fifth, attested the divisions that divided Protestantism. In vain did Capito endeavour to come to an understanding with Melancthon, and write

"We will meet where you will, and I will; we will bring Sturm only and if you desire it, we will not go him."⁹ All was unavailing. It

is not enough for a Christian to confess Christ; one disciple should confess another disciple, even if the latter lies under the shame of the world; but they did not then comprehend this duty. "Schism is in the schism," said the Romanists, and the emperor flattered himself with an easy victory. "Return to the Church," was the cry from every side, "which means," interrupted the Strasburgers, "let us put the bit in your mouths, that we may lead you as we please."¹

All these things deeply afflicted the elector, who was besides still under the burden of Charles's demands and threats. The emperor had not once spoken to him,² and it was every where said that his cousin George of Saxony would be proclaimed elector in his stead.

On the 28th July, there was a great festival at the court. Charles, robed in his imperial garments, whose value was said to exceed 200,000 gold ducats, and displaying an air of majesty which impressed respect and fear,³ conferred on many princes the investiture of their dignities; the elector alone was excluded from these favours. Ere long he was made to understand more plainly what was reserved for him, and it was insinuated, that if he did not submit, the emperor would expel him from his states, and inflict upon him the severest punishment."⁴

The elector turned pale, for he doubted not that such would certainly be the termination. How with his small territory could he resist that powerful monarch who had just vanquished France and Italy, and now saw Germany at his feet? And besides, if he could do it, had he the right? Frightful nightmares pursued John in his dreams. He beheld himself stretched beneath an immense mountain under which he lay painfully struggling, while his cousin George of Saxony stood on the summit and seemed to brave him.

John at length came forth from this furnace. "I must either renounce God or the world," said he. "Well! my choice is not doubtful. It is God who made me elector,—me, who was not worthy of it. I fling myself into his arms, and let him do with me what shall seem good to him." Thus the elector by faith stopped the mouths of lions and subdued kingdoms."⁵

All evangelical Christendom had taken part in the struggle of John the Persevering. It was seen that if he should now fall, all would fall with him; and they endeavoured to support him. "Fear not," cried the Christians of Magdeburg, "for your highness is under Christ's banner."⁶ "Italy is in expect-

ut non quibuslibet sui copiam faciant. Corp.

Bucerus adsumt. Id hodie certo comperi.

et civitates propriam Confessionem obtulerunt

p. Ref. p. 157. This Confession will be found

Collected Confessionum, p. 740.

se fortiter; citra precariam tamen et sanas,

corde quod res est. Zw. Epp. ii. 465.

ayer Coll. Conf. p. 14.

et mixturam genus Episcoporum. Id caset in

et gibbi et strumata in corpore. Ibid. Ewingle

bishops to the dry and fruitless props that

times.

spiliter mente captum esse. Corp. Ref. p. 158.

inhibere nunc placet, et Bucerus. L. Epp. iv. 118.

et que et quando in voles. Corp. Ref. p. 258.

¹ Una tamen omnium vox: *Reverentissimi ad Ecclesiam*, Zw. Epp. ii. 464.

² Colloquium dno noudum frui potuimus. Beck. ii. 154.

³ Apparuit Cesar majestate..... insignitus vestibus omni

imperialibus. Corp. Ref. ii. 262.

⁴ Müller, Gesch. der Reformation, p. 718.

⁵ Hebrews xi. 34, 35.

⁶ Unter dem Heerbanner Jesu Christi. Ibid. p. 122.

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

tation," wrote they from Venice; "if for Christ's glory you must die, fear nothing."¹ But it was from a higher source that John's courage was derived. "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," said his Master.² The elector, in like manner, beheld in his dreams George fall from the top of the mountain, and lie dashed in pieces at its feet.

Once resolved to lose every thing, John, free, happy, and tranquil, assembled his theologians. These generous men desired to save their master. "Gracious lord," said Spalatin, "recollect that the Word of God, being the sword of the Spirit, must be upheld, not by the secular power, but by the hand of the Almighty."—"Yes!" said all the doctors, "we do not wish that, to save us, you should risk your children, your subjects, your states, your crown..... We will rather give ourselves into the hands of the enemy, and conjure him to be satisfied with our blood."³ John, touched by this language, refused, however, their solicitations, and firmly repeated these words, which had become his device: "I also desire to confess my Saviour."

It was on the 20th July that he replied to the pressing arguments by which Charles had endeavoured to shake him. He proved to the emperor that, being his brother's legitimate heir, he could not refuse him the investiture, which, besides, the Diet of Worms had secured to him. He added, that he did not blindly believe what his doctors said, but that, having recognized the Word of God to be the foundation of their teaching, he confessed anew, and without any hesitation, all the articles of the Apology. "I therefore entreat your majesty," continued he, "to permit me and mine to render an account to God alone of what concerns the salvation of our souls."⁴ The Margrave of Brandenburg made the same reply. Thus failed this skilful manœuvre by which the Romanists had hoped to break the strength of the Reformation.

Six weeks had elapsed since the Confession, and as yet there was no reply. "The Papists, from the moment they heard the Apology," it was said, suddenly became dumb."⁵ At length the Romish theologians handed their revised and corrected performance to the emperor, and persuaded this prince to present it in his own name. The mantle of the state seemed to them admirably adapted to the movements of Rome. "These sycophants," said Melancthon, "have desired to clothe themselves with the lion's skin, to appear to us so much

the more terrible."¹ All the states of the empire were convoked for the next day but one.

On Wednesday, 3d August, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the emperor took his seat on the throne in the chapel of the Palatine Palace, attended by his brother, the elector, princes, and deputies. When the Elector of Saxony and his allies were introduced, the count-palatine, who was called "Charles's mouthpiece," said to them: "His majesty having handed your Confession to several doctors of different nations, illustrious by their knowledge, their morals, and their impartiality, has read their reply with the greatest care, and submits it to you as his own."²

Alexander Schweiss then took the paper and read the Refutation. The Roman party approved some articles of the Confession, condemned others, and in certain less salient passages, it distinguished between what must be rejected and what accepted.

It gave way on an important point; the *opus operatum*. The Protestants having said in their 13th Article that faith was necessary in the sacrament, the Romish party assented to it; thus abandoning an error which the papacy had so earnestly defended against Luther in that very city of Augsburg by the mouth of Cajetan.

Moreover, they recognized as truly christian the evangelical doctrine on the Trinity, on Christ, on baptism, on eternal punishment, and on the origin of evil.

But on all the other points, Charles, his princes, and his theologians, declared themselves immovable. They maintained that men are born with the fear of God, that good works are meritorious, and that they justify in union with faith. They upheld the seven sacraments, the mass, transubstantiation, the withdrawal of the cup, the celibacy of priests, the invocation of saints, and denied that the Church was an assembly of the saints.

This Refutation was skilful, in some respects, and, above all, in what concerned the doctrine of works and of faith. But on other points, in particular on the withdrawal of the cup and the celibacy of priests, its arguments were lamentably weak, and contrary to the well known facts of history.

While the Protestants had taken their stand on the Scriptures, their adversaries supported the divine origin of the hierarchy, and laid down absolute submission to its laws. Thus, the essential character, which still distinguishes Rome from the Reformation, stood prominently forth in this first combat.

Among the auditors who filled the chapel of the Palatine Palace, concealed in the midst of the deputies of Nuremberg, was Jo-

¹ *Etiam si mors subeunda tibi foret ob Christi gloriam.* Corp. Ref. II. 228. L. F. Roselli.

² Luke x. 18.

³ *Gottes Wort keins wags durch weltlich Schwert.* F. Urkund. II. 82.

⁴ *Sie wollen ihnen an ihrem Rülde gentgen lassen.* Ibid. 80.

⁵ *Forstmann's Urkundenbuch.* pp. 80-82, 112-113.

⁶ *Papistas obmutuiscere ad ipsorum Confessionem.* Oechl. p. 128.

¹ *Voluerunt sycophantæ theologi Austriæ Romanæ obsequium dare, ut essent nobis formidabiles.* Corp. Ref. p. 228.

² *Vult suam suæque publicæ auctoritatē subsumere.* Urkundenbuch II. 144.

rius, who, while Schweiss was out over his tablets and carefully all he could collect. At the others of the Protestants, speaker, were indignant, and even one of their opponents assuredly," said they with one consent, "of this Refutation is worthy of and Cochleus!"

Charles, little pleased with these dissertations, he slept during the night he awoke when Schweiss had his awakening was that of a

the count-palatine then declared that his and the articles of this Refutation catholic, and conformable to the that he therefore required the Pro- abandon their Confession, now l to adhere to all the articles ust been set forth;³ that, if they : emperor would remember his ould know how to show himself e and defender of the Roman

usage was clear enough: the ad- signed they had refuted the Pro- commanding the latter to con- vives beaten. Violence—arms— all contained in these cruel words minister.⁴ The princes repre- as the Refutation adopted some icles and rejected others, it reful examination, and they con- egged a copy should be given

ish party had a long conference and: night was at hand; the e replied that, considering the nd the importance of this affair, would make known his pleasure ater. The diet separated, and

Fifth, exasperated at the auda- evangelical princes, says Coch- ed in ill-humour to his apart-

stants, on the contrary, with- peace; the reading of the Refu- g given them as much con- of the Confession itself.⁶ They adversaries a strong attachment chy, but a great ignorance of —a characteristic feature of the y; and this thought encouraged rainly," said they, "the Church here there is no knowledge of

n alone was still alarmed: he ight and not by faith, and, re-

erant incepte carchinnabantur. Cochleus, rum obdormivit. Corp. Ref. II. 244. ut omnes in illos articulos consentiant. ama atrox. Ibid. 243. quo animo ferebat eorum contumaciam. sciore animo. Corp. Ref. II. 250. non esse, ubi ignoratur Christus.

membering the legate's smiles, he had another interview with him, as early as the 4th August, still demanding the cup for the laity, and lawful wives for the priests. "Then," said he, "our pastors will place themselves again under the government of the bishops, and we shall be able to prevent those innumerable sects with which posterity is threatened."¹ Melancthon's glance into the future is remarkable: it does not, however, mean that he, like many others, preferred a dead unity to a living diversity.

Campeggio, now certain of triumphing by the sword, disdainfully handed this paper to Cochleus, who hastened to refute it. It is hard to say whether Melancthon or Campeggio was the more infatuated. God did not permit an arrangement that would have enslaved his Church.

Charles passed the whole of the 4th and the morning of the 5th of August in consultation with the Ultramontane party. "It will never be by discussion that we shall come to an understanding," said some; "and if the Protestants do not submit voluntarily, it only remains for us to compel them." They nevertheless decided, on account of the Refutation, on adopting a middle course. During the whole of the diet Charles pursued a skilful policy. At first he refused every thing, hoping to lead away the princes by violence, then he conceded a few unimportant points, under the impression that the Protestants, having lost all hope, would esteem so much the more the little he did yield. This was what he did again under the present circumstances. In the afternoon of the 5th, the count-palatine announced that the emperor would give them a copy of the Refutation, but on these conditions; namely, that the Protestants should not reply, that they should speedily agree with the emperor, and that they should not print or communicate to any one the Refutation that should be confided to them.²

This communication excited murmurs among the Protestants. "These conditions," said they all, "are inadmissible."—"The Papists present us with their paper," added the Chancellor Brück, "as the fox offered a thin broth to his gossip the stork."

The savoury broth upon a plate by Baynard was served up. But Mistress Stork, with her long beak, she could not get a sup.³

"If the Refutation," continued he, "should become known without our participation (and how can we prevent it?), we shall be charged with it as a crime. Let us beware of accepting so perfidious an offer.⁴ We already possess in the notes of Camerarius several articles of this paper, and if we omit

¹ Quod nisi fiat, quid in tot sectis ad posterum futurum esset. Corp. Ref. II. 246.

² P. Urkund. II. 179; Corp. Ref. II. 254; Brück. Apol. 72.

³ Glück wie der Fuchs bräuchel, da er den Storch zu gast lud. Brück. Apol. 74.

⁴ Quando exemplum per alios in vulgus evire poterat, Corp. Ref. II. 74.

any point, no one will have the right to reproach us with it."

On the next day (8th August), the Protestants declared to the diet that they preferred declining the copy thus offered to them, and appealed to God and to his majesty.¹ They thus rejected all that the emperor proposed to them, even what he considered as a favour.

Agitation, anger, and affright were manifested on every bench of that august assembly.² This reply of the evangelicals was war—was rebellion. George of Saxony, the Princes of Bavaria, all the violent adherents of Rome, trembled with indignation; there was a sudden, an impetuous movement, an explosion of murmurs and of hatred; and it might have been feared that the two parties would have come to blows in the very presence of the emperor, if Archbishop Albert, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Dukes of Brunswick, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, rushing between them, had not configured the Protestants to put an end to this deplorable combat, and not drive the emperor to extremities.³ The diet separated, their hearts filled with emotion, apprehension, and trouble.

Never had the diet proposed such fatal alternatives. The hopes of agreement, set forth in the edict of convocation, had only been a deceitful lure: now the mask was thrown aside; submission or the sword—such was the dilemma offered to the Reformation. All announced that the day of tentatives was passed, and that they were beginning one of violence.

In truth, on the 6th July, the pope had assembled the consistory of cardinals in his palace at Rome, and had made known to them the Protestant ultimatum; namely, the cup for the laity, the marriage of priests, the omission of the invocation of saints in the sacrifice of the mass, the use of ecclesiastical property already secularized, and for the rest, the convocation of a council. "These concessions," said the cardinals, "are opposed to the religion, discipline, and laws of the Church." We reject them, and vote our thanks to the emperor for the zeal which he employs in bringing back the deserters." The pope having thus decided, every attempt at conciliation became useless.

Campeggio, on his side, redoubled in zeal. He spoke as if in his person the pope himself were present at Augsburg.⁴ "Let the emperor and the right-thinking princes form a league," said he to Charles; "and if these rebels, equally insensible to threats and pro-

mises, obstinately persist in their course, then let his majesty sei sword, let him take possession of perty of the heretics, and utter these venomous plants.⁵ Then I point holy inquisitors, who shall track of the remnants of the R and proceed against them, as in S the Moors. Let him put the u Wittemberg under ban, burn a books, and send back the fugitive their convents. But this plan m cuted with courage."

Thus the jurisprudence of Rom according to a prophecy uttered city which is *seated on seven hills*, itself with pearls that it had st becoming drunk with the ble saints.⁶

While Charles was thus urg blind fury by the diet and the poy testant princes, restrained by a nation, did not open their m hence they seemed to betray a v which the emperor was eager to there was also strength conceal this weakness. "We have not exclaimed Melancthon, "but to e Saviour's knees." In this they l nently. Melancthon begged f prayers; Brentz for those of his o a general cry of distress and o through evangelical Germany. "have sheep," said Brentz, "if yo us sheep: you know what I me sheep that were to be offered in sa the prayers of the saints.

The Church was not wanting "Assembled every day," wrote c to the electors, "we beg for vo grace, and victory,—victory full of the man of prayer and faith was Luther. A calm and sublime c which firmness shines at the side courage that rises and exults in as the danger increases—is wh letters at this time present in The most poetical images are those energetic expressions which boiling torrent from the reformer have recently witnessed two min he on the 5th August to Chance! "this is the first. As I was at n I saw the stars, and the sky, and and magnificent firmament in Lord has placed them. I could n cover the columns on which the supported this immense vault, a heavens did not fall.....

"And here is the second. I b clouds hanging above us like a v

¹ Das Sie es Gott und Kay. Maj. beschien muessen. Urkund. II. 161.

² Und darob wie man Syden mag, ein Entset zen gehabt. Ibid.

³ Hi accedunt ad nosces principes et jubent omittere hoc certamine, ne Cesar vehementius commoveatur. Corp. Ref. II. 264.

⁴ Opposuit religioni, disciplina, legibusque Ecclesie. Pallier. I. 254.

⁵ Als were der Papst selbst gegenwärtig gewesen. Brück. Apol. 82.

¹ Se alcuni..... perseverarono in questa quella S. M. potrà mettere la mano al terro e cito estirpare questa venenata pianta. In Casari a reverendissimo Campeggio la dieta A Revelation xvii. and xviii.

² Facilis indignatio. Corp. Ref. II. 254.

³ Habebitis oves, si oves ad nos mittatis. I volo. Ibid. 264.

er perceive ground on which they : cords by which they were sud- yet they did not fall upon us, us rapidly and fled away.

continued he, "will choose the e time, and the place suitable for and he will not linger. What blood have begun, they have notOur rainbow is faint.....their threatening.....the enemy comes with frightful machines.....But ill be seen to whom belong the id from what hands the javelins id.¹ It is no matter if Luther Christ is conqueror, Luther is Iso."²

an party, who did not know what ory of faith, imagined themselves access.

ctors had refuted the Confession, unts ought, they imagined, to de- selves convinced, and all would ored to its ancient footing: such an of the emperor's campaign. e urged and called upon the Pro- ut instead of submitting, they a refutation of the Refutation. Charles looked at his sword, and es who surrounded him did the

Saxony understood what that e remained firm. "The straight e (the axiom was familiar to him), test road." It is this indomitable it has secured for him in history 'John the Persevering. He was all those Protestant princes who up in the midst of courts, and abtuated to pay an humble obe- e emperor, at that time found in a noble independence that con- rles the Fifth.

: design of gaining the Marquis urg, they opened to him the pos- cording him some possessions in hich he had claims. "If Christ replied he, "the doctrine that I ssed is truth."—"But do you kly replied his cousin the Elector 'what is your stake?"—"Cer- lied the margrave, "it is said I elled from this country. Well! protect me!" One day Prince of Anhalt met Doctor Eck. said he, "you are exciting to a will find those who will not be with you. I have broken many my friends in my time. My Lord at is assuredly worthy that I s much for him."

ight of this resolution, each one elf whether Charles, instead of disease, was not augmenting it. criticisms, and jeats passed be-

tween the citizens; and the good sense of the people manifested in its own fashion what they thought of the folly of their chiefs. We will adduce one instance.

It is said that one day, as the emperor was at table with several Roman-catholic princes, he was informed that some comedians begged permission (according to custom) to amuse their lordships. First appeared an old man wearing a mask, and dressed in a doctor's robe, who advanced with difficulty, carrying a bundle of sticks in his arms, some straight and some crooked. He approached the wide fire-place of the Gothic hall, threw down his load in disorder, and immediately withdrew.¹ Charles and the courtiers read on his back the inscription—JOHN REUCHLIN. Next came another mask with an intelligent look, who made every exertion to pair the straight and the crooked pieces;² but finding his labour useless, he shook his head, turned to the door, and disappeared. They read—ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM. Almost immediately after advanced a monk with bright eye and decided gait, carrying a brasier of lighted coals.³ He put the wood in order, set fire to it, and blew and stirred it up, so that the flame rose bright and sparkling into the air. He then retired, and on his back were the words—MARTIN LUTHER.

Next approached a magnificent personage, covered with all the imperial insignia, who, seeing the fire so bright, drew his sword, and endeavoured by violent thrusts to extinguish it; but the more he struck, the fiercer burnt the flames, and at last he quitted the hall in indignation. His name, as it would seem, was not made known to the spectators, but all divined it. The general attention was soon attracted by a new character. A man, wearing a surplice and a mantle of red velvet, with an alb of white wool reaching to his heels, and having a stole around his neck, the ends ornamented with pearls, advanced majestically. On beholding the flames that already filled the hearth, he wrung his hands in terror, and looked around for something to extinguish them. Seeing two vessels at the very extremity of the hall, one filled with water, and the other with oil, he rushed towards them, seized unwittingly on that containing the oil, and threw it on the fire.⁴ The flame then spread with such violence that the mask fled in alarm, raising his hands to heaven; on his back was read the name of LEO X.

The mystery was finished; but instead of claiming their remuneration, the pretended actors had disappeared. No one asked the moral of this drama.

The lesson, however, proved useless; and the majority of the diet, assuming at the

bitur culpas tont.....L. Epp. iv. 130.
latus modo, nihil refert si pereat Lutherus,
ratio victor erit. Ibid. 139.

¹ Persona larva contracta, habitu doctorali portabat struem
lignorum. T. I. Fabricius, opp. omnia, ii. 251.
² Hic conabatur curva rectis casquare lignis. Ibid.
³ In aula Arvensi lectum et prunas. Ibid.
⁴ Currus in amphoram oleo plenus. Ibid. 252.

same time the part assigned to the emperor and the pope, began to prepare the means necessary for extinguishing the fire kindled by Luther. They negotiated in Italy with the Duke of Mantua, who engaged to send a few regiments of light cavalry across the Alps;¹ and in England with Henry VIII., who had not forgotten Luther's reply, and who promised Charles, through his ambassador, an immense subsidy to destroy the heretics.²

At the same time frightful prodigies announced the gloomy future which threatened the Reform. At Spire's fearful spectres, in the shape of monks with angry eyes and hasty steps, had appeared during the night. "What do you want?" they had been asked.—"We are going to the Diet of Augsburg!" they replied. The circumstance had been carefully investigated, and was found perfectly trustworthy.³ "The interpretation is not difficult," exclaimed Melancthon: "Evil spirits are coming to Augsburg to counteract our exertions, and to destroy peace. They forebode horrible troubles to us."⁴ No one doubted this. "Every thing is advancing towards war," said Erasmus.⁵ "The diet will not terminate," wrote Brenz, "except by the destruction of all Germany."⁶ "There will be a slaughter of the saints," exclaimed Bucer, "which will be such that the massacres of Diocletian will scarcely come up to it."⁷ War and blood!—this was the general cry.

Suddenly, on the night of Saturday, 6th August, a great disturbance broke out in the city of Augsburg.⁸ There was running to and fro in the streets; messengers from the emperor were galloping in every direction; the senate was called together and received an order to allow no one to pass the city gates.⁹ All were afoot in the imperial barracks; the soldiers got ready their arms; the regiments were drawn up, and at day-break (about three o'clock on Sunday morning) the emperor's troops, in opposition to the custom always observed in the diet, relieved the garrison of the city and took possession of the gates. At the same time it was reported that they would not be opened, and that Charles had given orders to keep a strict watch upon the elector and his allies.¹⁰

A terrible awakening for those flattered themselves with seeing glorious debates conclude peacefully not these unheard-of measures but commencement of war and the signal of a fearful massacre?

CHAPTER X.

Philip of Hesse—Temptation—Union related grave's dissimulation—The Emperor's Order testant—Brandenburg's threatening Speculation of Philip of Hesse—Flight from Augsburg—Charles's Emotion—Revolution in the Diet—Unusual Moderation—Peace! Peace!

Trouble and anger prevailed in the palace, and it was the landgrave caused them. Firm as a rock in of the tempest with which he was at Philip of Hesse had never bent to the blast. One day, in a public addressing the bishops, he had said "My lords, give peace to the emperor beg it of you. If you will not do I must fall, be sure that I will die two of you along with me." This was necessary to employ milder means him, and the emperor endeavoured him by showing a favourable countenance with respect to the county of Kaibogen, about which he was at variance with Nassau, and to Württemberg, he claimed for his cousin Ulrich. Or Duke George of Saxony, his father had assured him that he would be his heir if he would submit to them. They carried him to an excessive mountain, whence they showed him kingdoms of the world and the glory of it,¹ says a chronicler, but the landgrave resisted the temptation.

One day he heard that the emperor manifested a desire to speak to him leapt instantly on his horse and before Charles.² The latter, who him his secretary Schweiss and the of Constance, represented that he complaints against him; namely, he violated the edict of Worms, of despoiling masses, of having, during his absences, cited all kinds of revolt, and finally, transmitted to him a book in which reign rights were attacked. The landgrave justified himself; and the emperor he accepted his replies, except with to the faith, and begged him to submit to himself in that respect entirely submit his majesty. "What would you say Charles, in a winning tone, "if I you to the regal dignity?" But, if yourself rebellious to my orders, then behave as becomes a Roman emperor

¹ Che tentano col Duca di Mantova d' avere il modo di condurre 1000 cavalli leggeri d' Italia in caso si facesse guerra in Germania. Ric. Tiesolo Rain.

² Oul (Cassar) ingentem vim pecunie in hoc sacrum bellum contra hereticos Angius promissum fertur. Zw. Epp. II. 404.

³ Res et diligenter inquisita et explorata maximeque diligenter. Corp. Ref. II. 220.

⁴ Monachorum Spirensium phœbus plane significat horribilem tumultum. Ibid. 300.

⁵ Vides rem plane tendere ad bellum. Corp. Ref. Aug. II. p. 209.

⁶ Comitia non Antester nisi totius Germanie malo et exitio. Corp. Ref. II. 214.

⁷ Laetitia sanctorum qualis via Diocletiani tempore fuit. Zw. Epp. Aug. 14, 1530.

⁸ Tumultum magnum fuisse in civitate. Corp. Ref. II. 277.

⁹ Facto autem interposita nocte Cesar renuisti mandavit, ne quoniam per portas urbis aus emittant. Ibid.

¹⁰ Daß man auf den Churfürst zu Neuchaux aufpassen haben soll. Brück, Apol. p. 22.

¹ Auf den hohen berg geführt. Lantze's Chro
² Von ihr selbst an Hof geschrieben. Corp. Ref.
³ Quin et in regem te evocandum curabimus Philip der Gr. I. 220.

words exasperated the landgrave, did not move him. "I am in the my age," replied he, "and I do not despise the joys of life and the fame great; but to the deceitful goods of the world I shall always prefer the inheritance of my God." Charles was not able to understand Philip.

At this time the landgrave had resolutely exerted himself to unite the adherents of the Reformation. The Zwinglian cities, whatever was the issue of the diet, would be the first victims, unless the landgrave could give them their hand. But it was some difficulty in obtaining.

It did not appear to me useful to the landgrave, or safe for the conscience," said Melancthon to Bucer, "to load our cities with all the hatred your doctrine excites."

The Strasburgers replied that the cause of the Papists' hatred was not the doctrine of the eucharist but justification by faith. "All we wish to belong to Christ," said they, "and have nothing to expect but

as true; but another motive besides Melancthon. If all the Protestants they would feel their strength, and it would be inevitable. Therefore, then,

the landgrave, threatened by the emperor, and by the theologians, began to reflect what he did at Augsburg. The full Charles's refusal to communicate, his Romish Refutation, except on his own conditions, made it run over. Hesse saw but one course to take—the city.

When the emperor made known the decision which he placed on the communication of the reply, than on Friday evening, August, the landgrave, going alone to the palace, Charles's minister, had an immediate audience with him.

Charles, who did not care to see the landgrave, was busy, and had put off till the following Sunday.¹ But the landgrave considered that he could not wait; that he who was dangerously ill, entreated the landgrave to return to Hesse without delay; and among one of the youngest princes, the landgrave, in understanding, and useless to him humbly begged his majesty permit him to leave on the morrow. The emperor refused.

The landgrave well understood the storms this decision excited in Philip's mind: but he sought to contain himself; never had he been more tranquil. During the whole of the 6th August, he seemed occupied with a magnificent tourney in ho-

nour of the emperor and of his brother Ferdinand.¹ He prepared for it publicly; his servants went to and fro, but under that din of horses and of armour, Philip concealed very different designs. "The landgrave conducts himself with very great moderation," wrote Melancthon to Luther the same day.² "He told me openly that, to preserve peace, he would submit to conditions still harder than those which the emperor imposes on us, and accept all that he could without dishonouring the Gospel."

Yet Charles was not at ease. The landgrave's demand annoyed him; all the Protestants might do the same, and even quit Augsburg unexpectedly. The clue, that he had hitherto so skilfully held in his hands, was perhaps about to be broken: it was better to be violent than ridiculous. The emperor therefore resolved on striking a decisive blow. The elector, the princes, the deputies, were still in Augsburg; and he must at every risk prevent their leaving it. Such were the heavy thoughts that on the night of the 6th August, while the Protestants were calmly sleeping,³ banished repose from Charles's eyes; and which made him hastily arouse the councillors of Augsburg, and send his messengers and soldiers through the streets of the city.

The Protestant princes were still alumbering, when they received, on the part of the emperor, the unexpected order to repair immediately to the Hall of the Chapter.⁴

It was eight o'clock when they arrived. They found there the Electors of Brandenburg and Mentz, the Dukes of Saxony, Brunswick, and Mecklenburg, the Bishops of Salzburg, Spire, and Strasburg, George Truchses, the Margrave of Baden's representative, Count Martin of Elting, the Abbot of Weingarten, and the Provost of Bamberg. These were the commissioners nominated by Charles to terminate this great affair.

It was the most decided among them. Joachim of Brandenburg, who began to speak. "You know," said he to the Protestants, "with what mildness the emperor has endeavoured to re-establish unity. If some abuses have crept into the Christian Church, he is ready to correct them, in conjunction with the pope. But how contrary to the Gospel are the sentiments you have adopted! Abandon your errors, do not any longer remain separate from the Church, and sign the Refutation without delay.⁵ If you refuse, then, through your fault, how many souls will be lost, how much blood shed, what countries laid waste, what trouble in all the empire! And you," said he, turning

¹ Ad ludos equestres in honorem Cæsaris institutos publicè se apparavit. Beck. ii. 172.

² Landgravius valde moderate se gerit. Corp. Ref. ii. 284.

³ Ego vero somno sopitus dulciter quiescebam. Ibid. 274.

⁴ Mane facto Cæsar.....convocavit nostros principes. Ibid. 277; Brück. Apol. p. 79.

⁵ Ut sententiam quam in refutatione audivissent ammiserant. Corp. Ref. ii. 277.

rimpeos osere invidia vestri dogmatis. Corp. Ref. ii. 284. s quoque inter nos conjuncti casemus, quotquot columas. Ibid. p. 234. strator dilationem respondendi astu quodam Ibid. pp. 284, 274.

towards the elector, "your electorate, your life, all will be torn from you, and certain ruin will fall upon your subjects, and even upon their wives and children."

The elector remained motionless. At any time this language would have been alarming: it was still more so now that the city was almost in a state of siege. "We now understand," said the Protestants to one another, "why the imperial guards occupy the gates of the city."¹ It was evident, indeed, that the emperor intended violence.²

The Protestants were unanimous: surrounded with soldiers, at the very gates of the prison, and beneath the thousand swords of Charles, they remained firm. All these threats did not make them take one step backwards.³ It was important for them, however, to consider their reply. They begged for a few minutes' delay, and retired.

To submit voluntarily, or to be reduced by force, was the dilemma proposed by Charles to the evangelical Christians.

At the moment when each was anxious about the issue of this struggle, in which the destinies of Christianity were contending, an alarming rumour suddenly raised the agitation of all minds to its height.

The landgrave, in the midst of his preparations for the tournament, meditated the most serious resolution. Excluded by Charles from every important deliberation, irritated at the treatment the Protestants had undergone during this diet,⁴ convinced that they had no more chance of peace,⁵ not doubting that their liberty was greatly endangered in Augsburg, and feeling unable to conceal under the appearance of moderation the indignation with which his soul was filled, being besides of a quick, prompt, and resolute character, Philip had decided on quitting the city and repairing to his states, in order to act freely, and to serve as a support to the Reformation.

But what mystery was required! If the landgrave was taken in the act, no doubt he would be put under arrest. This daring step might therefore become the signal of those extreme measures from which he longed to escape.

It was Saturday, the 6th August, the day for which Philip had requested the emperor's leave of absence. He waited until the commencement of the night, and then, about eight o'clock, disguised in a foreign dress, without bidding farewell to any of his friends,⁶ and taking every imaginable precaution,⁷ he made for the gates of the city, about the time when they are usually closed. Five or six

cavaliers followed him singly, and at a little distance.¹ In so critical a moment might not these men-at-arms attract attention? Philip traversed the streets without danger, approached the gate,² passed with a careless air through the midst of the guard, between the scattered soldiers; no one moved, all remained idly seated, as if nothing extraordinary was going on. Philip had passed without being recognized.³ His five or six horsemen came through in like manner. Behold them all at last in the open country. The little troop immediately spurred their horses, and fled with headlong speed far from the walls of the imperial city.

Yet Philip had taken his measures so well, that no one as yet suspected his departure. When during the night Charles occupied the gates with his own guards, he thought the landgrave still in the city.⁴ When the Protestants assembled at eight in the morning in the Chapter-hall, the princes of both parties were a little astonished at the absence of Philip of Hesse. They were accustomed, however, to see him keep aloof, and thought he might be out of humour. No one imagined he was between twelve and fifteen leagues from Augsburg.

After the termination of the conference, and as all were returning to their hotels (the Elector of Brandenburg and his friends on the one hand, elated at the speech they had delivered, the Elector of Saxony and his allies on the other, resolved to sacrifice every thing), inquiries were made at the landgrave's lodgings as to the reason of his absence; they closely questioned Seltz, Nussbicker, Mayer, and Schnepf. At last the Hessian councillors could no longer keep the secret. "The landgrave," said they, "has returned to Hesse."

This news circulated immediately through all the city, and shook it like the explosion of a mine. Charles especially, who found himself mocked and frustrated in his expectations—Charles, who had not had the least suspicion,⁵ trembled, and was enraged.⁶ The Protestants, whom the landgrave had not admitted to his secret,⁷ were as much astonished as the Roman-catholics themselves, and feared that this inconsiderate departure might be the immediate signal for a terrible persecution. There was only Luther, who, the moment he heard of Philip's proceeding, highly approved of it, and exclaimed: "Of a truth, all these delays and indignities are

¹ Intelligit nunc eam porta munitione fuerant. Corp. Ref. II. 277.

² Quia volebat Cesar nostros violentia ad eam sententiam cogere. Ibid.

³ Sed his minas nostros nihil commoverunt: perstant in sententia, nec vel tantillum recedunt. Ibid.

⁴ Commotus indignitate actionum. Ibid. 280.

⁵ Spem pacis abiectissimam. Ibid.

⁶ Clam omnibus abiit. Ibid.

⁷ Multa cum caute. Sack. II. 173.

¹ Clam cum paucis equitibus. Corp. Ref. II. 277; 280 u. oder 8 pferden. Ibid. 283.

² Seckendorf, and M. de Bonnel no doubt after him, say that the landgrave went out through a secret gate (porta urbis secretiori). Sack. II. 172; Bonnel, I. 270. I prefer the contemporary evidence, particularly that of Strantz, which says: "Vespere priusquam porta urbis clauderetur, iam elapsus est." Corp. Ref. II. 277. The chief magistrates of Augsburg, who alone had the keys of the wicket, would never have dared favour the departure of the landgrave.

³ Abierat ille ignotus. Corp. Ref. 281.

⁴ Existimabatur enim Cesar adhuc prelo adesse. Ibid.

⁵ Cesaris nihil suspicant. Ibid. 277.

⁶ Imperator re desperata commotus. Sack. II. 172.

⁷ Unwissend des Churfürsten von Sachsen und anderer. Corp. Ref. II. 284.

to fatigue more than one laud-

Chancellor of Hesse gave the Elector
ny a letter that his master had left

Philip spoke in this ostensible do-
of his wife's health; but he had
his ministers to inform the elector
te of the real causes of his departure.

anced, moreover, that he had given
o his ministers to assist the Protest-
all things, and exhorted his allies to
hemselves in no manner to be turned
on the Word of God.¹ "As for me,"

"I shall fight for the Word of God,
isk of my goods, my states, my sub-
my life."

ffect of the landgrave's departure was
uous: a real revolution was then

in the diet. The Elector of Mentz
Bishops of Franconia, Philip's near

urs, imagined they already saw him
frontiers at the head of a powerful

nd replied to the Archbishop of Salz-
bo expressed astonishment at their

"Ah! if you were in our place you
lo the same." Ferdinand, knowing

imate relations of Philip with the
of Wurtemberg, trembled for the

of this prince, at that time usurped
tria; and Charles the Fifth, unde-

with regard to those princes whom he
lieved so timid, and whom he had

with so much arrogance, felt no
at this sudden step of Philip's had

aturely deliberated in the common
of the Protestants. All saw a de-

en of war in the landgrave's hasty de-
They called to mind that at the

when they thought the least about
might see him appear at the head of

iers, on the frontiers of his enemies,
one was ready; no one even wished

sady. A thunderbolt had fallen in
list of the diet. They repeated the

one another, with troubled eyes and
ed looks. All was confusion in Augs-

and couriers bore afar, in every direc-
tionishment and consternation.

alarm immediately converted the
of the reform. The violence of

and of the princes was broken in
morable night as if by enchantment;

furious wolves were suddenly transi-
into meek and docile lambs.²

s still Sunday morning: Charles the
mediately convoked the diet for the

n.⁴ "The landgrave has quitted
rg," said Count Frederick from the

his majesty flatters himself that
e friends of that prince were ignorant

saparture. It is without the emperor's

knowledge, and even in defiance of his
express prohibition, that Philip of Hesse has
left, thus failing in all his duties. He has
wished to put the diet out of joint.¹ But the
emperor conjures you not to permit your-
selves to be led astray by him, and to contri-
bute rather to the happy issue of this na-
tional assembly. You will thus be secure
of his majesty's gratitude."

The Protestants replied, that the depar-
ture of the landgrave had taken place with-
out their knowledge; that they had heard of it
with pain, and that they would have dis-
suaded him. Nevertheless they did not doubt
that this prince had solid reasons for such a
step; besides he had left his councillors with
full powers, and that, as for them, they were
ready to do every thing to conclude the diet
in a becoming manner. Then, confident in
their rights, and being determined to resist
Charles's arbitrary acts, they continued: "It
is pretended that the gates were closed on
our account. We beg your majesty to revoke
this order, and to prevent any similar orders
being given in future."

Never was Charles the Fifth less at ease;
he had just spoken as a father, and they
reminded him that a few hours back he had
acted like a tyrant. Some subterfuge was
requisite. "It is not on your account," re-
plied the count-palatine, "that the emperor's
soldiers occupy the gates.....Do not believe
those who tell you so.....Yesterday there
was a quarrel between two soldiers,³ and a
mob was collected.....This is why the em-
peror took this step. Besides, such things
will not be done again without the Elector
of Saxony, in his quality of marshal of the
empire, being first informed of them." An
order was given immediately to reopen the
gates.

No exertions were now spared by the
Roman party to convince the Protestants of
their good will: there was an unaccustomed
mildness in the language of the count-pala-
tine and in the looks of Charles.² The
princes of the papal party, once so terrible,
were similarly transformed. They had
been hastily forced to speak out; if they
desired war, they must begin it instantly.

But they shrank back at this frightful
prospect. How, with the enthusiasm that
animated the Protestants, take up arms
against them! Were not the abuses of the
Church every where acknowledged, and
could the Roman princes be sure of their
own subjects? Besides, what would be the
issue of a war but the increase of the em-
peror's power? The Roman-catholic states,
and the Duke of Bararia in particular, would
have been glad to see Charles at war with
the Protestants, in the hope that he would

ohne wohl eine more et indignus noch einen land-
grafen machen. L. Epp. iv. 134.

lo modo a verbo Dei abstrahi aut terreri se possit.
L. ii. 172.

and violentiam abitis Landgravi interrupti.
p. 277.

um paucis post horis reaccunt Landgravium
convocant iterum nostrum. Ibid.

¹ Vertrennung dieses Reichstags zu veranlassen. Corp.
Ref. p. 264.

² Es habe ein Trabant mit einem andern ein Unwill ge-
habt. Ibid. ii. 263.

³ Nullo alio tempore mitius et benignius quam tunc cum
protestantibus agerit. Beck. ii. 172.

thus consume his strength; but it was, on the contrary, with their own soldiers that the emperor designed attacking the heretics. Henceforth they rejected the instrumentality of arms, as eagerly as they had at first desired it.

Every thing had thus changed in Augsburg; the Romish party was paralyzed, disheartened, and even broken up. The sword, already drawn, was hastily thrust back into the sheath. Peace! peace! was the cry of all.

CHAPTER XI.

The Mixed Commission—The Three Points—Romish Dismissal—Abuses—Concessions—The Main Question—Opposition to the proposed Concord—Luther's opposing Letters—The Word above the Church—Melancthon's Blindness—Papist Infatuation—A new Commission—The Men and not Women—The Two Phantasms—Concessions—The Three Points—The great Antithesis—Failure of Conciliation—The Gordian Knot—A Council granted—Charles's Summons—Menaces—Altercations—Peace or War—Romanism concedes—Protestantism resists—Luther recalls his Friends.

Tax diet now entered upon its third phasis, and as the time of tentatives had been followed by that of menaces; now that of arrangements was to succeed the period of threatenings. New and more formidable dangers were now to be encountered by the Reformation. Rome, beholding the sword torn from its grasp, had seized the net, and enlacing her adversaries with "cords of humanity and bands of love," was endeavouring to drag them gently into the abyss.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 16th August, a mixed commission was framed, which counted on each side two princes, two lawyers, and three theologians. In the Romish party, there were Duke Henry of Brunswick, the Bishop of Augsburg, the Chancellors of Baden and Cologne, with Eck, Cochleus, and Wimpina; on the part of the Protestants, were the Margrave George of Brandenburg, the Prince Electoral of Saxony, the Chancellors Brück and Heller, with Melancthon, Brentz, and Sohnepf.¹

They agreed to take as basis the Confession of the evangelical states, and began to read it article by article. The Romish theologians displayed an unexpected condescension. Out of twenty-one dogmatical articles, there were only six or seven to which they made any objection. Original Sin stopped them some time, but at length they came to an understanding, the Protestants admitting that Baptism removed the guilt of the sin, and the Papists agreeing that it did not wash away concupiscence. As for the Church, they granted that it contained sanctified men and sinners; and they coincided also on Confession. The Protestants rejected especially as impossible the enumeration of

all the sins prescribed by Rome. Dr. Eck yielded this point.²

There remained three doctrines only on which they differed.

The first was that of Penance. The Romish doctors taught that it contained three parts: contrition, confession, and satisfaction. The Protestants rejected the latter, and the Romanists clearly perceiving that with satisfaction would fall indulgences, purgatory, and other of their doctrines and profits, vigorously maintained it. "We agree," said they, "that the penance imposed by the priest does not procure remission of the guilt of sin; but we maintain that it is necessary to obtain remission of the penalty."

The second controverted point was the Invocation of Saints; and the third, and principal one, Justification by Faith. It was of the greatest importance for the Romanists to maintain the meritorious influence of works: all their system in reality was based on that. Eck therefore haughtily declared war on the assertion that faith alone justifies. "That word *sole*," said he, "we cannot tolerate. It generates scandals, and renders men brutal and impious. Let us send back the *sole* to the cobbler."³

But the Protestants would not listen to such reasoning; and even when they put the question to each other, Shall we maintain that faith alone justifies us gratuitously? "Undoubtedly, undoubtedly," exclaimed one of them with exaggeration, "*gratuitously and uselessly*."⁴ They even adduced strange authorities: "Plato," said they, "declares that it is not by external works, but by virtue that God is to be adored; and every one knows these verses of Cato's:

*Si deus est animus, nobis ut carmina dicunt,
Hic tibi precipue pura ait mente celandus.*⁵

"Certainly," resumed the Romish theologians: "it is only of works performed with grace that we speak; but we say that in such works there is something meritorious." The Protestants declared they could not grant it.

They had approximated however beyond all hope. The Roman theologians, clearly understanding their position, had purposed to appear agreed, rather than be so in reality. Every one knew, for instance, that the Protestants rejected transubstantiation; but as the article of the Confession on this point might be taken in the Romish sense, the Papists had admitted it. Their triumph was only deferred. The general expressions that were used on the controverted points, would permit somewhat later a Romish interpretation.

¹ Die Sünd die man nicht weiss, die darf man nicht beichten. F. Urkunden, II. 220.

² Man soll die Sünde ein weil zum Schermer schätzen. Urkund. II. 220. This wretched pun of Eck's requires no comment.

³ Omnia, omnia, addendum etiam fructus. Romist p. 208.

⁴ If God is a spirit, as the poets teach, he should be worshipped with a pure mind.

iven to the Confession; ecclesi-
rity would declare this the only
nd Rome, thanks to a few mo-
simulation, would thus reascend

Have we not seen in our own
rty-nine Articles of the Anglican
pted in accordance with the
ent? There are causes in which
never wanting. This plot was
executed, as it was profoundly

issioners were on the best terms
other, and concord seemed re-
c single uneasiness disturbed
moment: the idea of the land-
ignorant that we are almost
i they, "this young madbrain
already assembling his army;
g him back, and make him a
r cordial union." On the morn-
th, one of the members of the
(Duke Henry of Brunswick),
by a councillor of the emperor,
ischarge this difficult mission.¹
s of Saxony supplied his place as

passed from the first part of
on to the second: from doc-
uses. Here the Romish theolo-
not yield so easily, for if they
agree with the Protestants, it
with the honour and power of
r. It was accordingly for this
combat that they had reserved
y and their strength.

in by approaching the Protest-
as they could, for the more they
more they might draw the
em and stifle it. "We think,"
that with the permission of his
the approbation of his majesty,
able to allow, until the next
communion in both kinds, wher-
racted already; only, your
uld preach at Easter that it is
institution, and that Christ is
h kind.²

r, as for the married priests,"
ey, "desirous of sparing the
whom they have seduced, of
the maintenance of their inno-
, and of preventing every kind
e will tolerate them until the
, and we shall then see if it
ght to decree that married men
itted to holy orders, as was
he primitive Church for many

we acknowledge that the sacri-
ass is a mystery, a representa-
ce of commemoration, a memo-

rial of the sufferings and death of Christ, ac-
complished on the cross."¹

This was yielding much: but the turn
of the Protestants was come; for if Rome
appeared to give, it was only to take in
return.

The grand question was the Church, its
maintenance and government: who should
provide for it? They could see only two
means: princes or bishops. If they feared
the bishops, they must decide for the princes:
if they feared the princes, they must decide
for the bishops. They were at that time
too distant from the normal state to discover
a third solution, and to perceive that the
Church ought to be maintained by the
Church itself—by the christian people.
"Secular princes in the long-run will be
defaulters to the government of the Church,"
said the Saxon divines in the opinion they
presented on the 18th August; "they are
not fit to execute it, and besides it would cost
them too dear:² the bishops, on the con-
trary, have property destined to provide for
this charge."

Thus the presumed incapacity of the state,
and the fear they entertained of its indiffer-
ence, threw the Protestants into the arms of
the hierarchy.

They proposed, therefore, to restore to the
bishops their jurisdiction, the maintenance
of discipline, and the superintendence of the
priests, provided they did not persecute the
evangelical doctrine, or oppress the pastors
with impious vows and burdens. "We may
not," added they, "without strong reasons
rend that order by which bishops are over
priests, and which existed in the Church
from the beginning. It is dangerous before
the Lord to change the order of govern-
ments." Their argument is not founded
upon the Bible, as may be seen, but upon
ecclesiastical history.

The Protestant divines went even farther,
and, taking a last step that seemed decisive,
they consented to acknowledge the pope as
being (but of human right) supreme bishop
of Christendom. "Although the pope is
Antichrist, we may be under his government,
as the Jews were under Pharaoh, and in
later days under Caiaphas." We must con-
fess these two comparisons were not flat-
tering to the pope. "Only," added the doc-
tors, "let sound doctrine be fully accorded
to us."

The chancellor Brück alone appears to
have been conscious of the truth: he wrote
on the margin with a firm hand: "We can-
not acknowledge the pope, because we say
he is Antichrist, and because he claims the
primacy by divine right."³

Finally, the Protestant theologians con-
sented to agree with Rome as regards in-

nocturne est adire *apoc. vii. mandata*
tribus exercitum. Scultet. p. 97a.
s Anachismen der Stiche des Gegenheils.

s in der ersten Kirche eiliche Hundert
th gewesen. Ibid. 234.

¹ So Erinnerung und Gedächtnis. Urk. II. 92a.

² Ich ihnen auch nicht möglich. Dann kostet es zu viel.
Ibid. 247.

³ Cum dicimus cum Antichristum. Ibid. 247.

different ceremonies, fasts, and forms of worship; and the elector engaged to put under sequestration the ecclesiastical property already secularized, until the decision of the next council.

Never was the conservative spirit of Lutheranism more clearly manifested. "We have promised our adversaries to concede to them certain points of church government, that may be granted without wounding the conscience," wrote Melancthon.¹ But it began to be very doubtful whether ecclesiastical concessions would not drag with them doctrinal concessions also. The Reform was drifting away.....still a few more fathoms, and it would be lost. Already disunion, trouble, and affright were spreading among its ranks. "Melancthon has become more childish than a child," said one of his friends;² and yet he was so excited, that the Chancellor of Luneburg having made some objections to these unprecedented concessions, the little master of arts proudly raised his head, and said with a sharp, harsh tone of voice: "He who dares assert that the means indicated are not christian is a liar and a scoundrel."³ On which the chancellor immediately repaid him in his own coin. These expressions, however, cannot detract from Melancthon's reputation for mildness. After so many useless efforts, he was exhausted, irritated, and his words cut the deeper, as they were the less expected from him. He was not the only one demoralized. Brentz appeared clumsy, rude, and uncivil; Chancellor Heller had misled the pious Margrave of Brandenburg, and transformed the courage of this prince into pusillanimity; no other human support remained to the elector than his chancellor Brück. And even this firm man began to grow alarmed at his isolation.

But he was not alone: the most earnest protests were received from without. "If it is true that you are making such concessions," said their affrighted friends to the Saxon divines, "christian liberty is at an end."⁴ What is your pretended concord? a thick cloud that you raise in the air to eclipse the sun that was beginning to illumine the Church.⁵ Never will the christian people accept conditions so opposed to the Word of God; and your only gain will be furnishing the enemies of the Gospel with a specious pretext to butcher those who remain faithful to it." Among the laymen these convictions were general. "Better die with Jesus Christ," said all Augsburg,⁶ "than gain the favour of the whole world without him!"

No one felt so much alarm as Luther when he saw the glorious edifice that God had

raised by his hands on the point of falling to ruin in those of Melancthon. The day on which this news arrived, he wrote five letters, —to the elector, to Melancthon, to Spalatín, to Jonas, and to Brentz, all equally filled with courage and with faith.

"I learn," said he, "that you have begun a marvellous work, namely, to reconcile Luther and the pope; but the pope will not be reconciled, and Luther begs to be excused."⁷ And if, in despite of them, you succeed in this affair, then after your example I will bring together Christ and Belial.

"The world I know is full of wranglers who obscure the doctrine of justification by faith, and of fanatics who persecute it. Do not be astonished at it, but continue to defend it with courage, for it is the heel of the seed of the woman that shall bruise the head of the serpent."⁸

"Beware also of the jurisdiction of the bishops, for fear we should soon have to recommence a more terrible struggle than the first. They will take our concessions widely, very widely, always more widely, and will give us theirs narrowly, very narrowly, and always more narrowly."⁹ All these negotiations are impossible, unless the pope should renounce his papacy.

"A pretty motive indeed our adversaries assign! They cannot, say they, restrain their subjects, if we do not publish every where that they have the truth on their side: as if God only taught his Word, that our enemies might at pleasure tyrannise over their people.

"They cry out that we condemn all the Church. No, we do not condemn it; but as for them, they condemn all the Word of God, and the Word of God is more than the Church."¹⁰

This important declaration of the reformers decides the controversy between the evangelical Christians and the Papacy: unfortunately we have often seen Protestants return, on this fundamental point, to the error of Rome, and set the visible Church above the Word of God.

"I write to you now," continues Luther, "to believe with all of us (and that through obedience to Jesus Christ), that Campeggio is a famous demon."¹¹ I cannot tell how violently I am agitated by the conditions which you propose. The plan of Campeggio and the pope has been to try us first by threats, and then, if these do not succeed, by stratagems; you have triumphed over the first attack, and sustained the terrible coming of Cæsar: now, then, for the second. Act with courage, and yield nothing to the arch-

¹ Non politica quædam concessuros qua sine offensione conscientiarum. Corp. Ref. II. 308.

² Philippus ist kindischer denn ein Kind worden. Baumgartner. Ibid. 363.

³ Der Lüge als ein Bösewicht. Ibid. 364.

⁴ Aritum est de christianis libertate. Ibid. 365.

⁵ Quid ex concordia aliud cecit quam ante jam et divulgata luci obducere nubem. Ibid. 366.

⁶ Die ganze Stadt sagt. Ibid. 367.

⁷ Sed Papa nolet et Lutherus deprecatur. L. Ep. IV. 166.

⁸ Nam hic est ille unicus calcaneus seminis satanæ semper adversantis. Ibid. 161.

⁹ Ipse enim nostras concessiones large, largitus, largitus sine, suas vero, stricte, strictissime, strictissimum. Ibid. 161.

¹⁰ Sed ab ipso totum verbum Dei, quod plus quam calculeum est, damnari. Ibid. 166.

¹¹ Quid Campeggius est unus magnus et insignis demobolus. Ibid. 167.

except what can be proved with
rom the very Word of God.

which Christ forbid! you do not
rd all the Gospel; if, on the con-
shut up that glorious eagle in a
ther—doubt it not!—Luther will
gloriously deliver the eagle.¹ As
as Christ lives, that shall be

joke Luther, but in vain: every
Augsburg was tending towards
ruin; Melancthon had a ban-
his eyes that nothing could tear
no longer listened to Luther, and
for popularity. "It does not be-
said he, "to be moved by the cla-
the vulgar;² we must think of
of posterity. If we repeal the
urisdiction, what will be the con-
o our descendants? The secular
re nothing about the interests of
Besides, too much dissimilarity in
es is injurious to peace: we must
the bishops, lest the infamy of
uld overwhelm us for ever."⁴

ngelicals too readily listened to
n, and vigorously laboured to bind
acy by the bonds of the hierarchy
h which God had so wonderfully
ed. Protestantism rushed blind-
the nets of its enemies. Already
ices announced the return of the
into the bosom of the Romish
"They are preparing their defec-
are passing over to the Papists,"
gle.⁵ The politic Charles the Fifth
such a manner that no haughty
ld compromise the victory; but
n clergy could not master them-
s pride and insolence increased
"One would never believe," said
m, "the airs of triumph which the
ive themselves." There was good
e agreement was on the verge of
: yet one or two steps.....and
to the Reformation!

uld prevent this desolating ruin?
Luther who pronounced the name
which all eyes should be turned:
ves," said he, and lie by whom the
f our enemies has been conquered
us strength to surmount their
This, which was in truth the only
did not disappoint the Reforma-

loman hierarchy had been willing,
ain admissible conditions, to receive
stants who were ready to capitulate,
have been over with them. When
ld them in its arms, it would have

stified them; but God blinded the Papacy
and thus saved his Church. "No conces-
sions," had declared the Romish senate; and
Campeggio, elated with his victory, repeated,
"No concessions!" He moved heaven and
earth to inflame the Catholic zeal of Charles
in this decisive moment. From the emperor
he passed to the princes. "Celibacy, con-
fession, the withdrawal of the cup, private
masses!" exclaimed he: "all these are obliga-
tory: we must have all." This was saying
to the evangelical Christians, as the Samnites
to the ancient Romans: "Here are the
Caudine Forks; pass through them!"

The Protestants saw the yoke, and shud-
dered. God revived the courage of confessors
in their weakened hearts. They raised
their heads, and rejected this humiliating
capitulation. The commission was immedi-
ately dissolved.

This was a great deliverance; but soon
appeared a fresh danger. The evangelical
Christians ought immediately to have quitted
Augsburg; but, said one of them, "Satan,
disguised as an angel of light, blinded the
eyes of their understanding." They re-
mained.

All was not yet lost for Rome, and the
spirit of falsehood and of cunning might
again renew its attacks.

It was believed at court that this dis-
agreeable termination of the commission was
to be ascribed to some wrong-headed indi-
viduals, and particularly to Duke George.
They therefore resolved to name another,
composed of six members only: on the one
side, Eck, with the Chancellors of Cologne
and Baden; on the other, Melancthon, with
the Chancellors Brück and Heller. The
Protestants consented, and all was begun
anew.

The alarm then increased among the most
decided followers of the Reformation. "If
we expose ourselves unceasingly to new
dangers, must we not succumb at last?"²
The deputies of Nuremberg in particular de-
clared that their city would never place
itself again under the detested yoke of the
bishops. "It is the advice of the undecided
Erasmus that Melancthon follows," said
they. "Say rather of Abithophel" (2 Sam.
xv.), replied others. "However it may be,"
added they; "if the pope had bought Mel-
ancthon, the latter could have done nothing
better to secure the victory for him."³

The landgrave was especially indignant at
this cowardice. "Melancthon," wrote he to
Zwingli, "walks backwards like a crab." From Friedwald, whether he had repaired
after his flight from Augsburg, Philip of
Hesse endeavoured to check the fall of Pro-
testantism. "When we begin to yield, we

e dubita, veniet Letterns, hanc aequalem libe-
ritatem. L. Epp. iv. 162.
illi deest vulgi clamoribus moveri. Corp. Ref.

irisdictionem ecclesiasticam et similia negotia
ne curant. Ibid.
natis infamia perpetuo laboramus. Ibid.
d. delectationem parati ad Papistas. Zw. Epp.

¹ Baumgartner to Spengler. Corp. Ref. II. 302.

² Fremunt et alii oculi ac indignanter regnum Episcopo-
rum restitui. Ibid. 320.

³ Si conditus qualem ipse voluisset pœunia a Papa esset.
Ibid. 302.

⁴ Retro it, ut cancor. Zw. Epp. II. 305.

always yield more," wrote he to his ministers at Augsburg. "Declare therefore to my allies that I reject these perfidious conciliations. If we are Christians, what we should pursue is, not our own advantage, but the consolation of so many weary and afflicted consciences, for whom there is no salvation if we take away the Word of God. The bishops are not real bishops, for they speak not according to the Holy Scriptures. If we acknowledge them, what would follow? They would remove our ministers, silence the Gospel, re-establish ancient abuses, and the last state would be worse than the first. If the Papists will permit the free preaching of the pure Gospel, let us come to an understanding with them; for the truth will be the strongest, and will root out all the rest. But if not!—No. This is not the moment to yield, but to remain firm even to death. Baffle these fearful combinations of Melancthon, and tell the deputies of the cities, from me, to be men, and not women.¹ Let us fear nothing: God is with us."

Melancthon and his friends, thus attacked, sought to justify themselves: on the one hand, they maintained, that if they preserved the doctrine it would finally overthrow the hierarchy. But why then restore it? Was it not more than doubtful whether a doctrine so enfeebled would still retain strength sufficient to shake the Papacy? On the other hand, Melancthon and his friends pointed out two phantoms before which they shrank in affright. The first was war, which, in their opinion, was imminent. "It will not only," said they, "bring numberless temporal evils with it,—the devastation of Germany, murder, violation, sacrilege, rapine; but it will produce spiritual evils more frightful still, and inevitably bring on the perturbation of all religion."² The second phantom was the supremacy of the state. Melancthon and his friends foresaw the dependence to which the princes would reduce the Church, the increasing secularization of its institutions and of its instruments, and the spiritual death that would result, and shrank back with terror from the frightful prospect. "Good men do not think that the court should regulate the ministry of the Church,"³ said Brentz. "Have you not yourselves experienced," added he ironically, "with what wisdom and mildness these bores ('tis thus I denominate the officials and prefects of the princes) treat the ministers of the Church, and the Church itself. I would rather die seven times!"—"I see," exclaimed Melancthon, "what a Church we shall have, if the ecclesiastical government is abolished. I behold in the future a tyranny far more intolerable than that which has existed to

this day."⁴ Then, bowed down by sensations that poured upon him from side, the unhappy Philip exclaimed: is I who have aroused this tempest his majesty to throw me, like Jonas sea, and to drag me out only to give to torture and to the stake."⁵

If the Romish episcopacy were organized, all seemed easy. In the Council of Six, they conceded the cup to marriage to the pastors, and the prayer to saints appeared of little import. But they stopped at three doctrines the evangelicals could not yield. First, was the necessity of human satisfaction for the remission of the penalties of sin; second, the idea of something meritorious for every good work; the third, the private masses. "Ah!" quickly replied Melancthon to Charles the Fifth, "I would be cut in pieces than concede any of these masses."⁶

"What!" replied the politicians: you agree on all the great doctrines of Christianity, will you rend the unity of the Church for ever for three such trivial articles? The theologians make a last effort: shall we see the two parties unite, and embrace Wittenberg?"

It was not so: under these three articles was concealed a whole system. On the Roman side, they entertained the certain works gain the Divine favour independently of the disposition of him who performs them, and by virtue of the Church. On the evangelical side, contrary, they felt a conviction that external ordinances were mere human traditions, and that the only thing which cured man the Divine favour was that God accomplished by Christ's cross; while the only thing that prevented possession of this favour was the regeneration that Christ accomplished by the Spirit in the heart of the sinner. The evangelicals, by maintaining their three points, said: "The Church saves," which is the essential doctrine of Rome; the evangelicals, by rejecting them, said: "Jesus Christ saves," which is Christianity itself the great antithesis which then exists which still separates the two. With these three points, which placed under her dependence, Rome justly to recover every thing; and she showed her perseverance that she under position. But the evangelicals were disposed to abandon theirs. The principle was maintained against the essential principle which aspired to put it up: Jesus Christ stood firm in

¹ Das sie nicht weyher sagen sondern männer. Corp. Ref. II. 327.

² Confusio et perturbatio religionum. Ibid. 324.

³ Ut aulis ministerium in ecclesia ordinet bonis non doctis consultum. Ibid. 325.

⁴ Video postea multo intolerabiliorem futuram quam unquam antea fuisse. Corp. Ref. I.

⁵ Si mea causa hac tempestas ecclesie esset, in Jonam in mare eiecit. Ibid. 322.

⁶ Er wollte sich eher auf Stöcker zerhacken. Opp. x. 326.

1, and it was seen that henceforward inferences were superfluous.

essed: for two months and a half the Fifth had been labouring in and his pride suffered because theologians checked the triumphal the conqueror of Pavia. "What!" to him, "a few days sufficed to the King of France and the pope, cannot succeed with these gospel-hey determined on breaking off rences. Eck, irritated because atagem nor terror had been effectual not master himself in the pre- Protestants. "Ah!" exclaimed moment of separation, "why did peror, when he entered Germany, ical inquest about the Lutherans? then have heard arrogant answers, monsters of hereay, and his zeal aking fire, would have led him to this faction.¹ But now Brück's age and Melancthon's concessions m from getting as angry as the ired." Eck said these words with ut they expressed all his thoughts. y terminated on the 30th August. nish states made their report to r. They were face to face, three from each other, without either able to approach nearer, even by adth.

ten, Melancthon had failed; and us concessions were found useless. lse love of peace, he had set his impossibility. Melancthon was m a really christian soul. God im from his great weakness, and lue that was about to lead him to 1. Nothing could have been more or the Reformation than Melanc- ure; but nothing could, at the 1, have been more fortunate for His friends saw that though he g to yield much, he could not go y yield Christ himself, and his ded him in the eyes of the Pro-

ctor of Saxony and the Margrave 1burg sent to beg Charles's leave The latter refused at first rather t at last he began to conjure the : to create by their departure new to the arrangements they soon able to conclude.² We shall see the nature of these arrangements. anists appeared to redouble their

If they let the clue slip now, it lost for ever: they laboured ac- to reunite the two ends. There rences in the gardens, conferences ches, at St. George's, at St. Mau- veen the Duke of Brunswick and brick the elector's son, the Chan-

cellors of Baden and of Saxony, the Chan- cellor of Liege and Melancthon; but all these attempts were unavailing. It was t other means they were going to have re- course.

Charles the Fifth had resolved to take the affair in hand, and to cut the Gordian knot, which neither doctors nor princes could untie. Irritated at seeing his advances spurned and his authority compromised, he thought that the moment was come for drawing the sword. On the 4th September, the members of the Roman party, who were still endeavouring to gain over the Protest- ants, whispered these frightful intentions in Melancthon's ears. "We scarcely dare mention it," said they: "the sword is already in the empefor's hands, and certain people exasperate him more and more. He is not easily enraged, but once angry, it is impos- sible to quiet him."³

Charles had reason to appear exacting and terrible. He had at length obtained from Rome an unexpected concession—a council. Clement VII. had laid the emperor's request before a congregation: "How will men who reject the ancient councils submit to a new one?" they had replied. Clement himself had no wish for an assembly, which he dreaded alike on account of his birth and conduct.⁴ However, his promises at the Castle of St. Angelo and at Bologna rendered it impossible for him to give a decided refusal. He answered, therefore, that "the remedy would be worse than the disease:"⁵ but that if the emperor, who was so good a Catholic, judged a council absolutely necessary, he would consent to it, under the express condition, however, that the Protestants should submit in the meanwhile to the doctrines and rites of the Church." Then for the place of meeting he appointed Rome!

Scarcely had the news of this concession spread abroad, than the fear of a Reforma- tion froze the papal court. The public charges of the Papacy, which were alto- gether venal, immediately fell, says a car- dinal, and were offered at the lowest price,⁶ without even being able to find purchasers.⁷ The Papacy was compromised; its mer- chandise was endangered; and the price current immediately declined on the Roman exchange.

On Wednesday (7th September), at two in the afternoon, the Protestant princes and deputies having been introduced into the chamber of Charles the Fifth, the count- palatine said to them, "that the emperor, considering their small number, had not

¹ Nescio an animum dicere, jam ferrum in manu Cesaris esse. Corp. Ref. ii. 343.

² In eam (concilii celebrationem) Pontificis animus hand propendebatur. Pallavicini, i. 251.

³ Al contrario, remedio a più pericoloso e per partoris maggiori mali. Lettere de Principe, ii. 197.

⁴ Evulgatus concilii rumor.... publica Romæ munera.... Jam in vilissimum pretium decidissent. Pallav. i. 251.

⁵ Che non se non trovano danari. Lett. di Prin. ii. 4.

armasset Imperatorem ad totam hanc fac- am. Corp. Ref. ii. 336.
in Kalers, de. Urkund. ii. 313.

expected they would uphold new sects against the ancient usages of the Universal Church; that, nevertheless, being desirous of appearing full of kindness to the last, he would require of his holiness the convocation of a council; but that in the meanwhile they should return immediately into the bosom of the Catholic Church, and restore every thing to its ancient footing."¹

The Protestants replied on the morrow, the 8th of September, that they had not stirred up new sects contrary to the Holy Scriptures;² that, quite the reverse, if they had not agreed with their adversaries, it was because they had desired to remain faithful to the Word of God; that, by convoking in Germany a general, free, and christian council, it would only be doing what preceding diets had promised; and that nothing should compel them to re-establish in their churches an order of things opposed to the commandments of God.³

It was eight in the evening when, after a long deliberation, the Protestants were again called in. "His majesty," said George Truchsees to them, "is equally astonished, both that the catholic members of the commissions have accorded so much, and that the Protestant members have refused every thing. What is your party in the presence of his imperial majesty, of his papal holiness, of the electors, princes, estates of the empire, and other kings, rulers, and potentates of Christendom? It is but just that the minority should yield to the majority. Do you desire the means of conciliation to be protracted, or do you persist in your answer? Speak frankly; for if you persist, the emperor will immediately see to the defence of the Church. To-morrow at one o'clock you will bring your final decision."

Never had such threatening words issued from Charles's mouth. It was evident he wished to subdue the Protestants by terror; but this end was not attained. They replied the next day but one—a day more having been accorded them—that new attempts at conciliation would only fatigue the emperor and the diet; that they only required regulations to maintain political peace until the assembling of the council.⁴ "Enough," replied the redoubtable emperor; "I will reflect upon it; but in the meantime let no one quit Augsburg."

Charles the Fifth was embarrassed in a labyrinth from which he knew not how to escape. The State had resolved to interfere with the Church, and saw itself compelled to have immediate recourse to its *ultima ratio*—the sword. Charles did not desire war, and yet how could he now avoid it? If he did not execute his threats, his dignity was com-

promised, and his authority rendered contemptible. He sought an outlet on one side or the other, but could find none. It therefore only remained for him to close his eyes, and rush forward heedless of the consequences. These thoughts disturbed him: these cares preyed upon him; he was utterly confounded.

It was now that the elector sent to beg Charles would not be offended if he left Augsburg. "Let him await my answer," abruptly replied the emperor: and the elector having rejoined that he would send his ministers to explain his motives to his majesty: "Not so many speeches," resumed Charles, with irritation; "let the elector say whether he will stay or not!"⁵

A rumour of the altercation between these two powerful princes having spread abroad, the alarm became universal; it was thought war would break out immediately, and there was a great disturbance in Augsburg.⁶ It was evening: men were running to and fro; they rushed into the hotels of the princes and of the Protestant deputies, and addressed them with the severest reproaches. "His imperial majesty," said they, "is about to have recourse to the most energetic measures!" They even declared that hostilities had begun: it was whispered that the commander of Horneck (Walter of Krouberg), elected by the emperor grand-master of the Teutonic order, was about to enter Prussia with an army, and dispossess Duke Albert, who had been converted by Luther.⁷ Two nights successively the same tumult was repeated. They shouted, quarrelled, and fought, particularly in and before the mansions of the princes: the war was nearly commencing in Augsburg.

At that crisis (12th September), John Frederick, prince-electoral of Saxony, quitted the city.

On the same day, or on the morrow, Jerome Wehe, chancellor of Baden, and Count Truchsees on the one side; Chancellor Brück and Melancthon on the other, met at six in the morning in the church of St. Maurice.⁸

Charles, notwithstanding his threats, could not decide on employing force. He might no doubt by a single word to his Spanish bands or to his German lansquenets have seized on these inflexible men, and treated them like Moors. But how could Charles, a Netherlander, a Spaniard, who had been ten years absent from the empire, dare, without raising all Germany, offer violence to the favourites of the nation? Would not the Roman-catholic princes themselves see in this act an infringement of their privileges?

¹ Interim restitit debere omnia Papalis. Corp. Ref. II. 365. See also *Erklärung des Kaisers Karl. V. Urkunden. II. 381.*

² Mit neuen Secten wider die heilige Schrift. Brück. Apol. p. 136.

³ Urkunden. II. 410; Brück, Apol. p. 138.

⁴ Kurtz mit solchen Worten ob er erwarten sollte andern nicht? Brück, Apol. p. 140.

⁵ Ein beschwerliches Gespräch zu Augsburg den 12ten Septembris. Ibid. p. 140.

⁶ Man würde den Kriegs-Volk in Füssen Schickel. Ibid. p. 140.

⁷ Ibid. p. 140.

was unseasonable. "Lutheranism is ding already from the Baltic to the" wrote Erasmus to the legate: "You but one thing to do: tolerate it."¹ negotiation begun in the church of St. ice was continued between the Mar- of Brandenburg and Count Truchses. Roman party only sought to save ap- nces, and did not hesitate, besides, to ce every thing. It asked merely for a heatrical decorations—that the mass l be celebrated in the sacerdotal gar- with chanting, reading, ceremonies, ts two canons.² All the rest was re- to the next council, and the Protes- till then, were to conduct themselves to render an account to God, to the il, and to his majesty.

on the side of the Protestants the had also changed. Now they no longer d peace with Rome; the scales had at fallen from their eyes, and they dis- ed with affright the abyss into which had so nearly plunged. Jonas, Spalatin, even Melancthon were agreed. "We hitherto obeyed the commandment of ul, *Be at peace with all men*," said they; ' we must obey this commandment of t, *Beware ye of the leaven of the Phari- ch is hypocrisy*. On the one side of iversaries is nothing but cunning and y, and their only aim is to stifle our ne, which is truth itself.³ They hope e the abominable articles of purgatory, gences, and the Papacy, because we passed them by in silence.⁴ Let us re of betraying Christ and his Word in to please Antichrist and the devil."⁵ ther at the same time redoubled his en- ces to withdraw his friends from Augs-

"Return, return," cried he to them; urn, even if it must be so, cursed by the and the emperor.⁶ You have confessed Christ, offered peace, obeyed Charles, orted insults, and endured blasphemies. canonize you, I, as faithful members of Christ. You have done enough, and than enough: now it is for the Lord to and he will act! They have our Con- a, they have the Gospel; let them re- it, if they will; and if they will not, em go——. If a war should come, let ne! We have prayed enough; we have eed enough. The Lord is preparing iversaries as the victim for the sacri- he will destroy their magnificence, and r his people. Yes! he will preserve en from Babylon, and from her burning ."

neue Battico ad Helvetios. Eras. Epp. xiv. i. gewöhnlichen Kleidungen mit Gesang und Lesen. - 618. The canon was a frame of card-board placed alier before the priest, and which contained the ad Creed with various prayers.

al List, gefährliche Tücke, &c. Jonas. Urkund. II. 374.

griessliche artikel. Spalat. Ibid. 428. De Primatu de Purgatorio, de Indulgentiis. Melancthon, Corp. 374.

on Trüfel und Antichrist zu gefallen. Urk. II. 431. maliciei a Papa et Cesare. L. Epp. iv. 168-174.

CHAPTER XII.

The Elector's Preparatives and Indignation—Ecess of Augsburg—Irritating Language—Apology of the Confession—Intimidation—Final Interview—Messages of Peace—Exasperation of the Papists—Restoration of Popery—Tumult in the Church—Union of the Churches—The Pope and the Emperor—Close of the Diet—Armaments—Attack on Geneva—Joy of the Evangelicals—Establishment of Protestantism.

Thus Luther gave the signal of departure. They replied to the reformer's appeal, and all prepared to quit Augsburg. On Saturday, the 17th of September, at ten at night, Duke Ernest of Luneburg assembled the deputies of Nuremberg and the ministers of the landgrave in his hotel, and announced to them that the elector was determined to leave the next morning, without informing any one, and that he would accompany him. "Keep the secret," said he to them, "and know that if peace cannot be preserved, it will be a trifling matter for me to lose, combating with you, all that God has given me."¹

The elector's preparations betrayed his intentions. In the middle of the night Duke Henry of Brunswick arrived hastily at his hotel, beseeching him to wait;² and towards morning Counts Truchses and Mansfeldt announced that, on the morrow between seven and eight, the emperor would give him his congé.

On Monday, the 19th of September, the elector purposing to leave Augsburg immediately after his audience with Charles, brook-fasted at seven o'clock, then sent off his baggage and his cooks,³ and ordered his officers to be ready at ten o'clock. At the moment when John quitted the hotel to wait upon the emperor, all the members of his household were drawn up on each side booted and spurred;⁴ but, having been introduced to Charles, he was requested to wait two, four, or six days longer.

As soon as the elector was alone with his allies, his indignation burst forth, and he even became violent. "This new delay will end in nothing,"⁵ he said; "I am resolved to set out, happen what may. It seems to me, from the manner in which things are arranged, that I have now completely the air of a prisoner." The Margrave of Brandenburg begged him to be calm. "I shall go," the elector still replied. At last he yielded, and having appeared again before Charles the Fifth, he said, "I will wait until Friday next; and, if nothing is done by that time, I shall leave forthwith."

Great was the anxiety of the Protestants during these four days of expectation. Most of them doubted not that, by acceding to

¹ Alles das, so Ihm Gott geben hätt, darob zu verlieren ein geringen wäre, Corp. Ref. II. 379.

² In der selben Nacht. Ibid.

³ Præmissis fere omnibus impedimentis una cum coctis Ibid. 380.

⁴ Gestiebelt und gespornt. Ibid. 380.

⁵ Etwas darob schwermütig und hitzig erzeigt. Ibid.

Charles's prayers, they had delivered themselves into the hands of their enemies. "The emperor is deliberating whether he ought to hang us or let us live," wrote Brentz.¹ Fresh negotiations of Truchses were without success.²

The emperor now had nothing more to do than draw up, in common with the Romish states, the *recess* of the diet. This was done; and that the Protestants might not complain of its having been prepared without their knowledge, he assembled them in his palace on Thursday (22d September), the day previous to that fixed for the elector's departure, and had his project read to them by the count-palatine. This project was insult and war. The emperor granted to the elector, the five princes, and the six cities,³ a delay of six months (until the 15th of April in the next year), to come to an arrangement with the Church, the Pope, the Emperor, and all the princes and monarchs of Christendom. This was clearly announcing to them that the Romanists were very willing to delay until the usual period for bringing armies into the field.

Nor was this all: the delay was granted only on the express condition that the Protestants should immediately join the emperor in reducing the Anabaptists, and all those who opposed the holy sacrament, by which were meant the Zwinglian cities. He wished by this means to tie the hands of the Protestants, and prevent the two families of the Reformation from uniting during the winter.

Finally, the Protestants were forbidden to make any innovations, to print or sell anything on the objects of faith, or to draw any one whatever to their sect, "since the Confession had been soundly refuted by the Holy Scriptures." Thus the Reformation was officially proclaimed a *sect*, and a sect contrary to the Word of God.

Nothing was better calculated to displease the friends of the Gospel, who remained in Charles's presence astonished, alarmed, and indignant.⁴ This had been foreseen; and, at the moment when the Protestants were about to enter the emperor's chamber, Truchses and Wehe, making signs to them, mysteriously slipped a paper into their hands, containing a promise that if, on the 15th April, the Protestants required a prolongation of the delay, their request would certainly be granted.⁵ But Brück, to whom the paper was given, was not deceived. A subtle ambuscade," said he; "a masterpiece of knavery! God will save his own, and will not permit them to fall into the snare."⁶

This trick, in fact, served only still more to increase the courage of the Protestants.

Brück, without discussing the *recess* a political point of view, confined himself to what was principally at stake; the Word of God. "We maintain," said he, "that our Confession is so based on the holy Word of God, that it is impossible to refute it. We consider it as the very truth of God, and we hope by it to stand one day before the judgment-seat of the Lord." He then announced that the Protestants had refuted the Refutation of the Romish theologians, and holding in his hand the famous Apology of the Confession of Augsburg written by Melancthon, he stepped forward, and offered it to Charles the Fifth. The count-palatine took it, and the emperor was already stretching out his hand, when Ferdinand having whispered a few words, he beckoned to the count, who immediately returned the Apology to Doctor Brück.¹ This paper, and the "Common-places," are the reformer's masterpieces. The embarrassed emperor told the Protestants to come again at eight the next morning.

Charles the Fifth, resolving to employ every means to get his decree accepted, began by entreaties; and scarcely was the Margrave of Brandenburg seated to take his evening repast, when Truchses and Wehe appeared before him, using every kind of discourse and argument, but without success.²

The next day (Friday, 23d September), the evangelical princes and the deputies of the cities assembled at five in the morning at the margrave's hotel, where the *recess* was again read in the presence of Truchses and Wehe, Chancellor Brück assigning seven reasons for its rejection. "I undertake," said Wehe, "to translate the *recess* into German in such a manner as you can accept it. As for the word *sect*, in particular, it is the clerk who placed it there by mistake."³ The mediators retired in haste to communicate to Charles the complaints of the Protestants.

Charles and his ministers gave up every idea of reconciliation, and hoped for nothing except through fear. The Protestants reached the imperial palace at eight o'clock, but were made wait an hour: the Elector of Brandenburg then said to them in Charles's name: "His majesty is astonished beyond measure that you still maintain your doctrine to be based on the Holy Scriptures. If you say the truth, his majesty's ancestors, so many kings and emperors, and even the ancestors of the Elector of Saxony, were heretics! There is no Gospel, there is no Scripture, that imposes on us the obligation

¹ Auf König Ferdinandus wincke wieder geben. Apologie, p. 184.

² Nach eben allerley Rede Disputation und Vermahnungsgewandt. Urk. ii. 871.

³ Sondern vom Schreiber gesetzt, der die nicht gesch. Ibid. 884.

¹ Adhuc deliberat Caesar pendendum ne nobis sit, an distinctus vivendum. Corp. Ref. ii.

² Urkund. ii. 455-475.

³ Nuremberg and Reutlingen, to which were added the cities of Kempton, Heilbronn, Windsheim, and Weissemburg. Ibid. 474-475.

⁴ Protestantes vehementer hoc decreto minime expectato terribiliter. Reck. ii. 200.

⁵ Brück, Apologia, p. 182.

⁶ Betrug, meisterstück, aber Gott errettet die seinen. Ibid.

violence the goods of another, saying that we cannot conscientiously do it. "It is for this reason," said he, after these words, which he said with a sardonic smile, "I am to inform you, that if you recall the Germanic states will be sold and property at the emperor's disposal, his majesty himself will employ all his kingdoms to complete the leaving the empire." "I accept it," replied the Emperor. "His majesty also has a hen resumed the Elector of Saxony in a harsh tone; "and if you will concert with the pope potentates on the best means this sect and its new errors." "I will add threat to threat: the mained calm, respectful, and Our enemies, destitute of all aid," said they, "would shake the presence of the emperor's anger, line that we should tremble in but we have called unto God, ep us faithful to his truth." "I want then prepared to take e of the emperor. This prince, e had been put to a severe ed to shake hands according d beginning with the Elector said to him in a low voice: "I should never have ex- you." The elector was deeply res filled with tears: but, fcm he bent his head and quitted it reply. It was now two in

Protestants were returning to calm and happy, the Romish to theirs, confused and divided. They doubted con- which had just been Protestants would be regarded a declaration of war, and that on urg, they would rush to arms, terrified them. Accordingly, axony had hardly reached his saw Dr. Ruhel, councillor of lentz, hastening towards him, y his master to deliver this ough my brother the elector andenbourg) has declared that e empire are ready to support ainst you, know that both ministers of the elector-pala- Elector of Treves immediately majesty that we did not ad- eclaration, seeing that we vourably of you.¹ I intended he emperor in your presence, precipitately, that I was un-

the primate of the German in the choice of his messenger chet andere denn wohl und gut. Urk.

was significant: Dr. Ruhel was Luther's brother-in-law. John begged him to thank his master.

As this envoy retired, there arrived one of the gentlemen of Duke Henry of Brunswick, a zealous Romanist. He was at first refused admittance on account of the departure, but returned hastily, just as Brück's carriage was leaving the courtyard of the hotel. Approaching the carriage-door, he said: "The duke informs the elector that he will endeavour to put things in a better train, and will come this winter to kill a wild boar with him."² Shortly after this, the terrible Ferdinand himself declared that he would seek every means of preventing an outbreak.³ All these manifestations of the affrighted Roman-catholics showed on which side was the real strength.

At three o'clock in the afternoon the Elector of Saxony, accompanied by the Dukes of Luneburg and the Princes of Anhalt, quitted the walls of Augsburg. "God be praised," said Luther, "that our dear prince is at last out of hell!"⁴

As he saw these intrepid princes thus escaping from his hands, Charles the Fifth gave way to a violence that was not usual with him. "They want to teach me a new faith," cried he; "but it is not with the doctrine that we shall finish this matter: we must draw the sword, and then shall we see who is the strongest."⁵ All around him gave way to their indignation. They were astonished at the audacity of Brück, who had dared call the Romanists—heretics!⁶ But nothing irritated them so much as the spirit of proselytism which in those glorious days characterized evangelical Germany; and the anger of the Papists was particularly directed against the Chancellor of Luneburg, "who," said they, "had sent more than a hundred ministers into different places to preach the new doctrine, and had even publicly boasted of it."⁷—The deputies of Nuremberg, who remained almost alone at Augsburg, wrote, as they heard those complaints, "Our adversaries are thirsting for our blood."

On the 4th October, Charles the Fifth wrote to the pope, for it was from Rome that the new crusade was to set out: "The negotiations are broken off: our adversaries are more obstinate than ever; and I am resolved to employ my strength and my person in combating them. For this reason I beg your holiness will demand the support of all christian princes."

The enterprise began in Augsburg itself. The day on which he wrote to the pope,

¹ Ein Sawe fallen helfen. Urk. p. 211.

² Corp. Ref. II. 397.

³ Ein mal aus der Hölle los ist. L. Epp. IV. 176.

⁴ Der Kaiser hat fast hitzig im Handel. Corp. Ref. II. 402.

⁵ Es gehören die Fauste dar zu. Ibid. 402; Urkund. II. 710.

⁶ Fur Ketzer angesogen. Ibid.

⁷ Sie in die Hundert Prediger in andere Lande Schiken helfen dasselbe die neue Lehre zu predigen. Urkund. II. 694.

Charles, in honour of St. Francis of Assisi, whose feast it was, re-established the Cordeliers in that city, and a monk ascending the pulpit said: "All those who preach that Jesus Christ alone has made satisfaction for our sins, and that God saves us without regard to our works, are thorough scoundrels. There are, on the contrary, two roads to salvation; the common road, namely, the observance of the commandments; and the perfect road, namely, the ecclesiastical state." Scarcely was the sermon finished ere the congregation began to remove the benches placed in the church for the evangelical preaching, breaking them violently (for they were fixed with chains), and throwing them one upon another. Within these consecrated walls two monks, in particular, armed with hammers and pincers, tossed their arms, and shouted like men possessed. "From their frightful uproar," exclaimed some, "one would imagine they were pulling down a house."¹ It was in truth the house of God they wished to begin destroying.

After the tumult was appeased, they sang mass. As soon as this was concluded, a Spaniard desired to recommence breaking the benches, and on being prevented by one of the citizens, they began to hurl chairs at each other; one of the monks, leaving the choir, ran up to them, and was soon dragged into the fray; at length the captain of police arrived with his men, who distributed their well directed blows on every side. Thus began in Germany the restoration of Roman-catholicism: popular violence has often been one of its most powerful allies.

On the 13th October the recess was read to all the Romish states, and on the same day they concluded a Roman league.²

Two cities had signed the Confession, and four others had assented to it; the imperialists hoped, however, that these powerless municipalities, affrighted at the imperial authority, would withdraw from the Protestant union. But on the 17th October, instead of six cities, sixteen imperial towns, among which were the most important in Germany, declared it was impossible to grant any support against the Turks, so long as public peace was not secured in Germany itself.³

An event more formidable to Charles had just taken place. The unity of the Reformation had prevailed. "We are one in the fundamental articles of faith," the Zwinglian cities had said, "and in particular (notwithstanding some disputes about words among our theologians), we are one in the doctrine of the communion in the body and blood of our Lord. Receive us." The Saxon deputies immediately gave their hands. Nothing unites the children of God so much as the violence of their adversaries. "Let us unite,"

said all, "for the consolation of our bre and the terror of our enemies."⁴

In vain did Charles, who was into keeping up division among the Protestants convoke the deputies of the Zwinglian in vain, desiring to render them odious he accused them of fastening a coner wafer to a wall and firing bullets at it vain did he overwhelm them with threats:—all his efforts were useless length the evangelical party was one.

The alarm increased among the R party, who resolved on fresh conce "The Protestants call for public peace," they; "well then, let us draw up article peace." But, on the 29th October, the testaments refused these offers, because emperor enjoined peace to all the without binding himself. "An emperor the right to command peace to his subjects haughtily answered Charles: "but I never been heard that he commanded himself."⁵

Nothing remained but to draw the s and for that Charles made every prepar On the 25th October, he wrote to the nals at Rome: "We inform you that we spare neither kingdoms nor lordships that we shall venture even our soul as body to complete such necessary matte

Scarcely had Charles's letter been rec before his major-domo, Pedro de la C arrived in Rome by express. "The s is now too far advanced to attack the I rance immediately," said he to the pope; prepare every thing for this enterprise. majesty thinks it his duty to prefer l all things the accomplishment of yor signs." Thus Clement and the em were also united, and both sides beg concentrate their forces.

On the evening of the 11th November recess was read to the Protestant dep and on the 12th they rejected it, decl that they did not acknowledge the emp power to command in matters of faith.⁶ deputies of Hesse and of Saxony, dep immediately after, and on the 19th ber the recess was solemnly read in the sence of Charles the Fifth, and of the p and deputies who were still in Aug This report was more hostile than the ject communicated to the Protestants bore, among other things (and this is sample of the urbanity of this official ment), that "to deny free will was the not of man, but of a brute."⁷ "We l majesty," said the Elector Joachim, was read, "not to leave Germany, u his cares one and the same faith be blished in all the empire."

¹ *Wien alt. Hist. abh.* 1848, Corp. Ref. II. 460.

² *Verhandl. des. Reichs. II. 767-768.*

³ *Wien alt. Hist. abh.* 1848, Corp. Ref. II. 461, 462.

⁴ *Dissem. Theol. deo. mehr Freunde und Tröst. gegenheißl. Erbrechen. Urk. II. 720.*

⁵ *An. des. Wand. geteilt und dann geschickt. Ref. II. 625.*

⁶ These negotiations will be found in *Festum. henden. p. 750-753.*

⁷ *Urkunden. II. 588; Corp. Ref. II. 627.*

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peror replied, that he would not go in his states of the Low Countries, and that deeds should follow close at hand. It was then nearly seven in the evening; a few torches were lighted up there by the ushers, and their light alone illuminated this assembly: not that without seeing each other; indeed, as it were by stealth, that he sponously announced to the christian

On the 2d November, the recess was made for two days after Charles the Fifth of Cologne. The ruler of two worlds, all his influence baffled by a few; and he who had entered the impenetrable in triumph, now quitted it gloomy, dispirited. The mightiest power then was broken against the power

of the emperor's ministers and officers, the pope, displayed so much the more. The states of the empire were furnished Charles, for three years, with 8000 horse, and a considerable money; the Margrave Henry of the Count of Nassau, and other considerable levies on the side of the emperor; a captain going through the land called its rude inhabitants to arms, and enrolled six companies of foot; King Ferdinand had written letters to the Tyrol and of Wurtemberg on their cuirasses and take up arms; Joachim of Talheim collected Spanish bands in the Low Countries, ordered them towards the Rhine; he solicited from the Duke of Lorraine his arms; and another chief collected the Spanish army of Florence towards the Alps. There was no fear that the Germans, even the Catholics, would take Luther's hence principally foreign troops.² Nothing but war was talked of.

When a strange rumour was heard, it was given, said every one. A free on the confines of the Germanic world,—a city at war with its alliance with the Protestants, and ordered for reformed even before really had been suddenly attacked. A messenger from Strasburg brought this news to the emperor, and it circulated through the land with the rapidity of lightning. Three Michaelmas, some armed men, the Duke of Savoy, pillaged the Geneva, and threatened to take the city, and put all to the edge of the sword. Every one in Augsburg was "Ho!" exclaimed Charles the Emperor, "the Duke of Savoy has

begun too soon."¹ It was reported that Margaret, governor of the Low Countries, the pope, the Dukes of Lorraine and Gueldres, and even the King of France, were directing their troops against Geneva. It was there that the army of Rome intended fixing its point d'appui. The avalanche was gathering on the first slopes of the Alps, whence it would rush over all Switzerland, and then roll into Germany, burying the Gospel and the Reformation under its huge mass.³

This sacred cause appeared to be in great danger, and never in reality had it gained so noble a triumph. The *coup de main* attempted on those hills, where six years later Calvin was to take his station, and plant the standard of Augsburg and of Nazareth, having failed, all fears were dispelled, and the victory of the confessors of Christ, for an instant obscured, shone forth anew in all its splendour.

While the Emperor Charles, surrounded by a numerous train of princes, was approaching the banks of the Rhine sad and dispirited, the evangelical Christians were returning in triumph to their homes. Luther was the herald of the victory gained at Augsburg by Faith. "Though our enemies should have around them, beside them, with them, not only that puissant Roman emperor, Charles, but still more the emperor of the Turks and his Mahomet," said he, "they could not intimidate, they could not frighten me. It is I who in the strength of God am resolved to frighten and overthrow them. They shall yield to me—they shall fall! and I shall remain upright and firm. My life shall be their headman, and my death their hell!" God blinds them and hardens their hearts; he is driving them towards the Red Sea: all the horses of Pharaoh, his chariots and his horsemen, cannot escape their inevitable destiny. Let them go then, let them perish, since they will it so!⁴ As for us, the Lord is with us."

Thus the Diet of Augsburg, destined to crush the Reformation, was what strengthened it for ever. It has been usual to consider the peace of Augsburg (1555) as the period when the Reform was definitively established. That is the date of legal Protestantism; evangelical Christianity has another—the autumn of 1530. In 1555 was the victory of the sword and of diplomacy; in 1530 was that of the Word of God and of Faith; and this latter victory is in our eyes the truest and the surest. The evangelical history of the Reformation in Germany is nearly finished at the epoch we have reached, and the diplomatic history of legal Protestantism begins. Whatever may now be done, whatever may be said, the Church of the first ages has re-

¹ That the Emperor's army should be in Switzerland, &c. &c. &c.

² Geneva, episcopate, bellum citius urbis Germanicæ.

³ See the letter of the Emperor to the Pope, &c. &c. &c.

⁴ See the letter of the Emperor to the Pope, &c. &c. &c.

on and 1530 on Ross. Corp. Ref. II. 300.
15th of December, 15th October. 1530. 403.
Emmenten, 15th October. 1530. 411.
are the close of the diet.

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appeared; and it has reappeared strong enough to show that it will live. There will still be conferences and discussions; there will still be leagues and combats; there will even be deplorable defeats; but all these are a secondary movement. The great move-

ment is accomplished: the cause of faith won by faith. The effort has been in the evangelical doctrine has taken to the world, and neither the storms of men nor the powers of hell, will ever be able to it up.

BOOK XV.

SWITZERLAND—CONQUESTS. 1526—1530.

CHAPTER I.

Originality of the Swiss Reform—Change—Three Periods of Reform—Switzerland Romande—The two Movements in the Church—Aggressive Spirit—The Schoolmaster—Faust's new Baptism—Mysticism and Scholasticism—A Door is opened—Opposition—Lausanne—Manners of the Clergy—Jurat to Geneva—Card and the Monk—The Tribunal—The Monk cries for Pardon—Opposition of the Ormonds—A false Convert—Christian Unity.

THE divisions which the Reformation disclosed within its bosom, on its appearance before the Diet of Augsburg, humbled it and compromised its existence; but we must not forget that the cause of these divisions was one of the conditions of the existence of the regenerated Church. No doubt it would have been desirable for Germany and Switzerland to have agreed; but it was of still greater importance that Germany and Switzerland should have each its original Reform. If the Swiss Reformation had been only a feeble copy of the German, there would have been uniformity, but no duration. The tree, transplanted into Switzerland, without having taken deep root, would soon have been torn up by the vigorous hand that was ere long about to seize upon it. The regeneration of Christianity in these mountains proceeded from forces peculiar to the Helvetic Church, and received an organization in conformity with the ecclesiastical and political condition of that country. By this very originality it communicated a particular energy to the principles of the Reformation, of much greater consequence to the common cause than a servile uniformity. The strength of an army arises in great measure from its being composed of soldiers of different arms.

The military and political influence of Switzerland was declining. The new developments of the European nations, subsequent to the sixteenth century, were about to banish to their native mountains those proud Helvetians, who for so long a period had placed their two-handed swords in the balance in which the destinies of nations were weighed. The Reformation communicated a new influence in exchange for that which was departing. Switzerland, where the

Gospel appeared in its simplest and purest form, was destined to give in these times to many nations of the two worlds more salutary and glorious impulse than which had hitherto proceeded from it, herds and its arequebuses.

The history of the Swiss Reformation divided into three periods, in which the Gospel is seen spreading successively over three different zones. From 1526 Zurich was the centre of the Reformation, which was then entirely German; it was propagated in the eastern and northern parts of the confederation. Between 1526 and 1532 the movement was commenced from Berne: it was at once German, French, and extended to the centre of Switzerland from the gorges of the Jura's deepest valleys of the Alps. In 1532 Geneva became the focus of the light; and the Reformation, which was here essentially French, was established on the shores of the lake, and gained strength in every quarter. It is of the second of these periods—that of Berne—of which we are now to treat.

Although the Swiss Reformation is yet essentially French, still the most important part in it is taken by Frenchmen. Switzerland *Romande*¹ is yoked to the chariot of the Reform, and communicates to it an accelerated motion. In the period we are about to treat of, there is a mixture of races, of languages, and of characters from which proceed greater commotion. In no part of the Christian world will the resistance be so stout, but no where will the assailants display more courage. This petty country of Switzerland *Romande*, enclosed within the colossal arms of the Jura and the Alps, for centuries one of the strongest fortresses of the Papacy. It is about to be carried by storm; it is going to turn its arms against its ancient masters; and from these fastnesses, scattered at the foot of the high

¹ The French part of Switzerland, comprising the cantons of Geneva, Vaud, Neuchâtel, and part of those of Bern, and Valais.

Europe, will proceed the reformation that will overthrow, even in the countries, the sanctuaries of images and their altars.

Two movements in the Church: inwardly, and its object is its other is effected outwardly, aimed at is its propagation. a doctrinal Church and a mis- ch. These two movements to be separated, and whenever nited, it is because the spirit of the Spirit of God prevails. In ages these two tendencies were he same time and with equal he second and third centuries tendency prevailed; after the lice (325) the doctrinal move- the superiority; at the epoch ion of the northern tribes the rit revived; but ere long came he hierarchy and of the school- h all doctrinal powers warred urch to found therein a despotic and an impure doctrine—the e revival of Christianity in the tury, which emanated from God,

to renovate these two move- r purifying them. Then indeed God acted at once externally r. In the days of the Reforma- re tranquil and internal deve- there was also a more power- ssive action. Men of God had lied the Word, and had peace- ed its salutary lessons. Such work of Vesalia Goch, Groot, rysbrook, Tauler, Thomas à John Wessel; now, something quired. The power of action ombined with the power of e Papacy had been allowed all e for laying aside its errors; had been in expectation; it had it had been entreated; all had ng. Popery being unwilling to it became necessary for men of its accomplishment upon them- calm and moderate influence of s of the Reform was succeeded ; and holy revolutionary work mers; and the revolution they sted in overthrowing the usurp- to re-establish the legitimate To every thing there is a sea- preacher, "and a time to every r heaven: a time to plant, and k up that which is planted; a down, and a time to build up."¹ mers, those who carried the rit to its highest degree were came from France, and more rel, whose labours we have now

e such mighty effects accom-

plished by so puny a force. In the govern- ment of God we pass in an instant from the greatest to the least of things. We now quit the haughty Charles V. and all that court of princes over which he presides, to follow the steps of a schoolmaster; and leave the palaces of Augsburg to take our seats in the lowly cottages of Switzerland.

The Rhone, after issuing, near St. Gothard, from the mountains of the Furka, from beneath an immense sea of eternal ice, rolls its noisy waters through a rugged valley separating the two great chains of the Alps; then issuing from the gorge of St. Maurice, it wanders through a more smiling and fertile country. The sublime Dent du Midi on the south, the proud Dent de Morcles on the north, picturesquely situated opposite each other, point out from afar to the traveller's eye the beginning of this latter basin. On the tops of these mountains are vast glaciers and threatening peaks, near which the shepherds in the midst of summer lead their numerous flocks to pasture: while, in the plain, the flowers and fruits of southern climes grow luxuriantly, and the laurel blooms beside the most exquisite grapes.

At the opening of one of the lateral valleys that lead into the Northern Alps, on the banks of the Grande Eau that falls in thunder from the glaciers of the Diablerets, is situated the small town of Aigle, one of the most southern in Switzerland. For about fifty years it had belonged to Berne, with the four parishes (*mandemens*) which are under its jurisdiction, namely, Aigle, Bex, Ollon, and the chalets scattered in the lofty valleys of the Ormonds. It is in this country that the second epoch of the Swiss Reformation was destined to begin.

In the winter of 1526-1527, a foreign schoolmaster, named Ursinus, arrived in this humble district. He was a man of middle stature, with red beard and quick eyes, and with a voice of thunder (says Beza) combined the feelings of a hero: his modest lessons were intermingled with new and strange doctrines. As the benefices had been abandoned by their titularies to ignorant curates, the people, who were naturally of rude and turbulent habits, had remained without any cultivation. Thus did this stranger, who was no other than Farel, meet with new obstacles at every step.

Whilst Lefevre and most of his friends had quitted Strasburg to re-enter France, after the deliverance of Francis I., Farel had turned his steps towards Switzerland; and on the very first day of his journey, he received a lesson that he frequently called to mind.

He was on foot, accompanied by a single friend. Night had closed around them, the rain fell in torrents, and the travellers, in despair of finding their road, had sat down midway, drenched with rain.¹ "Ah!" said

¹ Eccles. iii. 1, 2, 3.

¹ Gravabat nos, opprimebat pluvia.....cogit via diti.

Farel, "God, by showing me my helplessness in these little things, has willed to teach me how weak I am in the greatest, without Jesus Christ!"¹ At last, Farel springing up, plunged into the marshes, waded through the waters, crossed vineyards, fields, hills, forests, and valleys, and at length reached his destination covered with mud and soaked to the skin.

In this night of desolation, Farel had received a new baptism. His natural energy had been quelled; he became, for some time at least, wise as a serpent, and harmless as a dove; and, as not unfrequently happens to men of such a disposition, he at first overstepped his aim. Believing that he was following the example of the apostles, he sought, in the words of Ecolampadius, "by pious frauds to circumvent the old serpent that was hissing around him."² He represented himself to be a schoolmaster, and waited until a door should be opened to him to appear as a reformer.³

Magister Ursinus had no sooner quitted the schoolroom and his primers, than, taking refuge in his modest chamber, he became absorbed in the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, and the most learned treatises of the theologians. The struggle between Luther and Zwingle was then commencing. To which of these two chiefs should the French Reform attach itself? Luther had been known in France for a much longer time than Zwingle; yet Farel decided in favour of the latter. Mysticism had characterized the Germanic nations during the Middle Ages, and scholasticism those of Roman descent. The French were in closer relation with the dialectician Zwingle than with the mystic Luther; or rather they were the mediators between the two great tendencies of the Middle Ages; and, while giving to the christian thought that correct form which seems to be the province of southern nations, they became the instruments of God to spread through the Church the fulness of life and of the Spirit of Christ.

It was in his little chamber at Aigle that Farel read the first publication addressed to the German by the Swiss reformer.⁴ "With what learning," cries he, "does Zwingle scatter the darkness! with what holy ingenuity he gains over the wise, and what captivating meekness he unites with deep erudition! Oh, that by the grace of God this work may win over Luther, so that the Church of Christ, trembling from such violent shocks, may at length find peace!"⁵

gulas in medio sedere via sub pluvia. Farel to Capito and Bucer. Neuchâtel MS.

¹ *Vultis Dominum per infirma hæc, docere quid possit homo in majoribus. Coet. Ep. MS. of Neuchâtel.*

² *Pis arribus et apostolicis vernaculis ad circumvenendum illum opus est. Coet. to Farel, 27th December 1524. Neuchâtel MS.*

³ *Ubi totum patet, tunc adversarii libertus obestator. Ibid.*

⁴ *Fis et amica ad Lutheri sermonem apologia. Opp. vol. II. p. 1.*

⁵ *Christi succura unigue Ecclesie, pacis non nihil curat. Sw. Ep. II. 24.*

The schoolmaster Ursinus, excited by as noble an example, gradually set about instructing the parents as well as the children. He at first attacked the doctrine of purgatory, and next the Invocation of Saints. "As for the pope, he is nothing," said he, "or almost nothing, in these parts;¹ and as for the priests, provided they annoy the people with all that nonsense, which Erasmus knows so well how to turn into ridicule, that is enough for them."

Ursinus had been some months at Aigle: a door was opened to him; a flock had been collected there, and he believed the looked-for moment had arrived.

Accordingly one day the prudent schoolmaster disappeared. "I am William Farel," said he, "minister of the Word of God." The terror of the priests and magistrates was great, when they saw in the midst of them that very man whose name had already become so formidable. The schoolmaster quitted his humble study; he ascended the pulpit, and openly preached Jesus Christ to the astonished multitude. The work of Ursinus was over: Farel was himself again.² It was then about the month of March or April 1527, and in that beautiful valley, whose slopes were brightening in the warm rays of the sun, all was fermenting at the same time, the flowers, the vineyards, and the hearts of this sensible but rude people.

Yet the rocks that the torrent meets as it issues from the Diablerets, and against which it dashes at every step as it falls from the eternal snows, are more trifling obstacles than the prejudice and hatred that were shown ere long in this populous valley to the Word of God.

The Council of Berne, by a license of the 9th of March, had commissioned Farel to explain the Holy Scriptures to the people of Aigle and its neighbourhood. But the arm of the civil magistrate, by thus mingling in religious affairs, served only to increase the irritation of men's minds. The rich and lazy incumbents, the poor and ignorant curates, were the first to cry out. "If this man," said they one to another, "continues preaching, it is all over with our benefices and our Church."³

In the midst of this agitation, the bailiff of Aigle and the governor of the four mandemens, Jacques de Roverea, instead of supporting the minister of their excellencies of Berne, eagerly embraced the cause of the priests. "The emperor," said they, "is about to declare war against all innovators. A great army will shortly arrive from Spain to assist the Archduke Ferdinand."⁴ Farel stood firm. Upon this the bailiff and Roverea

¹ *Pape aut nullus aut modicus hic est. Sw. Ep. II. 24.*

² *The name of Ursinus was doubtless taken from bear (ursa) which was on the shield of Berne. Ursinus meant Berne.*

³ *J. J. Hottinger, H. K. G., II. 264.*

⁴ *Ferdinando adventurum esse ingentem ex Hispania exercitum. Zwingle, Ep. II. 65; dated 11th May 1527.*

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se, exasperated by such boldness, interdicted no heretic from every kind of instruction, whether as minister or schoolmaster. But Berne caused to be posted on the doors of all the churches in the four mandemens a new decree, dated the 3d of July, in which their excellencies, manifesting great displeasure at his interdiction "of the very learned Farel from the propagation of the Divine Word," ordered all the officers of the state to allow him to preach publicly the doctrines of the Lord."

This new proclamation was the signal of revolt. On the 25th July, great crowds assembled at Aigle, at Bex, at Olon, and in the Ormonds, crying out, "No more submission to Berné down with Farel!" From words they soon proceeded to actions. At Aigle the insurgents, headed by the fiery syndic, tore down the edict, and prepared to fall upon the reformed. These promptly united and, surrounding Farel, resolved to defend him. The two parties met face to face, and blood was near flowing. The firm countenance of the friends of the Gospel checked the partisans of the priests, who dispersed, and Farel, quitting Aigle for a few days, carried his views farther.

In the middle of the beautiful valley of the Leman, on hills which overlook the lake, stands Lausanne, the city of the bishop and of the Virgin, placed under the patronage of the Dukes of Savoy. A host of pilgrims, scrambling from all the surrounding places, bent devoutly before the image of Our Lady, and made costly purchases at the great fair and indulgences that was held within its precincts. Lausanne, extending its episcopal power from its lofty towers, pretended to rule the whole country at the feet of the pope. But owing to the dissolute life of the monks and priests, the eyes of many began to be opened. The ministers of the Virgin were seen in public playing at games of chance, which they seasoned with mockery and blasphemy. They fought in the trenches; disguised as soldiers, they descended by night from the cathedral hill, roaming through the streets, sword in hand and in liquor, surprised, wounded, and sometimes even killed the "worthy citizens; they debauched married women, lured young girls, changed their residences to houses of ill-fame, and heartlessly turned to their young children to beg their bread.¹ Where, perhaps, was better exemplified the description of the clergy given us by one of the most venerable prelates at the beginning of the fifteenth century: "Instead of training up youth by their learning and holiness of life, the priests train birds and dogs; instead of books they have children; they with topers in the taverns, and give way to drunkenness."²

Among the theologians in the court of the Bishop Sebastian of Montfaucon, was Natalie Galeotto, a man of elevated rank and great urbanity, fond of the society of scholars, and himself a man of learning,³ but nevertheless very zealous about fasts and all the ordinances of the Church. Farel thought that, if this man could be gained over to the Gospel, Lausanne, "slumbering at the foot of its steeples," would perhaps awaken, and all the country with it. He therefore addressed himself to him. "Alas! alas!" said Farel, "religion is now little better than an empty mockery, since people who think only of their appetites are the kings of the Church. Christian people, instead of celebrating in the sacrament the death of the Lord, live as if they commemorated Mercury, the god of fraud. Instead of imitating the love of Christ, they emulate the lewdness of Venus; and, when they do evil, they fear more the presence of a wretched swineherd than of God Almighty."⁴

But Galeotto made no reply, and Farel persevered. "Knock; cry out with all your might," wrote he in a second letter; redouble your attacks upon our Lord."⁵ Still there was no answer. Farel returned to the charge a third time, and Natalie, fearing perhaps to reply in person, commissioned his secretary, who forwarded a letter to Farel full of abusive language.⁶ For a season Lausanne was inaccessible.

After having thus contended with a priest, Farel was destined to struggle with a monk. The two arms of the hierarchy by which the Middle Ages had been governed were chivalry and monachism. The latter still remained for the service of the Papacy, although falling into decay. "Alas!" exclaimed a celebrated Carthusian, "what an obstinate devil would fear to do, a reprobate and arrogant monk will commit without hesitation."⁷

A mendicant friar, who dared not oppose the reformer in a direct manner at Aigle, ventured into the village of Noville, situated on the low grounds deposited by the Rhone, as it falls into the Lake of Geneva. The friar, ascending the pulpit, exclaimed, "It is the devil himself who preaches by the mouth of the minister, and all those who listen to him will be damned." Then, taking courage, he slunk along the bank of the Rhone, and arrived at Aigle with a meek and humble look, not to appear there against Farel, whose powerful eloquence terribly alarmed him, but to beg in behalf of his convent a few barrels

servant. Trithemii Institutio Vita Sacerdotalis, p. 705. The play upon *seres* and *seres* (books and children) cannot be converted in English.

¹ Urbanus, doctus, magnus, consuetudine doctorem obli-
gatum. Farel to Galeotto. Neuchâtel MS.

² Plures faciunt miserum subdolum appetum quam con-
cupiscentia Dei. Farel to Galeotto. Ibid.

³ Pulsare, vociferari pergo, nec prima causa quam, de-
bita.

⁴ Nuntio totas implere et convellere. Ibid.

⁵ Cecidit agere revertere obstinatus diabolum intrinsece agi
reprobos et contumax monachos. Jacob von Juckerbock;
de Negligentia Prelatorum.

⁶ *Libella verbi divini propagatio.* Chopard MS.
Reformation Suisse by Richat, I. 35.
Les livres sont des serres comparant, pro studio concubitus

of the most exquisite wine in all Switzerland. He had not advanced many steps into the town before he met the minister. "At this sight he trembled in every limb. 'Why did you preach in such a manner at Noville?' demanded Farel. The monk, fearful that the dispute would attract public attention, and yet desirous of replying to the point, whispered in his ear, 'I have heard say that you are a heretic and misleader of the people.' 'Prove it,' said Farel. Then the monk 'began to storm,' says Farel,¹ and, hastening down the street, endeavoured to shake off his disagreeable companion, 'turning now this way, now that, like a troubled conscience.'² A few citizens beginning to collect around them, Farel said to them, pointing to the monk, 'You see this fine father; he has said from the pulpit that I preach nothing but lies.' Upon this the monk, blushing and stammering, began to speak of the offerings of the faithful (the precious wine of Yvorne, for which he had come begging, and accused Farel of opposing them. The crowd had now increased in number, and Farel, who only sought an opportunity of proclaiming the true worship of God, exclaimed with a loud voice, 'It is no man's business to ordain any other way of serving God than that which He has commanded. We must keep his commandments without swerving either to the right hand or to the left.'³ Let us worship God alone in spirit and in truth, offering to him a broken and a contrite heart."

The eyes of all the spectators were fixed on the two actors in this scene, the monk with his wallet, and the reformer with his glistening eye. Confounded by Farel's daring to speak of any other worship than that which the holy Roman Church prescribed, the friar "was out of his senses; he trembled, and was agitated, becoming pale and red by turns. At last, taking his cap off his head, from under his hood, he flung it on the ground, trampling it under foot and crying: 'I am surprised that the earth does not gape and swallow us up!'"⁴.....Farel wished to reply, but in vain. The friar with downcast eyes kept stamping on his cap, "bawling like one out of his wits;" and his cries resounding through the streets of Aigle, drowned the voice of the reformer. At length one of the spectators, who stood beside him, plucked him by the sleeve, and said, "listen to the minister, as he is listening to you." The affrighted monk, believing himself already half-dead, started violently

and cried out: "Oh, thou excommunicated layest thou thy hand upon me?"

The little town was in an uproar; the friar at once furious and trembling, Farel following up his attack with vigour, and the people confused and amazed. At length the magistrate appeared, ordered the monk and Farel to follow him, and shut them up, "one in one tower and one in another."⁵

On the Saturday morning Farel was liberated from his prison, and conducted to the castle before the officers of justice, where the monk had preceded him. The minister began to address them: "My lords, to whom our Saviour enjoins obedience without any exception, this friar has said that the doctrine which I preach is against God. Let him make good his words, or, if he cannot, permit your people to be edified." The violence of the monk was over. The tribunal before which he was standing, the courage of his adversary, the power of the movement which he could not resist, the weakness of his cause, —all alarmed him, and he was now ready to make matters up. "Then the friar fell upon his knees saying: My lords, I entreat forgiveness of you and of God. Next turning to Farel: And also, Magister, what I preached against you was grounded on false reports. I have found you to be a good man, and your doctrine good, and I am prepared to recall my words."⁶

Farel was touched by this appeal, and said: "My friend, do not ask forgiveness of me, for I am a poor sinner like other men, putting my trust not in my own righteousness, but in the death of Jesus."⁷

One of the lords of Berne coming up at this time, the friar, who already imagined himself on the brink of martyrdom, began to wring his hands, and to turn now towards the Bernese councillors, now towards the tribunal, and then to Farel, crying, "Pardon, pardon!"—"Ask pardon of our Saviour," replied Farel. The lord of Berne added: "Come to-morrow and hear the minister's sermon; if he appears to you to preach the truth, you shall confess it openly before all; if not, you will declare your opinion: this promise is my hand." The monk held out his hand, and the judges retired. "Then the friar went away, and I have not seen him since, and no promises or oaths were able to make him stay."⁸ Thus the Reformation advanced in Switzerland Romande.

But violent storms threatened to destroy the work that was hardly begun. Romish agents from the Valais and from Savoy had crossed the Rhone at St. Maurice, and were exciting the people to energetic resistance. Tumultuous assemblages took place, in which

¹ Commentaires de se tempester; in the narrative he gives of this adventure to the nuns of Vevay. Neuchâtel MS.

² Tourment maintenant he sa, maintenant de là, comme fait la conscience mal assurée. Ibid.

³ Il n'appartient à personne vivante d'ordonner autre manière de faire service à Dieu, que celle qu'il a commandée. Nous devons garder ses commandemens, sans tirer ni à la droite, ni à la senestre. Ibid.

⁴ Hors de sens, tremblait, s'agitait, palissoit et rougissoit tour à tour. Enfin tirant son bonnet de sa tête, hors du chaperon, il le jeta à terre, jetant et mettant son pied sur, en s'écriant: 'Je suis esbah comme la terre ne nous chahait.' Ibid.

⁵ L'un en une tour, et l'autre en l'autre. Neuchâtel MS.

⁶ Lors le frère se jeta à genoux disant: Messieurs, je demande merci à Dieu et à vous.....Et aussi, Magister, ce que j'ai prêché contre vous a été par de faux rapports. Ibid.

⁷ Je suis pauvre pécheur comme les autres, ayant ma fiance, non en ma justice, mais à la mort de Jésus. Ibid.

⁸ Puis quand le frère fut parti, depuis ne l'ai vu, et aucun promesses ni sermens ne l'ont pu faire durer. Ibid.

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objects were discussed; the profane government were torn from church-doors; troops of citizens in the town; the drum beat in the streets; the populace against the very where prevailed riot and hence, when Farel ascended the 16th February, for the first short absence, some papist bands and the gate of the church, raised a tumult, uttered savage cries, and the minister to break off in

il of Berne thereupon decreed banishers of the four mandemens ble. Those of Bex declared for Aigle followed their example, decision; and in the mountains the peasants, not daring to mal- excited their wives, who rushed with their flogging-clubs. But it by the parish of the Ormonds and proud at the foot of its realized itself by its resistance. n of Farel's labours, named ably Claude de Gloutinis), when ere one day with great anima- lently interrupted by the ringing whose noise was such that one said all hell was busy pulling act," says another herald of the ues Camralis, who chanced to "it was Satan himself, who, anger into some of his agents, s of the auditors with all this t another time, some zealous ring, according to the language thrown down the altars of Baal, t began to blow with violence alets scattered over the sides of is; the shepherds issued preci- avalanches, and fell upon the ie evangelicals. "Let us only crilegious wretches," cried the adines; "we will hang them,— off their heads,—we will burn ill throw their ashes into the ." Thus were these moun- ted, like the wind that roars in alleys with a fury unknown to ts of the plains.

ulties overwhelmed Farel. His rs were not all of them blame- hristopher Ballista, formerly a is, had written to Zwingle: "I ul, a barbarian," but you will

find me pure as snow, without any guile, of open heart, through whose windows all the world may see."¹ Zwingle sent Ballista to Farel, who was loudly calling for labourers in Christ's vineyard. The fine language of the Parisian at first charmed the multitude; but it was soon found necessary to beware of these priests and monks disgusted with popery. "Brought up in the slothfulness of the cloister, gluttonous and lazy," says Farel, "Ballista could not conform to the abstemiousness and rude labours of the evangelists, and soon began to regret his monk's hood. When he perceived the people beginning to distrust him, he became like a furious monster, vomiting waggon-loads of threats."² Thus ended his labours.

Notwithstanding all these trials, Farel was not discouraged. The greater the difficulties, the more his energy increased. "Let us scatter the seed every where," said he, "and let civilized France, provoked to jealousy by this barbarous nation, embrace piety at last. Let there not be in Christ's body either fingers, or hands, or feet, or eyes, or ears, or arms, existing separately, and working each for itself, but let there be only one heart that nothing can divide. Let not variety in secondary things divide into many separate members that vital principle which is one and simple."³ Alas! the pastures of the Church are trodden under foot, and its waters are troubled! Let us set our minds to concord and peace. When the Lord shall have opened heaven, there will not be so many disputes about bread and water.⁴ A fervent charity is the powerful battering-ram with which we shall beat down those proud walls, those material elements, within which men would confine us."⁵

Thus wrote the most impetuous of the reformers. These words of Farel, preserved for three centuries in the city where he died, disclose to us more clearly the intimate nature of the great Revolution of the sixteenth century, than all the venturesome assertions of its popish interpreters. Christian unity thus from these earliest moments found a zealous apostle. The nineteenth century is called to resume the work which the sixteenth century was unable to accomplish.

¹ Absque ullo furore, uivum, et aperit fenestratique peccatoris. Zw. Epp. II. 205.

² Quam bestus hic venter incanduit: quot minarum plaustra! Solent tales bellum, &c. Neuchâtel MS.

³ Ne in digitos, manus, pedes, oculos, nares, aures, brachia, cor quod unum est disincindatur, et que in rebus est varietas, principium non faciat multiplex. Ibid.

⁴ An allusion to the controversies on anabaptism and the real presence. Non tanta erit super aqua et pane contentio, nec super gramine, solutaque obsidione. Ibid. The sense of these latter words is obscure.

⁵ Charitas fortissimus aries. Farel to Buser, 10th May 1529.

er ejus servos, voluit aures auditorum ejus dere. Neuchâtel MS.

uspenderetur primum, deinde dignus comis obtruncatione, novissime in aquis mer-

is Gallum et barbarum. Zw. Epp. II. 205.

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CHAPTER II.

State-Religion in Berne—Irresolution of Berne—Almanack of Heretics—Evangelical Majority—Haller—Zwingli's Signal—Anabaptists in Berne—Victory of the Gospel—Papist Provocations—The City Companies—Proposed Disputation—Objections of the Forest Cantons—The Church, the Judge of Controversies—Unequal Contest—Zwingli—A Christian Band—The Cordeliers' Church—Opening of the Conference—The sole Head—Unity of Error—A Priest converted at the Altar—St. Vincent's Day—The Butchers—A strange Argument—Papist Bitterness—Necessity of Reform—Zwingli's Sermon—Visit of the King of Kings—Edict of Reform—Was the Reformation Political?

Of all the Swiss cantons, Berne appeared the least disposed to the Reformation. A military state may be zealous for religion, but it will be for an external and a disciplined religion: it requires an ecclesiastical organization that it can see, and touch, and manage at its will. It fears the innovations and the free movements of the Word of God: it loves the form and not the life. Napoleon, by restoring religion in France in the *Concordat*, has given us a memorable example of this truth. Such, also, was the case with Berne. Its government, besides, was absorbed in political interests, and although it had little regard for the pope, it cared still less to see a reformer put himself, as Zwingli did, at the head of public affairs. As for the people, feasting on the "butter of their kine and milk of their sheep, with fat of lambs,"¹ they remained closely shut up within the narrow circle of their material wants. Religious questions were not to the taste either of the rulers or of their fellow-citizens.

The Bernese government, being without experience in religious matters, had proposed to check the movement of the Reform by its edict of 1523. As soon as it discovered its mistake, it moved towards the cantons that adhered to the ancient faith; and while that portion of the people whence the Great Council was recruited, listened to the voice of the reformers, most of the patrician families, who composed the Smaller Council, believing their power, their interests, and their honour menaced, attached themselves to the old order of things. From this opposition of the two councils there arose a general uneasiness, but no violent shocks. Sudden movements, repeated starts, announced from time to time that incongruous matters were fermenting in the nation; it was like an indistinct earthquake, which raises the whole surface without causing any rents: then anon all returns to apparent tranquillity.² Berne, which was always decided in its politics, turned in religious matters at one time to the right, and at another to the left; and declared that it would be neither popish nor reformed. To gain time was, for the new faith, to gain every thing.

What was done to turn aside Berne from the Reformation, was the very cause of precipitating it into the new way. The haugh-

tiness with which the five primitive cantons arrogated the guardianship of their confederates, the secret conferences to which Berne was not even invited, and the threat of addressing the people in a direct manner, deeply offended the Bernese oligarchs. Thomas Murner, a Carmelite of Lucerne, one of those rude men who act upon the populace, but who inspire disgust in elevated minds, made the cup run over. Furious against the Zurich calendar, in which the names of the saints had been purposely omitted, he published in opposition to it the "Almanack of Heretics and Church-robbers," a tract filled with lampoons and invectives, in which the portraits of the reformers and of their adherents, among whom were many of the most considerable men of Berne, were coupled with the most brutal inscriptions.³ Zurich and Berne in conjunction demanded satisfaction, and from this time the union of these two states daily became closer.

This change was soon perceived at Berne. The elections of 1527 placed a considerable number of friends of the Reform in the Great Council; and this body, forthwith resuming its right to nominate the members of the Smaller Council, which had been usurped for twenty years by the Bannerets and the Sixteen, removed from the government the most decided partisans of the Roman hierarchy, and among others Gaspard de Mullinen and Sebastian de Steiu,⁴ and filled the vacancies with members of the evangelical majority. The union of Church and State, which had hitherto checked the progress of the Reform in Switzerland, was now about to accelerate its movements.

The reformer Haller was not alone in Berne. Kolb had quitted the Carthusian monastery at Nuremberg, in which he had been compelled to take refuge, and had appeared before his compatriots, demanding no other stipend than the liberty of preaching Jesus Christ. Already bending under the weight of years, his head crowned with hoary locks, Kolb, young in heart, full of fire, and of indomitable courage, presented boldly before the chiefs of the nation that Gospel which had saved him. Haller, on the contrary, although only thirty-five years old, moved with a measured step, spoke with gravity, and proclaimed the new doctrines with unusual circumspection. The old man had taken the young man's part, and the youth that of the graybeard.

Zwingli, whose eye nothing escaped, saw that a favourable hour for Berne was coming, and immediately gave the signal. "The dove commissioned to examine the state of the waters is returning with an olive-branch into the ark," wrote he to Haller; "come forth now, thou second Noah, and take pos-

¹ Deut. xxxii. 14.

² Hunsdenhagen, *Conflicte der Bernischen Kirche*, p. 19.

³ Quam nodus tertius Murneri Calendarium legimus partim ridendo hominis stultitiam impudentiam. Ep. ad Zwinglium, Febr. 1527, Epp. II. 26.

⁴ Mullinen e Senatoria dignitate protrusus est. Lapidibus quoque. Haller to Zwingli, April 24, 1527.

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the land. Enforce, be earnest, and in the hearts of men the hooks and the Word of God, so that they again be rid of them."¹—"Your ste he to Thomas ab Hofen, "have irth their claws. Please God that : draw them back until they have thing in pieces that opposes Jesus

and his friends were on the point ; to this appeal, when their situa- s complicated. Some anabaptists, l every where the extreme party, : Berne in 1527, led away the n the evangelical preachers "on the presence of idols."² Haller ass conference with them. "To ers is not Christianity exposed," wherever these furies have crept ere has never been any revival in , which the hierarchical or radical not immediately endeavoured to Haller, although alarmed, still his unalterable meekness. "The : are desirous of banishing them," but it is our duty to drive out , and not their persons. Let us other weapons than the sword of " It was not from popery that ers had learnt these principles. A utation took place. Six anabap- ed themselves convinced, and two : sent out of the country.

sive moment was drawing near. eat powers of the age, the Gospel apacy, were stirring with equal e Bernese councils were to speak : saw on the one hand the five antons taking daily a more threat- ude, and announcing that the ould soon reappear in Helvetia, t once more into subjection to l on the other they beheld the y day gaining ground in the con-

Which was destined to prevail and—the lances of Austria or the d? In the uncertainty in which ls were placed, they resolved to the majority. Where could they firm footing, if not there? *Vox Dei*. "No one," said they, "can change of his own private autho- nment of all is necessary."³ ernment of Berne had to decide o mandates, both emanating from y: that of 1523, in favour of the ing of the Gospel, and that of avour "of the sacraments, the mother of God, and the ornaments ches." State messengers set out

and traversed every parish: the people gave their votes against every law contrary to liberty, and the councils, supported by the nation, decreed that "the Word of God should be preached publicly and freely, even if it should be in opposition to the statutes and doctrines of men." Such was the victory of the Gospel and of the people over the oligarchy and the priests.

Contentions immediately arose throughout the canton, and every parish became a battle-field. The peasants began to dispute with the priests and monks, in reliance on the Holy Scriptures. "If the mandate of our lords," said many, accords to our pastors the liberty of preaching, why should it not grant the flock the liberty of acting?"—"Peace, peace!" cried the councils, alarmed at their own boldness. But the flocks resolutely declared that they would send away the mass, and keep their pastors and the Bible.⁴ Upon this the papal partisans grew violent. The banneret Kuttler called the good people of Emmenthal, "heretics, rascals, and wantons;" but the peasants obliged him to make an apology.⁵ The bailiff of Trachselwald was more cunning. Seeing the inhabitants of Ruderswil listening with eagerness to the Word of God, which a pious minister was preaching to them, he came with fifers and trumpeters, and interrupted the sermon, inviting the village girls by words and by lively tunes to quit the church for the dance.

These singular provocations did not check the Reform. Six of the city companies (the shoemakers, weavers, merchants, bakers, stone-masons, and carpenters) abolished in the churches and convents of their district all masses, anniversaries, advowsons, and prebends. Three others (the tanners, smiths, and tailors) prepared to imitate them;⁶ the seven remaining companies were undecided, except the butchers, who were enthusiastic for the pope. Thus the majority of the citizens had embraced the Gospel. Many parishes throughout the canton had done the same; and the avoyer d'Erlach, that great adversary of the Reformation, could no longer keep the torrent within bounds.

Yet the attempt was made: the bailiffs were ordered to note the irregularities and dissolute lives of the monks and nuns; all women of loose morals were even turned out of the cloisters.⁷ But it was not against these abuses alone that the Reformation was levelled; it was against the institutions themselves, and against popery on which they were founded. The people ought therefore to decide.—"The Bernese clergy," said they, "must be convoked, as at Zurich, and let the two doctrines be discussed in a solemn conference. We will proceed afterwards in conformity with the result."

hamos, sic in mortaliū pectora dimitte, ut non possint. *Iv. Epp. II. 10.*
dehorrentur ab auditiōe concionum nostrarū presentiam. *Ibid. 49.*
imus omnes periculum urbis nostræ et totius ubi illis furis irroperavit. *Ibid. 50.*
s, omnia gladio spiritus refellers. *Ibid.*
auctoritate nemo quippiam immutare pra- : to Vadian.

¹ Incolas vallis Emmenthal Sanctorum editores, subversores sacrorum festorum. *Iv. Epp. II. 104.*

² Pastores, heretici, et homines lascivos. *Ibid. 105.*

³ Haller to Zwingle, 6th November 1527. *Epp. II. 225.*

⁴ J. J. Hottinger, *El. Kirchen. VII. 304.*

On the Sunday following the festival of Saint Martin (11th November), the council and citizens unanimously resolved that a public disputation should take place at the beginning of the succeeding year. "The glory of God and his Word," said they, "will at length appear!" Bernese and strangers, priests and laymen, all were invited by letter or by printed notice to come and discuss the controverted points, but by Scripture alone, without the glosses of the ancients, and renouncing all subtleties and abusive language.¹ Who knows, said they, whether all the members of the ancient Swiss confederation may not thus be brought to unity of faith?

Thus, within the walls of Berne, the struggle was about to take place that would decide the fate of Switzerland; for the example of the Bernese must necessarily lead with it a great part of the confederation.

The Five Cantons, alarmed at this intelligence, met at Lucerne, where they were joined by Friburg, Soleure, and Glaris. There was nothing either in the letter or in the spirit of the federal compact to obstruct religious liberty. "Every state," said Zurich, "is free to choose the doctrine that it desires to profess." The Waldstettes,² on the contrary, wished to deprive the cantons of this independence, and to subject them to the federal majority and to the pope. They protested, therefore, in the name of the confederation, against the proposed discussion. "Your ministers," wrote they to Berne, "dazzled and confounded at Baden by the brightness of truth, would desire by this new discussion to hide their shame; but we entreat you to desist from a plan so contrary to our ancient alliances."³ "It is not we who have infringed them," replied Berne; "it is much rather your haughty missive that has destroyed them. We will not abandon the Word of our Lord Jesus Christ." Upon this the Roman Cantons decided on refusing a safe-conduct to those who should proceed to Berne. This was giving token of sinister intentions.

The Bishops of Lausanne, Constance, Basle, and Sion, being invited to the conference under pain of forfeiting all their privileges in the canton of Berne, replied that, since it was to be a disputation according to the Scriptures, they had nothing to do with it. Thus did these priests forget the words of one of the most illustrious Roman doctors of the fifteenth century: "In heavenly things man should be independent of his fellows, and trust in God alone."⁴

The Romanist doctors followed the example of the bishops. Eck, Murner, Cochleus, and many others, said wherever they

went: "We have received the letter of this leper, of this accursed heretic, Zwingli.⁵ They want to take the Bible for their judge; but has the Bible a voice against those who do it violence? We will not go to Berne; we will not crawl into that obscure corner of the world; we will not go and combat in that gloomy cavern, in that school of heretics. Let these villains come out into the open air, and contend with us on level ground, if they have the Bible on their side, as they say." The emperor ordered the discussion to be adjourned; but on the very day of its opening, the council of Berne replied, that as every one was already assembled, delay would be impossible.

Then, in despite of the doctors and bishops, the Helvetic Church assembled to decide upon its doctrines. Had it a right to do so? No;—not if priests and bishops were appointed, as Rome pretends, to form a mystic bond between the Church and our Lord; Yes—if they were established, as the Bible declares, only to satisfy that law of order by virtue of which all society should have a directing power. The opinions of the Swiss reformers in this respect were not doubtful. The grace which creates the minister comes from the Lord, thought they; but the Church examines this grace, acknowledges it, proclaims it by the elders, and in every act in which faith is concerned, it can always appeal from the minister to the Word of God. *Try the spirits—prove all things*, it says to the faithful. The Church is the judge of controversies;⁶ and it is this duty, in which it should never be found wanting, that it was now about to fulfil in the disputation at Berne.

The contest seemed unequal. On one side appeared the Roman hierarchy, a giant which had increased in strength during many centuries; and on the other, there was at first but one weak and timid man, the modest Berthold Haller. "I cannot wield the sword of the Word," said he in alarm to his friends. "If you do not stretch out your hands to me, all is over." He then threw himself trembling at the feet of the Lord, and soon arose enlightened and exclaiming, "Faith in the Saviour gives me courage, and scatters all my fears."⁷

Yet he could not remain alone: all his looks were turned towards Zwingli: "It was I who took the bath at Baden," wrote Oecolampadius to Haller, "and now it is Zwingli who should lead off the bear-dance in Berne."⁸ "We are between the hammer and the anvil," wrote Haller to Zwingli; "we hold the wolf by the ears, and know not how to let him go." The houses of De Watteville, Noll, Tremp, and Berthold are open to

¹ *Sola sacra Scriptura, absque veterum glossarum.* Haller to Zwingli, 10th November 1527. Epp. ii. 113.

² The inhabitants of the primitive democratic cantons, Schwytz, Uri, Unterwald, and Lucerne, to which Zug may be added.

³ John Goch, *Dialogus de quatuor erroribus*, p. 127.

⁴ *Epistolam leprosi, damnati, haereticus Zwinglii esset.* Eck to G. A. Zell, Sw. Epp. ii. 124.

⁵ *Judas controversiarum*—1 John (v. 1) 1 Thess. v. 19.

⁶ *Fides in Dominum me animat, ut nihil timeam.* St. Epp. ii. 122.

⁷ An allusion to the dispute at Baden, a celebrated bathing-place, and to the arms of Berne. Ibid. 123.

⁸ *Lupum auribus teneamus.* Zurich MS.

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then, and command the battle

did not hesitate. He demanded of the Council of Zurich to visit order to show there "that his is full of the fear of God, and not ; mighty to spread concord ritzerland, and not to cause l dissension."¹ At the very ller received news of Zwingle's olampadius wrote to him: "I it be necessary, to sacrifice my s inaugurate the new year by ne another to the glory of Jesus her doctors wrote to the same ese, then," cried Haller with ese are the auxiliaries that the to my infirmity, to aid me in rude battle!"

essary to proceed with circum- : the violence of the oligarchs ive Cantons was well known.² : of Glaris, Schaffhausen, St. nce, Ulm, Lindau, and Augs- led at Zurich, to proceed under ort as Zwingle, Pellican, Collin, Grossman, the commander llinger, and a great number of rgy, selected to accompany the When all this game traverses the id the pensioners, "we will go a- l see if we cannot kill some, or them and put them into a cage." dred chosen men, selected from s of Zurich and from the parishes precincts, donned their breast- ouldered their arquebuses; but in give the journey of these doctors ce of a military expedition, they colours, fife, nor drum; and the the city, a civil officer, rode alone of the company.

ay the 2d of January they set had Zwingle appeared more Glory be to the Lord," said he, e increases every day."³ The 'Roust, the town-clerk of Man- Funck and Jaekli, both masters all four delegated by the council, seback near him. They reached he 4th of January, having had two unimportant alarms.

liers' Church was to serve as the nference. Tillmann, the city ad made arrangements according urnished by Zwingle.⁴ A large d been erected, on which were tables, and around them sat the of the two parties. On the evan- were remarkon, besides Haller, nd Ocolampadius, many distin- a of the Reformed Church, stran-

urbationem nostra alma Helvetia. Zw.

a angulis obtemperant. Ibid. l. 123.

imo gloria, nihil animas in hac pugna. Zw.

urbis architectus locum juxta tuam defor- mab. Ibid. l. 123.

gers to Switzerland, as Bucer, Capito, and Ambrose Blarer. On the side of the Papacy, Dr. Treger of Friburg, who enjoyed a high reputation, appeared to keep up the fire of the combat. As for the rest, whether through fear or contempt, the most famous Roman doctors were absent.

The first act was to publish the regulations of the conference. "No proof shall be proposed that is not drawn from the Holy Scriptures, and no explanation shall be given of those Scriptures that does not come from Scripture itself, explaining obscure texts by such as are clear." After this, one of the secretaries, rising to call over the roll, shouted with a loud voice that re-echoed through the church,—The Bishop of Constance! No one replied. He did the same for the Bishops of Sion, Basle, and Lausanne. Neither of these prelates was present at this meeting, either in person or by deputy. The Word of God being destined to reign alone, the Roman hierarchy did not appear. These two powers cannot walk together. There were present about three hundred and fifty Swiss and German ecclesiastics.

On Tuesday, 7th January 1528, the burgo-master Vadian of St. Gaul, one of the presidents, opened the disputation. After him the aged Kolb stood up and said: "God is at this moment agitating the whole world; let us, therefore, humble ourselves before him;" and he pronounced with fervour a confession of sins.

This being ended, the first thesis was read. It ran thus: "The holy christian Church, of which Christ is the sole head, is born of the Word of God, abideth in it, and listeneth not to the voice of a stranger."

ALEXIS GRAT, a Dominican monk.—"The word *sole* is not in Scripture. Christ has left a vicar here below."

HALLER.—"The vicar that Christ left is the Holy Ghost."

TREGER.—"See then to what a pass things have come these last ten years. This man calls himself a Lutheran, that a Zwinglian; a third, a Carlistadian; a fourth, an Ocolampadist; a fifth, an Anabaptist....."

BUKER.—"Whosoever preaches Jesus as the only Saviour, we recognise as our brother. Neither Luther, nor Zwingle, nor Ocolampadius, desires the faithful to bear his name. Besides, you should not boast so much of a mere external unity. When Antichrist gained the upperhand throughout the world, in the east by Mahomet, in the west by the pope, he was able to keep the people in unity of error. God permits divisions, in order that those who belong to him may learn to look not to men, but to the testimony of the Word, and to the assurance of the Holy Ghost in their hearts. Thus then, dearly beloved brethren, to the Scriptures, the Scriptures!¹ O Church of Berne, hold fast to the

¹ *Dignum fromme Christen! Setz Schrift, setz Schrift! Alets Zw. B. 92.*

teaching of Him who said, *Come unto me, and not, Come unto my vicar!*"

The disputation then turned successively on Tradition, the Merits of Christ, Transubstantiation, the Mass, Prayer to the Saints, Purgatory, Images, Celibacy, and the Disorders of the Clergy. Rome found numerous defenders, and among others, Murer, priest of Rapperswyl, who had said: "If they wish to burn the two ministers of Berne, I will undertake to carry them both to the stake."

On Sunday the 19th of January, the day on which the doctrine of the mass was attacked, Zwingle, desirous of acting on the people also, went into the pulpit, and reciting the Apostles' Creed, made a pause after these words: "He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead." "These three articles," said he, "are in contradiction to the mass." All his hearers redoubled their attention; and a priest, clothed in his sacerdotal vestments, who was preparing to celebrate the holy sacrifice in one of the chapels, stopped in astonishment at Zwingle's words. Erect before the consecrated altar on which lay the chalice and the body of the Saviour, with eyes fixed upon the reformer, whose words electrified the people, a prey to the most violent struggles, and beaten down by the weight of truth, the agitated priest resolved to give up every thing for it. In the presence of the whole assembly, he stripped off his priestly ornaments, and throwing them on the altar, exclaimed: "Unless the mass reposes on a more solid foundation, I can celebrate it no longer!" The noise of this conversion, effected at the very foot of the altar, immediately spread through the city,¹ and it was regarded as an important omen. So long as the mass remains, Rome has gained every thing: as soon as the mass falls, Rome has lost all. The mass is the creative principle of the whole system of Popery.

Three days later, on the 22d January, was the feast of St. Vincent, the patron of the city. The disputation that had been continued during Sunday was suspended on that day. The canons asked the council what they were to do. "Such of you," replied the council, "as receive the doctrine of the masses ought not to say mass; the others may perform divine worship as usual."² Every preparation was accordingly made for the solemnity. On St. Vincent's eve the bells from every steeple announced the

festival to the inhabitants of Berne the morrow the sacristans lit up the incense filled the temple, but no one. No priests to say mass, no faithful. Already there was a vast chasm in the sanctuary, a deep silence, as on the day of battle, where none but the dead.

In the evening it was the custom for canons to chant vespers with grace. The organist was at his post, but he also appeared. The poor man alone, beholding with sorrow the fastidious worship by which he gained his livelihood, gave utterance to his grief by a mourning-hymn instead of the *Magnificat*: "Oh, wretched Jews hast thou done, that thou hast thus our Lord?" After this sad fare rose and went out. Almost immediately after, some men, excited by the passion of the moment, fell upon his beloved accomplice in their eyes of so many centuries, and violently broke it. No more mass, no more organ, no more anthems! A new Supper and no more shall succeed the rites of popery.

On the next day there was still silence. Suddenly, however, a band with loud voices and hasty steps went out. It was the Butchers' Company that moment so fatal to Rome, desired to enter it. They advanced, carrying small and green branches, for the decoration of their chapel. In the midst of the foreign priest, behind whom walked a crowd of scholars. The priest officiated; the voices of the scholars supplied the place of the mute organ, and the butchers were proud of their victory.

The discussion was drawing to a close. The combatants had dealt vigorously. Burgauer, pastor of St. Gall, had been the real presence in the host; but on the 19th January he declared himself of the reasonings of Zwingle, Eccelesius and Bucer; and Matthias, minister of St. Gall, had done the same.

A conference in Latin afterwards took place between Farel and a Parisian. The latter advanced a strange argument: "Christians," said he, "are enjoined to fight the devil;³ for it is said, *Submit to adversity* (Matt. v. 39); now, our adversary is the devil. How much more, then, we submit to the Church!" Loud laughter greeted this remarkable syllogism. A discussion with the anabaptists terminated the conference.

The two councils decreed that the mass should be abolished, and that every one who refused to remove from the churches the organs should be placed there.

Immediately twenty-five altars and a number of images were destroyed. The cathedrals, yet without disaster, or the

¹ Das lachet manlich und ward durch die ganzen Stadt kundt. Bullinger, l. 436. In this and other quotations, we preserve the orthography of the times.

² Bullinger says, on the contrary, that the council positively forbade the mass. But Bullinger, who is a very animated writer, is not always exact in diplomatic matters. The council would not have come to such a resolution before the close of the discussion. Other contemporary historians and official documents leave no room for doubt on this point. Stettler, in his Chronicle, pars. ii. 6, ad annum 1528, details these proceedings as in the text.

³ You remember the text: Submit to the Lord.

and the children began to sing in the streets as Luther informs us):¹

By the Word at length we're saved
From a God in a mortar image.

The hearts of the adherents of the Papacy were filled with bitterness as they heard the objects of their adoration fall one after another. "Should any man," said John Chneider, "take away the altar of the butchers' Company, I will take away his life." Peter Thorman compared the cathedral stripped of its ornaments to a stable. "When the good folks of the Oberland come to market," added he, "they will be happy to put up their cattle in it." And John Zehender, member of the Great Council, to show the little value he set on such a place of worship, entered it riding on an ass, insulting and cursing the Reform. A Bernese, who chanced to be there, having said to him, "It is by God's will that these images have been pulled down."—"Say rather by the devil's," replied Zehender; "when have you ever been with God so as to learn his will?" He was fined twenty livres, and expelled from the council.² "What times! what manners!" exclaimed many Romanists; "what culpable neglect! How easy would it have been to prevent so great a misfortune! Oh! if our bishops had only been willing to occupy themselves more with learning, and a little less with their mistresses!"³

This Reform was necessary. When Christianity in the fourth century had seen the favour of princes succeed to persecution, a crowd of heathens rushing into the church had brought with them the images, pomps, statues, and demigods of paganism, and a likeness of the mysteries of Greece and Asia, and above all of Egypt, had banished the Word of Jesus Christ from the christian satories. This Word returning in the sixteenth century, a purification must necessarily take place; but it could not be done without grievous rents.

The departure of the strangers was drawing near. On the 28th of January, the day after that on which the images and altars had been thrown down, while their piled fragments still encumbered here and there the porches and aisles of the cathedral, Zwingle crossed these eloquent ruins, and soon more ascended the pulpit in the midst of an immense crowd. In great emotion, recting his eyes by turns on these fragments and on the people, he said: "Victory is declared for the truth, but perseverance alone can complete the triumph. Christ perished even until death. *Ferendo vincitur.* Cornelius Scipio, after the disaster Cannes, having learnt that the generals

surviving the slaughter meditated quitting Italy, entered the senate-house, although not yet of senatorial age, and drawing his sword, constrained the affrighted chiefs to swear that they would not abandon Rome. Citizens of Berne, to you I address the same demand: do not abandon Jesus Christ."

We may easily imagine the effect produced on the people by such words, pronounced with Zwingle's energetic eloquence.

Then, turning towards the fragments that lay near him: "Behold," said he, "behold these idols! Behold them conquered, mute, and shattered before us! These corpses must be dragged to the shambles, and the gold you have spent upon such foolish images must henceforward be devoted to comforting in their misery the living images of God. Feeble souls, ye shed tears over these sad idols; do ye not see that they break, do ye not hear that they crack like any other wood, or like any other stone? Look! here is one deprived of its head..... (Zwingle pointed to the image, and all the people fixed their eyes upon it); here is another maimed of its arms.¹ If this ill usage had done any harm to the saints that are in heaven, and if they had the power ascribed to them, would you have been able, I pray, to cut off their arms and their heads?"

"Now, then," said the powerful orator in conclusion, "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage (Gal. v. 1). Fear not! That God who has enlightened you, will enlighten your confederates also, and Switzerland, regenerated by the Holy Ghost, shall flourish in righteousness and peace."

The words of Zwingle were not lost. The mercy of God called forth that of man. Some persons condemned to die for sedition were pardoned, and all the exiles were recalled. "Should we not have done so," said the council, "had a great prince visited us? Shall we not much more do so, now that the King of kings and the Redeemer of our souls has made his entry among us, bearing an everlasting amnesty?"²

The Romish cantons, exasperated at the result of the discussion, sought to harass the return of the doctors. On arriving before Bremgarten, they found the gates closed. The bailiff Schutz, who had accompanied them with two hundred men-at-arms, placed two halberdiers before Zwingle's horse, two behind him, and one on each side; then putting himself at the reformer's left hand, while the burgomaster Roust stationed himself on the right, he ordered the escort to proceed, lance in rest.³ The avoyers of the town, being intimidated, came to a parley; the

Portrait in plate contains: on one a Deo picto liberatus.

¹ See, in the History of Berne, by Teller, iii. 287.

² On the occasion of the execution of the prisoners of the battle of Marston, 1213. Letter of J. de Marston, printed below.

¹ He ist ein, dem ist's houg ab, dem andern ein arm.

² See, Op. ii. 322.

³ Da der König aller Könige....Hallen, by Kirchhofer, p. 429.

⁴ Mit iron Byssonen für den hauffen. Bull. Chr. i. 400.

gates were opened; the escort traversed Bremgarten amidst an immense crowd, and on the 1st of February reached Zurich without accident, which Zwingle re-entered, says Luther, like a conqueror.¹

The Roman-catholic party did not dissemble the check they had received. "Our cause is falling," said the friends of Rome.² "Oh! that we had had men skilled in the Bible! The impetuosity of Zwingle supported our adversaries; his ardour was never relaxed. That brute has more knowledge than was imagined.³ Alas! alas! the greater party has vanquished the better."⁴

The Council of Berne, desirous of separating from the pope, relied upon the people. On the 30th of January, messengers going from house to house convoked the citizens; and on the 2d of February, the burghesses and inhabitants, masters and servants, uniting in the cathedral, and forming but one family, with hands upraised to heaven, swore to defend the two councils in all they should undertake for the good of the State or of the Church.

On the 7th of February 1528, the council published a general edict of Reform, and "threw for ever from the necks of the Bernese the yoke of the four bishops, who," said they, "know well how to shear their sheep, but not how to feed them."⁵

At the same time the reformed doctrines were spreading among the people. In every quarter might be heard earnest and keen dialogues, written in rhyme by Manuel, in which the mass, pale and expiring, and stretched on her deathbed, was loudly calling for all her physicians, and finding their advice useless, at length dictating with a broken voice her last will and testament, which the people received with loud bursts of laughter.

The Reformation generally, and that of Berne in particular, has been reproached as being brought about by political motives. But, on the contrary, Berne, which of all the Helvetic states was the greatest favourite of the court of Rome—which had in its canton neither bishop to dismiss nor powerful clergy to humiliate—Berne, whose most influential families, the Weingartens, Manuels, Mays, were reluctant to sacrifice the pay and the service of the foreigner, and all whose traditions were conservative, ought to have opposed the movement. The Word of God was the power that overcame this political tendency.⁶

At Berne, as elsewhere, it was neither a learned, nor a democratic, nor a sectarian spirit that gave birth to the Reformation. Undoubtedly the men of letters, the liberals,

the sectarian enthusiasts, rushed in the great struggle of the sixteenth century the duration of the Reform would have been long had it received its life from the primitive strength of Christian living after ages of long and complete tradition, was the creative principle of formation; and it was ere long asserting distinctly from the false allies presented themselves, rejecting all proud learning by elevating the study classics, checking all demagogic and upholding the principles of true liberty repudiating the enthusiastic sects by crating the rights of the Word and christian people.

But while we maintain that the Reformation was at Berne, as elsewhere, christian work, we are far from saying it was not useful to the canton in any sense. All the European states that embraced the Reformation have benefited, while those which have come have been lowered.

CHAPTER III.

The Reform accepted by the People—Falk, Pi. Charity—First Evangelical Communion—Revolution to the Diet—Cavern, and Head of Basins—Storm from the Mountains—Revolutions—Bern—Unterwalden crosses the Rhine—Bern—Victory—Political Advantages.

It now became a question of progress throughout all the cantons the Reform published in the city. On the 17th Feb the council invited the rural parish assembly on the following Sunday to and deliberate upon a communication whole Church, according to the usage of Christendom, was about to for itself on its dearest interests.

The assemblies were crowded; all traditions and ages were present. Beside hoary and the trembling head of the man might be seen the sparkling eye youthful herdsman. The messengers council first read the edict of the Reform. They next proclaimed that those who accepted it should remain, and that those who rejected it should withdraw.

Almost all the assembled parishes remained in their places. An immensity of the people chose the Bible. In few parishes this decision was accompanied with energetic demonstrations. At Zofingen, Brugg, Aarau, and Basle images were burnt. "At Stauffberg," said, "idols were seen carrying into throwing one another into the flames. The images and the mass had dis-

¹ Zwingle triumphant et imperator gloriosus. L. Epp. III. 230.

² *Revert res nostras.* Letter of the priest J. de Muller, an opponent of the Reformation. Eschaf, I. 374.

³ *Pector tamen hoc bellum est quam putabam.* Ibid.

⁴ *Videtur pars major meliorum.* Ibid.

⁵ Bull. Chron. I. 484.

⁶ *Handeshagen, Conflicte der Bernischen Kirche*, p. 23.

¹ *Da tragt ein Götze den andern in das feur Chron. II. 1.* A man whose business it was to take, and who had been nicknamed *Götzenhauer* (idol-breaker), had made himself very distinguished as who carried the images to the fire. Such was the popular legend, and it is the key to many of

this vast canton. "A great cry read far and wide," writes Bullinger.¹ In ay Rome had fallen throughout the y, without treachery, violence, or ion, by the strength of truth alone. In places, however, in the Hasli, at Frut- tersen, and Grindewald, the malcon- were heard to say: "If they abolish ass, they should also abolish tithes." oman form of worship was preserved Upper Simmenthal, a proof that there o compulsion on the part of the state.

wishes of the canton being thus mani- Berne completed the Reformation. cesses in gambling, drinking, and g, and all unbecoming dress, were for- by proclamation. The houses of ill- were destroyed, and their wretched tants expelled from the city.² A con- was appointed to watch over the morals.

in days after the edict, the poor were ed into the Dominican cloister, and a later the convent of the Island was ed into an hospital; the princely mon- of Königsfeld was also devoted to the useful purpose. Charity followed every in the steps of faith. "We will show," he council, "that we do not use the ty of the convents to our own advan- " and they kept their word. The poor clothed with the priests' garments; the is decorated with the ornaments of the u. So strict were they in these distri- , that the state was forced to borrow to pay the annuities of the monks and and for eight days there was not a in the public treasury.³ Thus it was he State, as it has been continually ed, grew rich with the spoils of the h! At the same time they invited Zurich the ministers Hofmeister, Me- r, and Rhellican, to spread throughout nton the knowledge of the classics and Holy Scriptures.

Earlier the Lord's Supper was celebrated first time according to the evangelical

The two councils and all the people, ew exceptions, partook of it. Strangers struck with the solemnity of this first union. The citizens of Berne and wives, dressed in decent garments, recalled the ancient Swiss simplicity, ched Christ's table with gravity and r;⁴ the heads of the state showed the oly devotion as the people, and piously ed the bread from the hands of Ber- Haller. Each one felt that the Lord mong them; and hence Hofmeister, ed at this solemn service, exclaimed: can the adversaries of the Word re-

fuse to embrace the truth at last, seeing that God himself renders it so striking a testi- mony!"¹

Yet every thing was not changed. The friends of the Gospel witnessed with pain the sons of the chief families of the republic parading the streets in costly garments, inhabiting sumptuous houses in the city, dwelling in magnificent mansions in the country, — true seigniorial abodes, — following the chase with hound and horn, sitting down to luxurious banquets, conversing in licentious language, or talking with enthusiasm of foreign wars and of the French party. "Ah!" said the pious people, "could we but see old Switzerland revive with its ancient virtues!"

There was soon a powerful reaction. The annual renewal of the magistracy being about to take place, the councillor Butschelbach, a violent adversary of the Gospel, was ejected for adultery; four other senators and twenty members of the Great Council were also replaced by friends of the Reformation and of public morality. Emboldened by this victory, the evangelical Bernese proposed in the diet that every Swiss should renounce foreign service. At these words the warriors of Lucerne started under their weighty armour, and replied with a haughty smile: "When you have returned to the ancient faith we will listen to your homilies." All the members of the Government, assembled at Berne in sovereign council, resolved to set the example, and solemnly abjured the pay of foreign princes. Thus the Reformation showed its faith by its works.

Another struggle took place. Above the lake of Thun rises a chain of steep rocks, in the midst of which is situated a deep cavern, where, if we may believe tradition, the pious Breton, Beatus, came in ancient times to devote himself to all the austerities of an ascetic life; but especially to the conversion of the surrounding district that was still heathen. It was affirmed that the head of this saint, who had died in Gaul, was preserved in this cavern; and hence pilgrims resorted thither from every quarter. The pious citizens of Zug, Schwytz, Uri, and Argovia, groaned, as they thought that the holy head of the apostle of Switzerland would hereafter remain in a land of heretics. The abbot of the celebrated convent of Muri in Argovia and some of his friends set out, as in ancient times the Argonauts went in quest of the golden fleece. They arrived in the humble guise of poor pilgrims, and entered the cavern; one skillfully took away the head, another placed it mysteriously in his hood, and they disappeared. The head of a dead man! — and this was all that Rome saved from the shipwreck. But even this conquest was more than doubtful. The Bernese, who had gained information of the procession, sent three deputies on

ryt und breitt ein gross geschrey und wunder gepar.
ron. ii. l.
Hettinger, III. 414.
unum tibi dico secretissime. Haller to Zwingli,
May 1530.
cet enim in florum vestitu et habitu nescio quid
illius Helvetie simplicitatis. Hofmeister to Zwingli.
II. 167.

¹ Et res magnam spem mihi iniecit de illis turantibus quibac-
tibus fuerunt male morigeri verbo. Zw. Ep. II. 167.

the 18th of May, who, according to their report, found this famous head, and caused it to be decently interred before their eyes in the cemetery belonging to the convent of Interlaken. This contest about a skull characterizes the Church that had just given way in Berne before the vivifying breath of the Gospel. *Let the dead bury their dead.*

The Reformation had triumphed in Berne; but a storm was gathering unperceived in the mountains, which threatened to overthrow it. The State in union with the Church recalled its ancient renown. Seeing itself attacked by arms, it took up arms in its turn, and acted with that decision which had formerly saved Rome in similar dangers.

A secret discontent was fermenting among the people of the valleys and mountains. Some were still attached to the ancient faith; others had only quitted the mass because they thought they would be exempted from tithes. Ancient ties of neighbourhood, a common origin, and similarity of manners, had united the inhabitants of the Obwald (Unterwalden) to those of the Hasli and of the Bernese Oberland, which were separated only by Mount Brunnig and the high pass of the Yoke. A rumour had been set afloat that the government of Berne had profaned the spot where the precious remains of Beatus, the apostle of these mountains, were preserved, and indignation immediately filled these pastoral people, who adhere firmer than others to the customs and superstitions of their forefathers.

But while some were excited by attachment to Rome, others were aroused by a desire for liberty. The subjects of the monastery of Interlaken, oppressed by the monkish rule, began to cry out, "We desire to become our own masters, and no longer pay rent or tithes." The provost of the convent in affright ceded all his rights to Berne for the sum of one hundred thousand florins;¹ and a bailiff accompanied by several councillors, went and took possession of the monastery. A report was soon spread that they were about to transfer all the property of the convent to Berne; and on the 21st April bands of men from Grindelwald, Lauterbrunnen, Ringelberg, Brienz, and other places, crossed the lake, or issued from their lofty valleys, and taking forcible possession of the cloister, swore they would go even to Berne in quest of the goods which the citizens had dared take from them.

They were quieted for a time; but in the beginning of June, the people, at the instigation of Unterwalden, again arose in all the Haelt. The *Landsgemeinde*,² having been convoked, decided by a majority of forty voices for the re-establishment of the mass. The few men crossed the Brunnig, and brought

back some priests from Unterwalden, with sound of fifes and trumpets. They went on from afar descending the mountain, all shouts, both loud and long, replied to them from the bottom of the valley. At last they arrived—all embraced one another, and the people celebrated the mass anew with great demonstrations of joy. At the same time, the people of Frutigen and of the fertile valley of Adelboden assailed the castellan Koller, carried off his flocks, and established a Roman-catholic priest in the place of their pastor. At Aeschi even the women took up arms, drove out the pastor from the church, and brought back the images in triumph. The revolt spread from hamlet to hamlet and from valley to valley, and again took possession of Interlaken. All the malecatholics assembled there on the 22d October, and swore, with hands upraised to heaven, boldly to defend their rights and liberty.

The republic was in great danger. All the kings of Europe, and almost all the cantons of Switzerland, were opposed to the Gospel. The report of an army from Austria, destined to interpose in favour of the pope, spread through the reformed cantons.³ Seditious meetings took place every day,⁴ and the people refused to pay their magistrature either quit-rent, service, tithes, or even obedience, unless they shut their eyes to the designs of the Roman-catholics. The council became confused. Amazed and confounded, exposed to the mistrust of some and to the insults of others, they had the cowardice to separate under the pretext of gathering the vintage, and folding their arms, in the presence of this great danger, they waited until a Messiah should descend from heaven save a reformer to save the republic.⁵ The ministers pointed out the danger, forewarned and conjured them; but they all turned a deaf ear. "Christ languishes in Berne," said Haller, "and appears nigh perishing."⁶ The people were in commotion: they assembled, made speeches, murmured, and shed tears. Every where—in all their tumultuous meetings—might be heard this complaint of Manuel on Papists and the Papacy:⁷

With rage our foes their hateful threats denounce.
Because O Lord, we love Thee best of all;
Because at sight of Thee the idols fall;
And war and bloodshed, shuddering, we renounce.

Berne was like a troubled sea, and Haller, who listened to the roaring of the waves, wrote in the deepest anguish: "Wisdom has forsaken the wise, counsel has departed from the councillors, and energy from the chief and from the people. The number of the seditious augments every day. Alas! what

¹ Audisti nimirum quam se apparent Austriaci ad bellum adversus quos ignoratur. Suspiciantur quidam in Helvetia. Excol. to Zw. Rpp. II. 161.

² Seditiosorum concursus sunt quotidiani. Zw. Rpp. II. 227.

³ Nunc, nunc aium Mesiam adventisse sperantes. Zw.

⁴ Ita languet Christus apud nos. Ibid.

⁵ Deus viri hand d' Golzen geworren bin. Hymn auf Prayst.

¹ Totum regnum aium
petri. Haller to Ervinge, addiderunt in manus magistratus
² The assembly of all the *Landsgemeinde*.
vige.

ar, oppressed with sleep, oppose
and to such sturdy hunters?¹
withdraw himself, we shall all

ars were on the point of being
The smaller cantons claimed to
wer of interfering in matters of
t infringing the federal compact.
hundred men of Uri kept them-
y to depart, eight hundred men
lden, bearing pine-branches in
symbols of the old faith, with
sads, and gloomy, threatening
ad the Brunig under the ancient
e country, which was carried by
Fluc, a very unworthy grandson
t Nicholas.² This was the first
the national peace for many a
iting at Brienz with the men
his little army crossed the lake
r the cascades of Giesbach, and
nterseen, thirteen hundred strong,
o march on Berne to re-establish
e idols, and the mass in that re-
y. In Switzerland, as in Ger-
Reformation at its outset met
sant war. At the first success,
tants would arrive and pour
e passes of the Brunig upon the
public. The army was only six
r Berne, and already the sons of
r were proudly brandishing their
e banks of the lake of Thun.

e federal alliances trodden under
se very persons who aspired to
conservatives. Berne had the
al this criminal attack by force.
lling to mind her ancient virtues,
sed herself, and vowed to perish
tolerate the intervention of Un-
he restoration of the mass, and
plence of the peasants.³ There
t moment in the hearts of the
of those inspirations that come
and which save nations as well
als. "Let the strength of the
," exclaimed the avoyer d'Erlach,
alone, and in the loyalty of its
ll the council and the whole body
as replied by noisy acclamations.
anner was hastily brought forth,
ople ran to arms, the companies
and the troops of the republic
with the valiant avoyer at their

ad the Bernese government acted
tically, before it saw the confi-
friends increase, and the courage
rsaries diminish. God never
people who are true to themselves.
Oberlanders became intimidated,
l the ranks of the revolt. At the

same time deputies from Basle and Lucerne
represented to Unterwalden that it was
trampling the ancient alliances under foot.
The rebels, disheartened by the firmness of
the republic, abandoned Unterseen, and re-
tired to the convent of Interlaken. And
soon after, when they beheld the decision of
their adversaries, distressed besides by the
cold rains that fell incessantly, and fearing
that the snow, by covering the mountains,
would prevent their return to their homes,
the men of Unterwalden evacuated Inter-
laken during the night. The Bernese, to
the number of five thousand men, entered it
immediately, and summoned the inhabitants
of the Hasli and of the bailiwick of Inter-
laken to assemble on the 4th November in
the plain that surrounds the convent.¹ The
day being arrived, the Bernese army drew
up in order of battle, and then formed a circle
within which D'Erlach ordered the peasants
to enter. Hardly had he placed the rebels
on the left, and the loyal citizens on the
right, before the muskets and artillery fired
a general discharge, whose report re-echoing
among the mountains filled the insurgents
with terror. They thought it the signal of
their death. But the avoyer only intended
to show that they were in the power of the
republic. D'Erlach, who addressed them im-
mediately after this strange exordium, had
not finished his speech, before they all fell
on their knees, and, confessing their crime,
begged for pardon. The republic was satis-
fied: the rebellion was over. The banners
of the district were carried to Berne, and the
Eagle of Interlaken, in union with the Wild-
goat of Hasli, hung for a time beneath the
Bear, as a trophy of this victory. Four of
the chiefs were put to death, and an amnesty
was granted to the remainder of the rebels.
"The Bernese," said Zwingle, "as Alexander
of Macedon in times of old, have cut the Gor-
dian knot with courage and with glory."²
Thus thought the reformer of Zurich; but
experience was one day to teach him, that
to cut such knots requires a different sword
from that of Alexander and of D'Erlach.
However that may be, peace was restored,
and in the valleys of the Hasli no other noise
was heard than the sublime tumult borne
afar by the Reichenbach and the surrounding
torrents, as they pour from the mountain-
tops their multitudinous and foaming waters.

While we repudiate on behalf of the Church
the swords of the Helvetic bands, it would
be unwise not to acknowledge the political
advantages of this victory. The nobles had
imagined that the Reformation of the Church
would endanger the very existence of the
State. They now had a proof to the con-
trary: they saw that when a nation receives
the Gospel, its strength is doubled. The

ter lot et tantos venatores robustos. Sw.
a hermit who prevented a civil war in Swit-
um reducere aut violentiam villanorum peti-
re, 26th October.

¹ Tradition says that it was on the spot where the hotel
of Interlaken now stands.

² Bernenses pro sua dignitate solum hunc, quoniam
dum Alexander Macedo, Gordium dissectari. Sw. App. II.
263.

generous confidence with which, in the hour of danger, they had placed some of the adversaries of the Reformation, at the head of affairs and of the army, produced the happiest results. All were now convinced that the Reformation would not trample old recollections under foot: prejudices were removed, hatred was appeased, the Gospel gradually rallied all hearts around it, and then was verified the ancient and remarkable saying, so often repeated by the friends and enemies of that powerful republic—"God is become a citizen of Berne."

CHAPTER IV.

Reformation of St. Gall—Nuns of St. Catherine—Reformation of Glaris, Berne, Appenzell, the Grisons, Schaffhausen, and the Rhine District—A Popish Miracle—Obstacles in Basle—Seal of the Citizens—Coolampanius married—Withiam of Erasmus—First Action—Half Measures—Petition of the Reformed.

THE reformation of Berne was decisive for several cantons. The same wind that had blown from on high with so much power on the country of De Watteville and Haller, throw down "the idols" in a great part of Switzerland. In many places the people were indignant at seeing the Reformation checked by the timid prudence of diplomatists; but when diplomacy was put to flight at Berne, the torrent so long restrained poured violently onwards.

Vadian, burgomaster of St. Gall, who presided at the Bernese disputation, had scarcely returned home, when the citizens, with the authority of the magistrates, removed the images from the church of St. Magnus, carried to the mint a hand of the patron saint in silver, with other articles of plate, and distributed among the poor the money they received in exchange; thus, like Mary, pouring their precious ointment on the head of Christ.¹ The people of St. Gall, being curious to unveil the ancient mysteries, laid their hands on the abbey itself, on the shrines and crosses which had so long been presented to their adoration; but instead of saintly relics, they found, to their great surprise, nothing but some resin, a few pieces of money, several paltry wooden images, some old rags, a skull, a large tooth, and a snail's shell! Rome, instead of that noble fall which marks the ends of great characters, sunk in the midst of stupid superstitions, shameful frauds, and the ironical laughter of a whole nation.

Such discoveries unfortunately excited the passions of the multitude. One evening some evil-disposed persons, wishing to alarm the poor nuns of St. Catherine, who had obstinately resisted the Reform, surrounded the convent with loud cries. In vain did the nuns barricade the doors: the walls were soon scaled, and the good wine, meat, con-

fectionaries, and all the delicacies of the cloister became these rude jesters. Another awaited them. Doctor Schaj been appointed their catechist, commended to lay aside their n and to attend his heretical sermon like all the world," said the n. Some of them embraced the thirty others preferred exile.¹ February of 1528, a numerous the constitution of the church.

The struggle was more violent. The seeds of the Gospel truth, v had scattered there, prospered. The men in power anxiously innovation, and the people leaped and danced, and work mirrored," as an old chronicle says, busy themselves about the Landsgemeinde having pronounced 15th May of 1528, in favour of a majority of thirty-three votes parties were marked out with distinctness: the images were broken by Elm, and Betschwanden, and remained aloof in his own house: there was no longer in the council of state or tribunal of Schwanden, the minister Pe having invited the Roman-catholic putation with him in the church instead of discussing, marched to the sound of drums round worship in which the Reformation bled, and then rushing into house, which was situated in the city, destroyed the stoves dows: the irritated Reformed vengeance and broke the images.

of April 1529, an agreement was by virtue of which every man choose between the mass and t

At Wesen, where Schwytz reigns conjointly with Glaris of the former canton threatened. Upon this the young men to out of the churches, carried the place near the banks of the pie of Wallenstadt, above which stains of the Ammon and of the tors, and cried: "Look! this the lake) leads to Coire and to (to the south) to Glaris; this west) to Schwytz; and the f Ammon) to St. Gall. Take please! But if you do not, I shall be burnt!" After waitments, these young people flung less images into the fire, and deputies, eye-witnesses of the withdrew in consternation, the whole canton with projects that were but too soon realized.

In the canton of Appenzell,

¹ Was gemeldet und den Armen ausgetheilt. J. J. Hottinger, II. 414. St. Matthew xxi. 7.

¹ Ark. Gesch. St. Gall, II. 229. J. J. Hottinger, II. 91.

ad been opened, there suddenly appeared a band of Roman-catholics, armed with clubs, and crying out: "are these preachers? we are ready to put them out of the village." The angry doctors wounded the ministers, and the assembly with their whips. The eight parishes of the canton, six of the Reform, and Apenzell became divided into two little sections, the Zwinglian and the other Reformed. The Grisons religious liberty was protected, the parishes had the election of pastors, several castles were raised to render all return to arbitrary government impossible, and the affrighted peasant hid in the Tyrol his anger and desire for vengeance. "The Grisons," wrote Zwingli, "advance daily. It is a nation by its courage reminds us of the Fuscians, and by its candour of the Swiss."¹

Basle, after having long "halted between two opinions," at the summons of the council of Basle removed the images from the churches without tumult or disturbance at the same time the Reformation in Thurgovia, the valley of the Rhine, and the bailiwicks subordinate to these

In vain did the Roman-catholic church that were in the majority, protest. "When temporal affairs are concerned," replied Zurich and Basle, "we will not have a plurality of votes; but the God cannot be subjected to the suffrages of men." All the districts that lie on the banks of the Thur, of the Lake of Geneva, and of the Upper Rhine, embraced the Reformation. The inhabitants of Mammern, a place where the Rhine issues from a gulf, flung their images into the water. The statue of St. Blaise, after remaining long upright, and contemplating the spot whence it was banished, crossed the lake to Cathorn, situated on the opposite shore, if we may believe the story of a monk named Lang.² Even in the declining away, Popery worked its

were the popular superstitions overthrown in Switzerland, and sometimes not without violence. Every great development in affairs brings with it an energetic reaction to that which has existed. It is only by containing an aggressive element, and by fighting to act freely, and by that means to find a new path. In the times of the Reformation the doctors attacked the pope, and the images. The movement always exceeded a just moderation. That human nature may make one advance, its pioneers must take Every superfluous step should be avoided, and yet we must acknowledge

their necessity. Let us not forget this in the history of the Reformation, and especially in that of Switzerland.

Zurich was reformed; Basle had just become so; Basle still remained, before the great cities of the Confederation were gained over to the evangelical faith. The reformation of this learned city was the most important consequence resulting from that of the warlike Basle.

For six years the Gospel had been preached in Basle. The meek and pious Ecclampadius was always waiting for happier times. "The darkness," said he, "is about to retire before the rays of truth."¹ But his expectation was vain. A triple aristocracy—the superior clergy, the nobles, and the university—checked the free expansion of christian convictions. It was the middle classes who were destined to effect the triumph of the Reformation in Basle.² Unhappily the popular wave invades nothing without tossing up some foul scum.

It is true that the Gospel had many friends in the councils: but being men of a middle party, they tacked backwards and forwards like Erasmus, instead of sailing straight to the port. They ordered "the pure preaching of the Word of God;" but stipulated at the same time that it should be "without Lutheranism." The aged and pious Bishop Utenheim, who was living in retirement at Bruntrut, tottered daily into the church, supported by two domestics, to celebrate mass with a broken voice. Gundelsheim, an enemy of the Reformation, succeeded him ere long; and on the 23d September, followed by many exiles and with a train of forty horses, he made his triumphal entry into Basle, proposing to restore every thing to its ancient footing. This made Ecclampadius write in alarm to Zwingli: "Our cause hangs upon a thread."

But in the citizens the Reform found a compensation for the disdain of the great, and for the terrors inspired by the new bishop. They organized repasts for fifty and a hundred guests each; Ecclampadius and his colleagues took their seats at these tables with the people, where energetic acclamations and reiterated cheers greeted the work of the Reformation. In a short time even the council appeared to incline to the side of the Gospel. Twenty feast-days were retrenched, and the priests were permitted to refuse celebrating the mass. "It is all over with Rome," was now the cry. But Ecclampadius, shaking his head, replied: "I am afraid that, by wishing to sit on two stools, Basle will at last fall to the ground."³

This was at the period of his return from the discussion at Basle. He arrived in time

¹ Sperabam enim tenebras veritatis radio consurus tandem. Zw. Epp. ii. 136.

² Major pars civitatis quam toto corde dolet tantis nos diebus laborare. Ibid. 34.

³ Verorūque ne dum semper utraque sella sedere velit, utraque extirpatur aliquando. Ibid. 127.

time veteres Tuscos referens, candore veteres Zw. Epp. ii. 126.

to close the eyes of his pious mother; and then the reformer found himself alone, succumbing under the weight of public and domestic cares; for his house was like an inn for all fugitive Christians. "I shall marry a Monica,"¹ he had often said, "or else I shall remain a bachelor." He thought he had now discovered the "christian sister" of whom he was in search. This was Willibrandis, daughter of one of the Emperor Maximilian's knights, and widow of a master of arts named Keller,—a woman already proved by many trials. He married her, saying: "I look to the ordinances of God, and not to the scowling faces of men." This did not prevent the sly Erasmus from exclaiming: "Luther's affair is called a tragedy, but I maintain it is a comedy, for each act of the drama ends in a wedding." This witticism has been often repeated. For a long time it was the fashion to account for the Reformation by the desire of the princes for the church-property, and of the priests for marriage. This vulgar method is now stigmatized by the best Roman controversialists as "a proof of a singularly narrow mind.—The Reformation originated," add they, "in a true and christian, although unenlightened zeal."²

The return of Ecolampadius had still more important consequences for Basle than it had for himself. The discussion at Berne caused a great sensation there. "Berne, the powerful Berne, is reforming!" was passed from mouth to mouth. "How, then!" said the people one to another, "the fierce Bear has come out of his den.....he is groping about for the rays of the sun.....and Basle, the city of learning—Basle, the adopted city of Erasmus and of Ecolampadius, remains in darkness!"

On Good Friday (10th April 1528), without the knowledge of the council and Ecolampadius, five workmen of the Spinners' Company entered the church of St. Martin, which was that of the reformer, and where the mass was already abolished, and carried away all the "idols." On Easter Monday, after the evening sermon, thirty-four citizens removed all the images from the church of the Augustines.

This was going too far. Were they desirous, then, of drawing Basle and its councils from that just medium in which they had till this moment so wisely halted? The council met hastily on Tuesday morning, and sent the five men to prison; but, on the intercession of the burghers, they were released, and the images suppressed in five other churches. These half-measures sufficed for a time.

On a sudden the flame burst out anew with greater violence. Sermons were preached

at St. Martin's and St. Leonard's against the abominations of the cathedral; and at the cathedral the reformers were called "heretics, knaves, and profligates."³ The peasants celebrated mass upon mass. The burgomaster Meyer, a friend of the Reform, had with him the majority of the people; the burgomaster Meltinger, an intrepid leader of the partisans of Rome, prevailed in the councils: a collision became inevitable. "The fatal hour approaches," says Ecolampadius, "terrible for the enemies of God!"⁴

On Wednesday the 23d December, two days before Christmas, three hundred citizens from all the companies, pious and worthy men, assembled in the hall of the Gardeners' Company, and there drew up a petition to the senate. During this time the friends of popery, who resided for the most part in Little Basle and the suburb of St. Paul, took up arms, and brandished their swords and lances against the reformed citizens at the very moment that the latter were bearing their petition to the council, and endeavoured, although ineffectually, to bar their road. Meltinger haughtily refused to receive the petition, and charged the burghers, on the faith of their civic oath, to return to their homes. The burgomaster Meyer, however, took the address, and the senate ordered it to be read.

"Honoured, wise, and gracious Lords," it ran, "we, your dutiful fellow-citizens of the companies, address you as well-beloved fathers, whom we are ready to obey at the cost of our goods and of our lives. Take God's glory to heart; restore peace to the city; and oblige all the pope's preachers to discuss freely with the ministers. If the mass be true, we desire to have it in our churches; but if it is an abomination before God, why, through love for the priests, should we draw down His terrible anger upon ourselves and upon our children?"

Thus spoke the citizens of Basle. There was nothing revolutionary either in their language or in their proceedings. They desired what was right with decision, but also with calmness. All might still proceed with order and decorum. But here begins a new period: the vessel of reform is about to enter the port, but not until it has passed through violent storms.

CHAPTER V.

Crisis in Basle—Half-measures rejected—Reformed Propositions—A Night of Terror—Idols broken in all the Churches—The Hour of Madness—Idols broken in all the Churches—Reform legalized—Erasmus in Basle—A great time—Reformation—Revolution and Reformation.

THE bishop's partisans first departed from the legal course. Filled with terror on learn-

¹ The name of St. Augustine's mother.
² See Möhler's *Symbolik*, both in the preface and in the body of the work. This is one of the most important writings produced by Rome since the time of Bossuet.

³ Kotter, scheimen, und bösen. Balling. ii. 25.
⁴ Maturatur fatalis hora et tremenda hostium Dei. Epp. ii. 212.

mediators were expected from Zurich. They ran into the city, crying: "An Austrian army was coming to us, and collected stones in their hands."

The reformed did the same. The noise increased hourly, and in the night of the 25th December the Papists met in the streets: priests with arquebuses in hand, and armed among their ranks.

They had the reformed learnt this, and some of them running hastily from one house, knocked at the doors and their friends, who, starting out of bed, seized their muskets and repaired to the Fishmongers' Hall, the rendezvous of their party. They soon amounted to three thou-

sand. They passed the night under arms. At a certain moment a civil war, and what is called "a war of hearths," might break out. At last agreed that each party should send delegates to treat with the senate on this matter. The reformed chose thirty delegates, of respectability, courage, faith, and experience, who took up their quarters at the Fishmongers' Hall. The partisans of the anabaptists chose also a commission, but less numerous and less respectable: their station was the Fishmongers' Hall. The council instantly sitting. All the gates of the city were closed; strong guards posted in every quarter. Deputies from Lucerne, Uri, Schaffhausen, Zug, Glarus, Mulhausen, and Strasburg, arrived in the evening. The agitation and tumult increased from hour to hour.

It was necessary to put an end to so violent a contest. The senate, faithful to its ideas of moderation, decreed that the priests should be allowed to celebrate the mass; but that all, and ministers alike, should preach of God, and for this purpose should have a week to confer upon the Holy Scriptures. They then called the Lutherans in the Franciscan church, and the Dominicans in that belonging to the Dominicans. The senate first repaired to the former, where they found two thousand five hundred citizens assembled. The secretary read the ordinance before a great assembly. "That shall not be," cried the people.¹ "We will not put up with a mass, not even a single one!" exclaimed another; and all repeated, "No mass, we will die sooner!"² The senate having next visited the Dominican church, all the Romanists, to the number of six hundred, among whom were foreign servants, cried out: "We are ready to sacrifice our lives for the mass. We swear it!" repeated they with uplifted hands. "If they reject the mass—let us to arms!"³

The senate withdrew more embarrassed than ever.

The two parties again assembled three days after. Oecolampadius was in the pulpit. "Be meek and tractable," said he; and he preached with suchunction that many were ready to burst into tears.¹ The assembly offered up prayers, and then decreed that it would accept a new ordinance, by virtue of which, fifteen days after Pentecost, there should be a public disputation, in which no arguments should be employed but such as were drawn from the Word of God: after this a general vote should take place upon the mass, that the majority should decide the question, and that in the meanwhile the mass should be celebrated in three churches only; it being however understood, that nothing should be taught there that was in opposition to the Holy Scriptures.

The Romanist minority rejected these propositions: "Basle," said they, "is not like Berne and Zurich. Its revenues are derived in great measure from countries opposed to the Reformation!" The priests having refused to resort to the weekly conferences, they were suspended; and during a fortnight there was neither sermon nor mass at the cathedral, or in the churches of St. Ulrich, St. Peter, and St. Theodore.

Those who remained faithful to Rome resolved upon an intrepid defence. Meltinger placed Sebastian Muller in the pulpit at St. Peter's, from which he had been interdicted, and this hot-headed priest vented such abusive sarcasms against the Reform, that several of the evangelicals, who were listening to the sermon, were insulted and nearly torn in pieces.

It was necessary to arouse Basle from this nightmare, and strike a decisive blow. "Let us remember our liberty," said the reformed citizens, "and what we owe to the glory of Christ, to public justice, and to our posterity."² They then demanded that the enemies of the Reformation, friends and relations of the priests, who were the cause of all these delays and troubles, should no longer sit in the councils until peace was re-established. This was on the 8th of February. The council notified that they would return an answer on the morrow.

At six o'clock in the evening, twelve hundred citizens were assembled in the corn-market. They began to fear that the delay required by the senate concealed some evil design. "We must have a reply this very night," they said. The senate was convoked in great haste.

From that period affairs assumed a more threatening attitude in Basle. Strong guards were posted by the burghers in the halls of the different guilds; armed men patrolled

¹ *Un plebs clamabat: Hoc non fiet! Zw. Epp. II. l. 1.*
² *lancæ non feremus, aut moriemur omnes. Ibid.*
³ *lancæ para ministrabat prelia si missam recitarent.*

¹ *Ut nemo non commoveretur et profecto fere milia lacrymas excussisset. Zw. Epp. II. 2. 3.*

² *Copitans quid glorie Christi, quid iustitie publicæ, quidque posteritati suæ deberet. Oecol. Zurich MS.*

the city, and bivouacked in the public places, to anticipate the machinations of their adversaries:¹ the chains were stretched across the streets; torches were lighted, and resinous trees, whose flickering light scattered the darkness, were placed at intervals through the town; six pieces of artillery were planted before the town-hall; and the gates of the city, as well as the arsenal and the ramparts, were occupied. Basle was in a state of siege.

There was no longer any hope for the Romish party. The burgomaster, Meltinger, an intrepid soldier and one of the heroes of Marignan, where he had led eight hundred men into battle, lost courage. In the darkness he gained the banks of the Rhine with his son-in-law, the councillor Egloff d'Offenburgh, embarked unnoticed in a small boat, and rapidly descended the stream amid the fogs of the night.² Other members of the council escaped in a similar manner.

This gave rise to new alarms. "Let us beware of their secret manœuvres," said the people. "Perhaps they are gone to fetch the Austrians, with whom they have so often threatened us!" The affrighted citizens collected arms from every quarter, and at break of day they had two thousand men on foot. The beams of the rising sun fell on this resolute but calm assembly.

It was mid-day. The senate had come to no decision: the impatience of the burghers could be restrained no longer. Forty men were detached to visit the posts. As this patrol was passing the cathedral, they entered it, and one of the citizens, impelled by curiosity, opened a closet with his halberd, in which some images had been hidden. One of them fell out, and was broken into a thousand pieces against the stone pavement.³ The sight of these fragments powerfully moved the spectators, who began throwing down one after another all the images that were concealed in this place. None of them offered any resistance: heads, feet, and hands—all were heaped in confusion before the halberdiers. "I am much surprised," said Erasmus, "that they performed no miracle to save themselves; formerly the saints worked frequent prodigies for much smaller offences."⁴ Some priests ran to the spot, and the patrol withdrew.

A rumour, however, having spread that a disturbance had taken place in this church, three hundred men came to the support of the forty. "Why," said they, "should we spare the idols that light up the flames of discord?" The priests in alarm had closed the gates of the sanctuary, drawn the bolts, raised barricades, and prepared every thing

for maintaining a siege. But the people, whose patience had been exhausted by the delays of the council, dashed open one of the doors of the church: it yielded to their blows, and they rushed into the cathedral. The hour of madness had arrived. These men were no longer recognizable; they brandished their swords, rattle pikes, and uttered formidable cries: they Goths, or fervent worshippers animated by the zeal which in times of inflamed the prophets and the kings of Israel. However that may have been, these proceedings were disorderly, since public anarchy alone can interfere in public reforms. Idols, altars, pictures—all were thrown down or destroyed. The priests who had fled to the vestry and there concealed their trembling in every limb at the terrible made by the fall of their holy decorations. The work of destruction was completed without one of them venturing to look at the objects of his worship, or to make the least remonstrance. The people next tore the fragments in the squares and set them on fire; and during the chilly night the burghers stood round and warmed themselves at the crackling flame.¹

The senate collected in amazement, desired to interpose their authority to appease the tumult; but they might have striven to command the winds; enthusiastic citizens replied to their intreaties in these haughty words: "We have not been able to effect in three days what we will complete in one hour."²

In truth the anger of the people was longer confined to the cathedral. They expected all kinds of private property they attacked the churches of St. Peter, Ulrich, St. Alban, and of the Dominicans, and in all these temples "the idol under the blows of these good citizens." Basle, who were inflamed by an extraordinary zeal. Already they were making preparations to cross the bridge and enter Basle, which was devoted to the cause of popery, when the alarmed inhabitants begged to be allowed to remove the images themselves, and with heavy hearts they carried them into the upper chambers of the church, whence they hoped to be able at a time to restore them to their old position.

They did not stop at these energetic demonstrations: the most excited talked of going to the town-hall, and of constraining the senate to accede to the wishes of the people; but the good sense of the majority checked these brawlers as they deserved, and checked their guilty thoughts.

The senators now perceived the necessity of giving a legal character to this

¹ Ne quid forte ab adversariis insidiarum structetur. O'pöl. Zurich MS.

² Clam concessum navicula fuga, nescio senatus, elapsus est. Ibid.

³ Cum halberdis quasi per ludum aperirent armarium imaginum, tumore dolorem educerunt. Ibid.

⁴ Erasmus. Opp. p. 291.

¹ Lignis imaginum vel sunt vigiles, pro arce nocturno. Zurich MS.

² De quo vos per triennium deliberastis, nihil est nos intra horam omnem absolvimus. O'pöl. Basle MS.

³ Nulli enim vel obolum abstulerunt. Ibid.

ent, and of thus changing a tumultu-
 ous revolution into a durable reformation.¹
 The day and the Gospel were thus estab-
 lished simultaneously in Basle. The senate,
 after an hour's deliberation, granted that in
 the burghers should participate in the
 of the two councils; that from this
 mass and images should be abolished
 out all the canton, and that in every
 tion which concerned the glory of
 the good of the state the opinion of
 the commons should be taken. The people, de-
 lightful at having obtained these conditions,
 secured their political and religious
 returned joyful to their houses. It
 was the close of day.²

The morrow, Ash-Wednesday, it was
 decided to distribute the ruins of the altars
 and ornaments of the church among
 the poor, to serve them for firewood. But
 unhappy creatures, in their eagerness
 for fragments, having begun to dispute
 them, great piles were constructed in
 the middle close and set on fire. "The
 said some wags, "are really keeping
 Ash-Wednesday to-day!" The friends
 turned away their horror-stricken
 eyes from the sacrilegious sight, says Ecol-
 ampadius, and shed tears of blood. "Thus
 did they treat the idols," continues
 the writer, "and the mass died of grief in
 silence."³ On the following Sunday
 German hymns were sung at every church;
 on the 18th February a general amnesty
 was proclaimed. Every thing was changed.
 The last had become first, and the
 first last. While Ecolampadius, who a few
 days before had entered the city as a
 stranger, without resources and without
 friends, found himself raised to the first sta-
 tion of the Church, Erasmus, disturbed in
 his study whence during so long a
 time he had issued his absolute commands
 in the world of letters, saw himself compelled
 to go into the arena. But this king of
 letters had no desire to lay down his
 before the sovereign people. For a
 while he used to turn aside his head
 to meet his friend Ecolampadius. Be-
 lieving himself remaining at Basle to
 assist himself with his protectors.
 "I am wrong," said he, "which was hidden
 around has burst forth with violence,
 committed frightful ravages."⁴ My life
 is in danger: Ecolampadius possesses all
 the powers. People are continually baw-
 ling out; I am besieged with letters,
 tracts, and pamphlets. It is all over:
 I must leave Basle. Only shall I
 depart by stealth? The one
 becoming, the other more secure."

una plebs. Ecol. Capit. Basle MS.
 dictibus plebs in domum redit, sub ipsam
 castrum. Ibid. Zurich MS.
 itum est in idola, ac missa pro dolore exspiravit.

¹ torrens quidem, qui sub terra latebatur, subitè
 etc. Err. Epp. ad Firkheimer, July 1530.

Wishing as much as possible to make his
 honour and his prudence agree, Erasmus de-
 sired the boatman with whom he was to
 descend the Rhine to depart from an unfre-
 quented spot. This was opposed by the
 senate, and the timid philosopher was com-
 pelled to enter the boat as it lay near the
 bridge, at that time covered with a crowd of
 people. He floated down the river, sadly
 bade adieu to the city he had so much loved,
 and retired to Friburg in Brisgau with several
 other learned men.

New professors were invited to fill the
 vacant chairs in the university, and in par-
 ticular Oswald Myconius, Phrygio, Sebastian
 Munster, and Simon Grynnæus. At the same
 time was published an ecclesiastical order
 and confession of faith, one of the most pre-
 cious documents of this epoch.

Thus had a great transformation been
 effected without the loss of a single drop of
 blood. Popery had fallen in Basle in despite
 of the secular and spiritual power. "The
 wedge of the Lord," says Ecolampadius,
 "has split this hard knot."¹

We cannot, however, help acknowledging
 that the Basle Reformation may afford
 ground for some objections. Luther had
 opposed himself to the power of the many.
 "When the people prick up their ears, do
 not whistle too loud. It is better to suffer
 at the hand of one tyrant, than to suffer
 at the hand of a thousand tyrants, that is
 to say, of the people." On this account the
 German Reformer has been reproached
 for acknowledging no other policy than ser-
 vilism.

Perhaps when the Swiss Reformation is
 canvassed, a contrary objection will be
 made against it, and the Reform at Basle
 in particular, will be looked upon as a revo-
 lution.

The Reformation must of necessity bear
 the stamp of the country in which it is
 accomplished: it will be monarchical in
 Germany, republican in Switzerland. Never-
 theless, in religion as in politics, there is a
 great difference between reformation and
 revolution.

In no sphere does Christianity desire either
 despotism, servitude, stagnation, retrogres-
 sion, or death. But while looking for pro-
 gress, it seeks to accomplish it by reforma-
 tion and not by revolution.

Reformation works by the power of the
 Word, of doctrine, cultivation, and truth:
 while revolution, or rather revolt, operates
 by the power of riot, of the sword, and of
 the club.

Christianity proceeds by the inner man,
 and charts themselves, if they stand alone,
 cannot satisfy it. No doubt political consti-
 tutions are one of the blessings of our age;
 but it is not sufficient for these securities to
 be committed to parchment; they must be

¹ Male modo rursus cunctos obvenit. Ecol. Capit.

written in the heart, and guaranteed by the manners of the people.

Such were the principles of the Swiss Reformers; such were those of the Reform at Basle, and by these it is distinguished from a revolution.

There were, it is true, some excesses. Never perhaps has a reformation been accomplished among men without some mixture of revolution. But it was doctrines, however, that were in question at Basle: these doctrines had acted powerfully on the moral convictions and on the lives of the people; the movement had taken place within before it showed itself without. But more than this: the Reformation was not satisfied with taking away; it gave more than it took; and, far from confining itself to the work of destruction, it scattered rich blessings over all the people.¹

CHAPTER VI.

Farel's Commission—Farel at Lausanne and Morat—Neufchâtel—Farel preaches at Serris—Enters Neufchâtel—Sermon—The Monks—Farel's Preaching—Popery in Neufchâtel—Canons and Monks unite—Farel at Morat and in the Vully—Reformation of the Bishopric of Basle—Farel again in Neufchâtel—Pisacards—The Hospital Chapel—Civil Power invoked by the Romanists.

THE recoil of the discussion at Berne had overthrown Popery in a considerable part of German Switzerland. It was also felt in many of the churches of French Switzerland, lying at the foot of the Jura, or scattered amid the pine-forests of its elevated valleys, and which up to this time had shown the most absolute devotion to the Roman pontiff.

Farel, seeing the Gospel established in the places where the Rhone mingles its sandy waters with the crystal Leman, turned his eyes to another quarter. He was supported by Berne. This state, which possessed jointly with Friburg the bailiwicks of Morat, Orbe, and Granson, and which had alliances with Lausanne, Avenches, Payerne, Neufchâtel, and Geneva, saw that both its interest and its duty alike called it to have the Gospel preached to its allies and subjects. Farel was empowered to carry it among them, provided he obtained the consent of the respective governments.

One day, therefore, journeying towards Morat, Farel arrived and preached the Gospel at the foot of those towers and battlements that had been attacked at three different periods by the armies of Conrad the Salic, Rodolph of Hapsburg, and Charles the Bold. Ere long the friends of the Reform amounted to a great number. A general vote having nevertheless declared in favour of the pope, Farel proceeded to Lausanne.

He was at first driven away by the bishop and the clergy, but soon reappeared provided

with a letter from the lords of Berne. "Send him to you," said their excellencies the authorities of the city, "to defend our own cause and ours. Allow him to print the Word of God, and beware that you take not a hair of his head."

There was great confusion in the council. Placed between Berne and the bishop, what could they do? The Council of Twenty-four finding the matter very serious, convoked the Council of Sixty; and this body excused itself, they convoked the Council of Two Hundred, on the 14th November 1529. These in their turn referred the business to the Smaller Council. No one would have anything to do with it. The inhabitants of Lausanne, it is true, complained loudly of the holy members of their chapters, whose lives (they said) were one long train of excess; but when their eyes turned on the austere countenance of the Reform, they were more terrified. Besides, how deprive Lausanne of her bishop, her court, and her dignitaries? What! no more pilgrims in the churches,—no more suitors in the ecclesiastical courts,—no more purchasers in the markets, or boon companions in the taverns!—The widowed and desolate Lausanne would no longer behold the noisy throng of people that were at once her wealth and her glory.—Better far a disorder that enriches, than a reform that impoverishes! Farel was compelled to depart a second time.

He returned to Morat, and soon the Way gained over the hearts of the people. On feast-days the roads from Payerne to Avenches were covered with merry bands who laughingly said to one another, "Let us go to Morat and hear the preachers!" They exhorted each other alily, as they went along the road, "not to fall into the nets of the heretics." But at night, all was changed. Grasped by the strong hand of truth, the very people returned,—some in deep thought, others discussing with animation the doctrines they had heard. The fire was spreading throughout all this district, and spreading in every direction its long rays of light. This was enough for Farel: he required no conquests.

At a short distance from Morat lay one of the strongholds of Popery—the earldom of Neufchâtel. Joan of Hochberg, who had inherited this principality from her ancestors, had married, in 1504, Louis of Orleans, duke of Longueville. This French nobleman having supported the King of France in 1513 a war against the Swiss, the cantons had taken possession of Neufchâtel, but had stored it to his widow in 1529.

Few countries could have presented greater difficulties to the daring reformer. The Princess of Longueville, residing in France in the suite of Francis I., a woman of coarse habits, vain, extravagant, always in debt, and thinking of Neufchâtel only as a place that should bring her in a large revenue,

¹ Hagenbach, *Vorlesungen*, II. 126, 202.

the Pope and Popery. Twelve hundred several priests and chaplains of powerful clergy, at whose head was Oliver of Hochberg, natural brother-princess. Auxiliaries full of zeal a main army. On the one side the abbey of the Premonstratenses—André, three quarters of a league town, the monks of which, after the twelfth century cleared the land of their own hands,¹ had gradually powerful lords; and, on the other benedictines of the Island of St. E. abbot, having been deposed by the monks, had taken refuge, burning with vengeance, in his priory at Cor-

le of Neufchâtel had a great recalcitrant rights, and it was easy to the stage of this state of feeling, con- general ignorance, to maintain the ous of Popery. The canons im- opportunity. For the instructions pel they substituted pompe and the church, situated on a steep filled with altars, chapels, and saints; and religion, descending unctuary, ran up and down the hill was travestied in dramas and mingled with indulgences, mi- debauchery.²

iers of Neufchâtel, however, who the campaign of 1529 with the ny brought back to their homes : enthusiasm for the evangelical was at this period that a frail boat, : southern bank of the lake, on the e Morat, and carrying a French- an appearance, steered towards atel shore. Farel, for it was he, that the village of Serrière, situat- es of Neufchâtel, depended as lities on the evangelical city of l that Emer Beynon, the priest of 'had some liking for the Gospel."

f his campaign was immediately He appeared before parson Emer, d him with joy; but what could for Farel had been interdicted hing in any church whatever in n. The poor priest thought to very thing by permitting Farel to : stones in the cemetery, and thus he people, turning his back upon :

disturbance arose in Neufchâtel. : the government, the canons, and , cried, "Heresy!" but on the me inhabitants of Neufchâtel, to had given a knowledge of the cked to Serrière. In a short time

those last could not contain themselves: "Come," said they to Farel, "and preach to us in the town."

This was at the beginning of December. They entered by the gate of the castle, and leaving the church on the hill to the left, they passed in front of the canons' houses, and descended to the narrow streets inhabited by the citizens. On reaching the market-cross, Farel ascended a platform and addressed the crowd, which gathered together from all the neighbourhood,—weavers, vine-dressers, and husbandmen,—a worthy race, possessing more feeling than imagination. The preacher's exterior was grave, his discourse energetic, his voice like thunder: his eyes, his features, his gestures, all showed him a man of intrepidity. The citizens, accustomed to run about the streets after the mountebanks, were touched by his powerful language. "Farel preached a sermon of such great efficacy," says a manuscript, "that he gained over much people."¹

Some monks, however, with shaven crowns² glided among his hearers, seeking to excite them against the heretical minister. "Let us beat out his brains," said some. "Duck him, duck him!" cried others, advancing to throw Farel into a fountain, which may still be seen near the spot where he preached. But the reformer stood firm.

This first preaching was succeeded by others. To this Gospel missionary every place was a church; every stone, every bench, every platform was a pulpit. Already the cutting winds and the snows of December should have kept the Neufchâtélans around their firesides; "the canons made a vigorous defence;"³ and in every quarter "the shorn crowns" were in agitation, supplicating, menacing, shouting, and threatening,—but all was useless. No sooner did this man of small stature rise up in any place, with his pale yet sunburnt complexion, with red and uncombed beard, with sparkling eye and expressive mouth, than the monks' labour was lost: the people collected around him, for it was the Word of God that fell from his lips.⁴ All eyes were fixed on him: with open mouth and attentive ears they hung upon his words.⁵ And scarcely did he begin to speak, when—Oh! wonderful work of God! he himself exclaims—this multitude believed as if it had but one soul.

The Word of God carried the town, as it were, at the first assault: and throwing down the devices Rome had taken ages to compose, established itself in triumph on the ruins of human traditions. Farel saw in imagination Jesus Christ himself walking in spirit through the midst of this crowd, open

salbus. Hist. of Neufchâtel, by F. de Cham-
sur l'Eglise collégiale de Neufchâtel, p. 240.
x, ex-pastor of Serrière, and author of a work
rises et la Réformation," has shown me the
Farel stood.
la Neufchâtel, auxquels Dieu avient donné
la vérité," &c. Choupart MS.

¹ Quoted in the Choupart MS.

² Rasorum rememorata. Farelus Molana, Neufchâtel MS.

³ Contra tyrannica precepta. Ibid.

⁴ Ad verbum festinant. Ibid.

⁵ Aride audientes. Ibid.

ing the eyes of the blind, softening the hard heart, and working miracles!.....so that scarcely had he returned to his humble residence before he wrote to his friends with a heart full of emotion: "Render thanks with me to the Father of mercies, in that he has shown his favour to those bowed down by a weighty tyranny;" and falling on his knees, he worshipped God.¹

But during this time what were the adherents of the pope doing in Neufchatel?

The canons, members of the General Audiences, of which they formed the first estate, treated both priests and laymen with intolerable haughtiness. Laying the burden of their offices on poor curates, they publicly kept dissolute women, clothed them sumptuously, endowed their children by public acts, fought in the church, haunted the streets by night, or went into a foreign country to enjoy in secret the produce of their avarice and of their intrigues. Some poor lepers placed in a house near the city were maintained by the produce of certain offerings. The rich canons, in the midst of their banquets, dared take away the bread of charity from these unhappy wretches.

The Abbey of Fontaine-André was at a little distance from the town. Now the canons of Neufchatel and the monks of Fontaine were at open war. These hostile powers, encamped on their two hills, disputed each other's property, wrested away each other's privileges, launched at one another the coarsest insults, and even came to blows. "Debaucher of women!" said the canons to the Abbot of Fontaine-André, who returned the compliment in the same coin. It is the Reformation which, through faith, has re-established the moral law in Christendom,—a law that Popery had trodden under foot.

For a long time these conventual wars had disturbed the country. On a sudden they ceased. A strange event was passing in Neufchatel,—the Word of God was preached there. The canons, seized with affright in the midst of their disorders, looked down from their lofty dwellings on this new movement. The report reached Fontaine-André. The monks and priests suspended their orgies and their quarrels. The heathen sensualism that had invaded the Church was put to the rout; Christian spiritualism had reappeared.

Immediately the monks and canons, so long at war, embraced and united against the reformer. "We must save religion," said they, meaning their tithes, banquets, scandals, and privileges. Not one of them could oppose a doctrine to the doctrine preached by Farel: to insult him was their sole weapon. At Corcelles, however, they went farther. As

the minister was proclaiming the Gospel the priory, the monks fell upon him; in midst of them was the prior Rodolphe Benoit, storming, exciting, and striving augment the tempest. He even had a dagger in his hand, according to one writer.¹ I escaped with difficulty.

This was not enough. Popery, as it has always done, had recourse to the civil power. The canons, the abbot, and the prior, solicited governor George de Rive at the same time. Farel stood firm. "The glory of Jesus Christ," said he, "and the lively affection sheep bear to his Word, constrain me to endure sufferings greater than tongue can scribe."² Ere long, however, he was compelled to yield. Farel again crossed the lake but this passage was very different from the former. The fire was kindled!—On the December he was at Morat; and shortly at Aigle.

He was recalled thence. On the 7th January, religion was put to the vote at Morat, and the majority was in favour of the Gospel. But the Romish minority, supported by Burgundy, immediately undertook to recover ancient position by insults and bad treatment. "Farel! Farel!" cried the reform party.³

A few days after this, Farel, accompanied by a Bernese messenger, scaled that magnificent amphitheatre of mountains above Vevay, whence the eye plunges into the waters of the Leman; and soon he crossed the estates of Count John of Gruyère, and was in the habit of saying, "We will burn this French Luther!"⁴ Scarcely Farel reached the heights of Saint Martin Vaud,⁵ when he saw the vicar of the place with two priests running to meet him. "Heretic! devil!" cried they; but the knight, through fear of Berne, remained behind his walls, and Farel passed on.

The reformer, not allowing himself to be stopped by the necessity of defending himself in Morat, or by the inclemency of the season, immediately carried the Gospel to those beautiful hills that soar between smiling waters of lakes Morat and Neuchâtel into the villages of the Vully. This man was crowned with the most complete success. On the 15th February four deputies from Vully came to Morat to demand permission to embrace the Reform, which was immediately granted them. "Let our ministers preach the Gospel," said their excellencies of Berne to the Friburgers, "and we will your priests play their monkey tricks. We desire to force no man."⁶ The Reformers stored freedom of will to the Christian people. It was about this time that Farel wrote

¹ Rossetet in Annotat. Farel Leben von Kirchheim.

² At levita facit omnia Christus, added by Fm Dumoulin, 16th December. Neufchatel MS.

³ Choupard MS. Chambrier, Hist. de Neufchatel.

⁴ Missive of Berne to the Count of Gruyère, 23d and 24th January 1530.

⁵ To the left of the modern road from Vevay to Fribourg.

⁶ Missive of Berne, Choupard MS.

¹ Quid Christus in suis egredit. Farelus Molano, Neufchatel MS.

² Gratias ergo, Fratres, mecum agite Patri misericordiarum, quod ad propitius gravi premitte tyrannide. Ibid.

I letter "To all lords, people, and which we have so often quoted.¹ The indefatigable reformer now went for new conquests. A chain of rocks at the Juran valley of Erguel, already seized by Farel, from the country of ancient Rauraci, and a passage cut the rock serves as a communication the two districts. It was the end when Farel, passing through the *terruis*,² descended to the village of Basle, and entered the church just as the mass was saying. Farel went to the pulpit: the astonished priest stopped, the minister filled his hearers with emotion seemed to them an angel come from heaven. Immediately the images and altars fell, and "the poor priest who thought the mass could not finish it."³ Down Popery had required less time than the priest had spent at the altar. At part of the bishopric of Basle was weeks gained over to the Reforma-

tion at this time the Gospel was fermenting in Neufchatel. The young men who were armed with Bernese to deliver Geneva from attacks of Savoy, recounted in their meetings the exploits of the campaign, and told how the soldiers of Bern, feeling that the images from the Dominicans taken at Geneva, saying: "Idols of no use but to make a fire with in

reappeared in Neufchatel.⁴ Being of the lower part of the town, he is eyes to the lofty rocks on which he cathedral and the castle. The reformer thought he, is to bring these proud towers down to us. One morning his young men spread themselves in the streets, and placed large placards bearing these words: *se who say mass are robbers, murderers, curs of the people.*⁵ Great was the indignation at Neufchatel. The canons summoned a synod, called together the clerks, and gathered at the head of a large troop, armed with swords and clubs, descended into the town to pull down the sacrilegious placards. Farel before the tribunal as a slanderer demanding ten thousand crowns dam-

ned. Two parties appeared in court, and each all that Farel desired. "I confess," said he, "but I am justified in what I have done. Where are there to be more horrible murderers than these who sell paradise, and thus nullify the word of our Lord Jesus Christ? I will stand by my assertion by the Gospel." And he opened it, when the canons, flushed

with anger, cried out: "The common law of Neufchatel, and not the Gospel, is in question here! Where are the witnesses?" But Farel, constantly reverting to that fearful assertion, proved by the Word of God that the canons were really guilty of murder and robbery. To plead such a cause was to ruin Popery. The court of Neufchatel, that had never heard a similar case, resolved according to ancient custom to lay it before the council of Besançon,¹ which not daring to pronounce the first estate of the General Audiences guilty of murder and robbery, referred the matter to the emperor and to a general council. Bad causes gain nothing by making a disturbance.

At every step they wished to drive him back, Farel made one in advance. The streets and the houses were still his temple. One day when the people of Neufchatel were around him, "Why," cried they, "should not the Word of God be proclaimed in a church?" They then hurried Farel along with them, opened the doors of the Hospital Chapel, set the minister in the pulpit, and a numerous crowd stood silent before him. "In like manner as Jesus Christ, appearing in a state of poverty and humility, was born in a stable at Bethlehem," said the reformer; "so this hospital, this abode of the sick and of the poor, is to-day become his birthplace in the town of Neufchatel." Then feeling ill at ease in the presence of the painted and carved figures that decorated the chapel, he laid his hands on these objects of idolatry, removed them, and broke them in pieces.²

Popery, which anger had blinded, now took a step that it undoubtedly had a right to take, but which destroyed it: it had recourse to the secular arm, and the governor sent a deputation to the Bernese council, praying the removal of Farel and his companions.

But almost at the same time deputies from the townspeople arrived at Bern. "Did not these hands bear arms at Interlaken and at Bremgarten to support your Reformation?" said they, "and will you abandon us in ours?"

Berne hesitated. A public calamity was at that time filling the whole city with mourning. One of the most illustrious citizens of the republic, the Banneret of Weingarten, attacked by the plague, was expiring amid the tears of his sons and of his fellow-citizens. Being informed of the arrival of the Neufchatelans, he rallied his waning strength: "Go," said he, "and beg the senate in my name to ask for a general assembly of the people of Neufchatel for Sunday next."³ This message of the dying banneret decided the council.

The deputies from Bern arrived in Neufchatel on the 7th August. Farel thought

¹ *seigneurs, peuples, et pasteurs.* See above, vol. I. *terruis.*

² *le pauvre prêtre qui chantoit sa messe ne la peut r.* Old MS. quoted in the Choupart MS. *et suo more magna fortitudine jam-jam agit.* Melting, 8th Aug. 1539.

³ *mbrier, Hist. de Neufchatel, t. 200.*

¹ *Prendre les entraves.*

² *Choupart MS.*

³ *Wingartenus iste infectus peste apud senatum nostrum, pia legatione. Megander to Zwingle.*

that during the debates he had time to make a new conquest, and quitted the city. His zeal can be compared only to St. Paul's. His body was small and feeble, but his activity was wholly apostolic danger and bad treatment wasted him every day, but he had within him a divine power that rendered him victorious.

CHAPTER VII.

Valangin—Guillemette de Vergy—Farel goes to the Val de Ruz—The Mass interrupted—Farel dragged to the River—Farel in Prison—Apostles and Reformers compared—Farel preaching at Neufchâtel—Installed in the Cathedral—A Whirlwind sweeps over the People—The Idols destroyed—Interposition of the Governor—Triumph of the Reformed.

At the distance of a league from Neufchâtel, beyond the mountain, extends the Val de Ruz, and near its entrance, in a precipitous situation, where roars an impetuous torrent surrounded by steep crags, stands the town of Valangin. An old castle, built on a rock, raises its vast wall into the air, overlooking the humble dwellings of the townspeople, and extending its jurisdiction over five valleys of these lofty and severe mountains, at that time covered with forests of pine, but now peopled by the most active industry.¹

In this castle dwelt Guillemette de Vergy, dowager-countess of Valangin, strongly attached to the Romish religion and full of respect for the memory of her husband. A hundred priests had chanted high mass at the count's burial; when many penitent young women had been married, and large alms distributed; the curate of Locle had been sent to Jerusalem, and Guillemette herself had made a pilgrimage for the repose of the soul of her departed lord.

Sometimes, however, the Countess of Gruyère and other ladies would come and visit the widow of Vergy, who assembled in the castle a number of young lords. The fife and tambourine re-echoed under its vaulted roofs, chattering groups collected in the immense recesses of its Gothic windows, and merry dances followed hard upon a long silence and gloomy devotion.² There was but one sentiment that never left Guillemette—this was her hatred against the Reformation, in which she was warmly seconded by her intendant, the Sieur of Bellegarde.

Guillemette and the priests had in fact reason to tremble. The 15th August was a great Romish festival—Our Lady of August, or the Assumption, which all the faithful of the Val de Ruz were preparing to keep. This was the very day Farel selected. Animated by the fire and courage of Elijah, he set out for Valangin, and a young man, his fellow-countryman, and, as it would appear,

a distant relation, Anthony Boyve, as Christian and a man of decided character accompanied him.³ The two men climbed the mountain, plunged into the forest, and then descending again into the valley, traversed Valangin, where the people of the castle did not give them encouragement to pause, and arrival at Boudevilliers, probably Boudevilliers, preached the Gospel there.⁴

Already on all sides the people thronging to the church. Farel and Boyve entered also with a small number of the inhabitant who had heard him in the châtell. The reformer immediately took the pulpit, and the priest prepared to read the mass. The combat began. Farel was preaching Jesus Christ, promises, threats, and the priest was reading the missal. The solemn monotony of the priest's voice was broken by the reformer's voice: the ineffable transubstantiation was about to take place, the priest pronounced the sacred words over the host. At this instant the people hesitated no longer, ancient habits, an irresistible influence drew them towards the altar; the priest arrested; the kneeling crowd had recovered its old worship; Rome is triumphant. Suddenly a young man springs from the choir—traverses the choir,—rushes to the altar,—snatches the host from the hand of the priest, and cries, as he turns towards the people: "This is not the God whom you should worship. He is above,—in the majesty of the Father, and not in the hands of a priest."⁵ This was Anthony Boyve.

Such a daring act at first produced a desired effect. The mass was interrupted, the chanting ceased, and the crowd struck by a supernatural intervention remained silent and motionless. Farel was still in the pulpit, immediately taking advantage of this calm, and proclaiming Christ "whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things." Upon this the priests and chorists, their adherents rushed to the towers of the castle and sounded the tocsin.

These means succeeded: a crowd collected, and if Farel had not retired, he and Boyve's would have been in the castle. "But God," says the chronicle, "did them." They crossed the interval that separates Boudevilliers from Valangin, a near the steep gorges of the torrent Seyon. But how traverse the tower the tocsin had already alarmed.

Leaving Chaumont and its dark forest to the left, these two heralds of the Gospel

¹ Annals of Boyve and a family MS.—This since given several pastors to the Church of Neufchâtel.

² There are two original manuscripts (both of them Chouard MS.) which give an account of this. One says that Farel preached at Valangin, the other at a village near Valangin. Ruchat has a former version; I think the latter preferable.

³ MS. appears to me older and more correct than the other.

⁴ Chouard MS.

⁵ Acts iii. 7.

¹ Here are situated Chaux de Fonds, Locle, &c.

² Chambrier, Hist. de Neufchâtel, p. 276.

th that wound beneath the castle: stealing cautiously along, when shower of stones assailed them, same time a score of individuals,—men, and women,—armed with clubs, lay upon them. "The priests had put either in their feet or arms," cried the monk; "the ministers were so that they nearly lost their lives."¹ de Vergy, who descended to the door from moderating the anger of the ed out. "Drown them—drown them into the Seyon—these dogs, who have despised the fact, the priests were beginning two heretics towards the bridge. Farel nearer death.

When, from behind the last rock Valangin in the direction of the there appeared "certain good people," Val de Ruz, coming from Neuchâtel and descending into the valley. "What are you doing?" asked they of the monks. "The intention no doubt of saving them rather in a place of refuge," they may answer for their protection. "Would you deprive yourselves of the means in your power of discovering the error by the poison of heresy?"

The monks left off at these words, and continued prisoners to the castle. As they were going before a little chapel, which had an image of the virgin, "Kneel before them to Farel and Boyve, show them the statue; "prostrate yourselves before the Lady!" Farel began to them: "Worship one God alone and in truth," said he to them, "these dumb images without life or motion; but they, continues the chronicle, moved at his words and his firmness, and gave him so many blows, that he bled with blood, which even spirted the walls of the chapel. For a long time the traces of it might still be

summed their march—they entered the city, they climbed the steep road that led to the esplanade where Guillemette de Vergy and her attendants waited for the monks; "so that," continues the chronicle, "beating them thus continually, conducted all covered with filth to the prisons, and let down almost into the dungeon (*croton*) of the castle." Thus had Paul at Lystris drawn by the Jews, drawn out of the world for dead.² The apostles and

the reformers preached the same doctrine and suffered the same treatment.

It may perhaps be said that Farel and Boyve were too violent in their attack; but the Church of the Middle Ages, which had fallen back into the legal spirit of Judaism, and into all the corruptions that flow from it, needed an energetic opposition to lead it again to the principle of grace. Augustine and St. Paul reappeared in the Church of the sixteenth century; and when we read of Boyve rushing in great emotion on those who were about to worship the bread of the mass, may we not recall to mind the action of St. Paul, rending his clothes, and running in among the people, who were desirous of worshipping "men of like passions with themselves?"³

Farel and Boyve, thrust into the dungeons of the castle, could, like Paul and Silas in the prison at Philippi, "sing praises unto God." Messire de Bellegarde, ever ready to persecute the Gospel, was preparing for them a cruel end, when some townsmen of Neuchâtel arrived to claim them. Madame de Valangin dared not refuse, and at the demand of the Bernese even instituted an inquiry, "to put a good face on the matter," says a manuscript. "Nevertheless the priest who had beaten Farel most, never after failed to eat daily at the lady's table, by way of recompense."⁴ But this was of little consequence: the seed of truth had been sown in the Val de Ruz.

At Neuchâtel the Bernese supported the evangelical citizens. The governor, whose resources were exhausted sent deputies to the princess, "begging her to cross the mountains, to appease her people, who were in terrible trouble in consequence of this Lutheran religion."⁵

Meantime the ferment increased. The townspeople prayed the canons to give up the mass: they refused; whereupon the citizens presented them their reasons in writing, and begged them to discuss the question with Farel. Still the same refusal!—"But, for goodness' sake, speak either for or against!" It was all of no use!

On Sunday, the 23d of October, Farel, who had returned to Neuchâtel, was preaching at the hospital. He knew that the magistrates of the city had deliberated on the expediency of consecrating the cathedral itself to the evangelical worship. "What then," said he, "will you not pay as much honour to the Gospel as the other party does to the mass? And if this superstitious act is celebrated in the high church, shall not the Gospel be proclaimed there also?" At these words all his hearers arose. "To the church!" cried they; "to the church!" Impetuous men are de-irous of putting their hands to the work, to accomplish what the prudence of the bur-

¹ "Ils n'avoient pas la goutte aux pieds et aux hanches tellement que peu s'en fallut qu'ils la vie." Chouard MS.
² "Pau: jettes les dans le Seyon ces chiens de l'ont méprisé le bon Dieu!" Ibid.

³ MS. "Mais eux, rudement fâchés de ses propos ni donnerent tant de coups, qu'ils le mirent saques la que son sang jaillissoit sur les murailles. On en voyoit long temps après ensanglantés."
⁴ MS.

¹ Acts xiv. 14.

² Chouard MS.

³ Letter from the Governor to the Princess.

gesses had proposed.¹ They leave the hospital, and take Farel with them. They climb the steep street of the castle: in vain would the canons and their frightened followers stop the crowd: they force a passage. Convinced that they are advancing for God's glory, nothing can check them. Insults and shouts assail them from every side, but in the name of the truth they are defending, they proceed: they open the gates of the Church of our Lady; they enter, and here a fresh struggle begins. The canons and their friends assembled around the pulpit endeavour to stop Farel; but all is useless. They have not to deal with a band of rioters. God has pronounced in his Word, and the magistrates themselves have passed a definitive resolution. The townspeople advance, therefore, against the sacerdotal coterie; they form a close battalion, in the centre of which they place the reformer. They succeed in making their way through the opposing crowd, and at last place the minister in the pulpit without any harm befalling him.²

Immediately all is calm within the church and without; even the adversaries are silent, and Farel delivers "one of the most effective sermons he had hitherto preached." Their eyes are opened; their emotion increases; their hearts are melted; the most obstinate appear converted; and from every part of the old church these cries resound: "We will follow the evangelical religion, both we and our children, and in it will we live and die."³

Suddenly a whirlwind, as it were, sweeps over this multitude, and stirs it up like a vast sea. Farel's hearers desire to imitate the pious King Josiah.⁴ "If we take away these idols from before our eyes, will it not be aiding us," said they, "in taking them from our own hearts? Once these idols broken, how many souls among our fellow-citizens, now disturbed and hesitating, will be decided by this striking manifestation of the truth! We must save them as it were by fire."⁵

This latter motive decided them, and then began a scene that filled the Romanists with horror, and which must, according to them, bring down the terrible judgment of God on the city.

The very spot where this took place would seem to add to its solemnity. To the north, the castle-walls rise above the pointed crags of the gloomy but picturesque valley of the Seyon, and the mountain in front of the castle presents to the observer's eye little

more than bare rocks, vines, and li. But to the south, beneath the sky which this tumultuous scene was lay the wide and tranquil waters of with its fertile and picturesque shore in the distance the continuous of the higher Alps with their dazzling their immense glaciers, and giant stretch far away before the eye.

On this platform the people of N were in commotion, paying little to these noble scenes of nature. Then, whose castle adjoined the church compelled to remain an idle spectator of excesses that he could not prevent content to leave us a description. "These daring fellows," says he mattocks, hatchets, and hammers, march against the images of the saints. They advance—they strike the statues the altars—they dash them to pieces figures carved in the fourteenth century: the "imagery" of Count Louis are not and scarcely do the statues of themselves, which were mistaken for escape destruction. The townspeople all these fragments of an idolatrous and carrying them out of the church them from the top of the rock. They meet with no better treatment. "Idol devil," thought they with the curl tians, "who taught the world these statues, images, and all sorts of likenesses? They tear out the eyes in the pictures, and cut off their noses. The statue itself is thrown down, for this work usurps the homage that Jesus Christ alone the heart. One image, the most venerable still remains: it is our Lady of Mercy Mary of Savoy had presented to the church; but Our Lady herself is not. A hand more daring than the rest strikes as in the fourth century the colossal of Serapis was struck."⁶ "They have bored out the eyes of Our Lady of which the departed lady your mother caused to be made," wrote the governor the Duchess of Longueville.

The reformed went still further: seized the patens in which lay the *Eucharist*, and flung them from the top of the rock into the torrent; after which, besides showing that the consecrated bread are mere bread, and not God himself, distributed them one to another at them.....At this sight the canons chaplains could no longer remain quiescent of horror was heard; they ran to their adherents, and opposed force to At length began the struggle that has so much dreaded.

The provost Oliver of Hochberg, the Simon of Neuchâtel and Pontus of St

¹ This is the conclusion I draw from various papers, and in particular from the report of the meeting held at Neuchâtel by the Bernese deputies, in which the heads of the burghers declare, that it appeared to them a very good matter to take down the altars, &c. Hitherto only one phase of this action has been seen,—the popular movement; and the other, namely, the legal resolution of the magistrates of the city, appears to have been overlooked.

² Choupard M.S.

³ Ibid.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 7.

⁵ Choupard M.S.

⁶ *Diabolus seculo intulisse artifices stanturum et omnia gentis simulacrorum. Tertullianus, cap. 3.*

⁷ Socrates v. 16

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all three members of the privy council, had repaired hastily to the castle, as well as the other councillors of the princess. Until this moment they had remained silent spectators of the scene; but when they saw the two parties coming to blows, they ordered all "the supporters of the evangelical doctrine" to appear before the governor. This was like trying to chain the winds. Besides, why should the reformers stop? They were not acting without legitimate authority.¹ "Tell the governor," replied the townspeople haughtily, "that in the concerns of God and of our souls he has no command over us."²

George de Rive then discovered that his authority failed against a power superior to his own. He must yield, and save at least some remnants. He hastened therefore to remove the images that still remained, and to shut them up in secret chambers. The citizens of Neufchatel allowed him to execute this measure. "Save your gods," thought they, "preserve them under strong bars, lest perchance a robber should deprive you of the objects of your adoration!"³ By degrees the tumult died away, the popular torrent returned within its channel, and a short time after, in commemoration of this great day, these words were inscribed on a pillar of the church:—

L'AN 1530, LE 23 OCTOBRE, FUT OTÉE ET ABAT-
TUE L'IDOLATRIE DE CEANT PAR LES
BOURGEOIS.⁴

An immense revolution had been effected. Doubtless it would have been better if the images had been taken away, and the Gospel substituted in their place with calmness, as at Zurich; but we must take into consideration the difficulties that so profound and contested a change brings with it, and make allowance for the inexperience and excesses inseparable from a first explosion. He who should see in this revolution its excesses only, would betray a singularly narrow mind. It is the Gospel that triumphed on the esplanade of the castle. It was no longer a few pictures or legends that were to speak to the imagination of the Neufchatelans: the revelation of Christ and of the apostles, as it had been preserved in the Holy Scriptures, was restored to them. In place of the mysteries, symbols, and miracles of Popery, the Reformation brought them sublime tenets, powerful doctrines, holy and eternal truths. Instead of a mass, void of God, and filled with human puerilities, it restored to them the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, his invisible yet real and mighty presence, his pro-

mises giving peace to the soul, and his Spirit, which changes the heart, and is a sure pledge of a glorious resurrection. All is gain in such an exchange.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Romanists demand a Ballot—The Bernese in Favour of the Reform—Both Parties come to the Poll—The Prud-hommes of Neufchatel—Proposed Delay—The Romanists grasp the Sword—The Voting—Majority for Reform—Protestantism perpetual—The image of Saint John—A Miracle—Retreat of the Canons—Popery and the Gospel.

THE governor and his trusty friends had not, however, lost all hope. "It is only a minority," said they at the castle, "which has taken part in the destruction of the images; the majority of the nation still obeys the ancient doctrine." M. de Rive had yet to learn that if, in a popular movement, the minority only appears, it is in some cases because the majority, being of the same mind with it, prefers leaving the action to others. However that may be, the governor, thinking himself upon sure ground, resolved to put the preservation of the mass to the vote. If the majority were doubtful, the combined influence of the government and clergy would make it incline to the side of Rome. The friends of the Reformation perceiving this trick, and feeling the necessity of securing the integrity of the votes, demanded the presence of Bernese commissioners. This was at first refused. But Neufchatel, divided into two hostile parties, might at any time see her streets run blood: De Rive therefore called Berne to his aid.

Anthony Noll and Sulpice Archer, both members of the council, with Jacques Tribollet, bailiff of the Isle of St. John, all three devoted to the Reform, made their entry into Neufchatel on the 4th November,—an eventful day for the principality, and one which would decide its reformation. The deputies proceeded to the castle, where they spoke with great haughtiness.¹ "Their excellencies of Berne," said they to the governor, "are much astonished that you should oppose the true and pure Word of God. Desist immediately, or else your state and lordship may suffer for it."²

George de Rive was amazed; he had thought to summon helpers, and he had found masters. He made, however, an attempt to escape from the strait in which he was caught. The Roman-catholic cantons of Lucerne, Friburg, and Soleure, were also allies of the state. The governor insinuated to the Bernese deputies, that he might well claim their intervention. At these words the deputies indignantly arose, and declared to M. de Rive, that if he did so, he might be the cause of his sovereign's losing Neufchatel.

¹ "Par les quatre du dit Neufchatel," by the four (the municipal authorities) of the said Neufchatel, remarks the priest Isaacenet. See also the *recense* of the council held at Neufchatel by M.M. of Berne, 4th November 1530.

² The Governor's letter to the Princess.

³ *Cur vos sub validissimis clavibus, incensibusque sub clavis conservatis, ne forte fur aliquis irrepat? Arnobius contra gentes, vi. 257.*

⁴ On the 23d of October 1530, idolatry was overthrown and removed from this church by the citizens.

¹ *Trois ambassadeurs qui me tiennent assez gros et rudes propos. The Governor: to the Princess.*

² *Ibid.*

The governor saw the impossibility of escaping from the net into which he had fallen. There remained no alternative but submission, and to watch the current of events which it was impossible for him to direct.

It was not thus with the canons and the nobles. Not considering themselves beaten, they surrounded the Bernese; and mingling religion and politics, as is their wont in similar cases, endeavoured to shake them. "Do you not see," said they, "that unless we support the spiritual power, we shall compromise the civil power? The surest bulwark of the throne is the altar! These men, whose defenders you have become, are but a handful of mischief-makers: the majority are for the mass!"—"Turn which way you like," replied one of the stubborn Bernese, "even though the majority should be on your side, still you must go that way; never will our lordships abandon the defenders of the evangelical faith."¹

The people assembled at the castle for the definitive vote. The destiny of Neuchâtel was about to be decided. On one hand were crowded around the governor the privy council, the canons, and the most zealous of the Romanists; on the other were to be seen the four aldermen, the town-council, and a great number of the citizens, gravely ascending the steep avenue leading to the government-house, and drawing up in front of their adversaries. On both sides there was the same attachment to their faith and the same decision; but around the canons were many anxious minds, troubled hearts, and down-cast eyes, while the friends of the Reform advanced with uplifted heads, firm looks, and hearts full of hope.

George de Rive, wishing to gain over their minds, began to address them. He described the violence with which the reformed had broken the images and thrown down the altars; "And yet," continued he, "who founded this church? It was the princess's predecessors, and not the citizens. For which reason, I demand that all those who have violently infringed our sovereign's authority, be obliged to restore what they have taken away, so that the holy mass and the canonical hours may be celebrated anew."²

Upon this the *prudhommes* of Neuchâtel advanced. They were not a troop of young and giddy persons, as the Papists had pretended, but were grave citizens, whose liberties were guaranteed, and who had weighed what they had to say. "By the illumination of the Holy Ghost," replied they, "and by the holy doctrines of the Gospel, which are taught us in the pure Word of God, we will show that the mass is an abuse, without any utility, and which conduces much more

to the damnation than to the salvation of souls. And we are ready to prove, that taking away the altars, we have done a thing that was not right and acceptable to God."³

Thus the two parties met face to face with "great hatred and division," says the Bernese report. The arbitrators consulted together. The governor persisted, feeling that this movement would decide the future. A few votes would suffice for the triumph of Rome, and he reckoned on gaining them by his assurance. "You should understand," said he, "that the majority of this town men and women, adhere firmly to the ancient faith. The others are hot-headed young soldiers, vain of their persons, and puffed up with the new doctrine."⁴—"Well!" replied the Bernese deputies, "to prevent all mischief, let us settle this difference by the equality of suffrages, in accordance with the treaty of peace made at Bremgarten between the cantons."

This was what the reformed desired. "The vote! the vote!" cried they, according to the expression consecrated to such cases. But the lord of Prangins and the priests who had desired it when they were alone shrunk back in the presence of Bernese. "Vain ask for time," said they. If the reform allowed themselves to be cheated by the dilatory measures, all was over. When once the Bernese had quitted Neuchâtel, the governor and the clergy would easily have the upper hand. They therefore remained firm. "No, no!" said they, "now!—no delay!—not a day! not an hour!" But the governor, in the face of a proceeding that would decide the legal fall of Popery, trembled, and obstinately opposed the cries of the people. The magistrates were already indignant, the burghers murmured, and the more violent looked at their swords. "They were resolved to compel us, sword in hand," wrote the governor to the princess. A fresh storm was gathering over Neuchâtel. Yet a few more minutes' resistance, and it would burst forth upon the church, the town, and the castle, destroying not only statues, images, and altars, but "there would have remained dead men," said the lord of Rive.⁵ He gave way in trouble and affliction.

At the news of this concession, the papists of Rome saw all their danger. They conferred, they concerted their measures, and in an instant their resolution was taken: they were resolved to fight.⁶ "My lord," said they, turning to M. de Rive, and touching the hilt of their swords, "all of us adhere to the holy Sacrament and are resolved to die martyrs for our holy faith."⁶ This

¹ Chopard MS.; Reces du MM. de Bernes.

² Devez entendre que la plupart de cette ville, hommes et femmes, tiennent fermement à l'ancienne foi. Les autres sont jeunes gens de guerre, forts de leurs personnes, plus de la nouvelle doctrine, ayant le feu à la tête. Il

³ Le plus, the majority.

⁴ The Governor's letter to the Princess.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

¹ Chambrier, Hist. de Neuchâtel, p. 226. The Governor's letter. Quand bien le plus sera des votres, si passerez vous par là, de

² Chopard MS.; Reces du MM. de Bernes.

monstration did not escape the notice of the young soldiers who had returned from the Genevese war. One minute more and the swords would have been drawn, and the platform changed into a battlefield.

Monseigneur de Prangins, more wily than orthodox, shuddered at the thought. "I cannot suffer it," said he to the most violent of his party; "such an enterprise would forfeit my mistress's state and lordship."¹—"I consent," said he to the Bernese, "to take the votes, with reserve nevertheless of the sovereignty, rights, and lordship of Madame."²—"And we," replied the townspeople, "with the reserve of our liberties and privileges."

The Romanists, seeing the political power they had invoked now failing them, felt that all was lost. They will save their honour at least in this great shipwreck; they will subscribe their names, that posterity may know who had remained faithful to Rome. These proud supporters of the hierarchy advanced towards the governor; tears coursed down their rough cheeks, betraying thus their stifled anger. They wrote their signatures as witnesses at the foot of the solemn testament that Popery was now drawing up in Neufchatel, in the presence of the Bernese deputies. They then asked, with tears in their eyes, "that the names and surnames of the good and of the perverse should be written in perpetual memory, and declared that they were still good and faithful burghers of Madame, and would do her service unto death!"³

The reformed burgesses were convinced that it was only by frankly bearing testimony to their religious convictions that they could discharge their duty before God, their sovereign, and their fellow-citizens. So that the Catholics had scarcely protested their fidelity towards their lady, when, turning towards the governor, the reformed cried out: "We say the same in every other thing in which it shall please our Mistress to command us, save and except the evangelical faith, in which we will live and die."³

Every thing was then prepared for taking the votes. The Church of Our Lady was opened, and the two parties advanced between the shattered altars, torn pictures, mutilated statues, and all those ruins of Popery, which clearly foretold to its partisans the last and irrevocable defeat it was about to undergo. The three lords of Berne took their station beside the governor as arbitrators of the proceedings and presidents of the assembly, and the voting began.

George de Rive, notwithstanding the dependency of his friends, was not altogether

without hope. All the partisans of the ancient worship in Neufchatel had been forewarned; and but a few days previously the reformed themselves, by refusing a poll, had acknowledged the numerical superiority of their adversaries. But the friends of the Gospel in Neufchatel had a courage and hope that seemed to repose on a firmer basis. Were they not the victorious party, and could they be vanquished in the midst of their triumph?

The two parties, however, moved forward, confounded with one another, and each man gave his vote in silence. They counted each other: the result appeared uncertain; fear froze each party by turns. At length the majority seemed to declare itself;—they took out the votes,—the result was proclaimed. A majority of eighteen voices gave the victory to the Reformation, and the last blow to the Papacy!

The Bernese lords immediately hastened to profit by this advantage. "Live henceforth," said they, "in good understanding with one another; let the mass be no longer celebrated; let no injury be done to the priests; and pay to your Lady, or to whomsoever they may be justly due, all tithes, quit-rent, cense, and revenues." These different points were proclaimed by the assembly, and a report was immediately drawn up, to which the deputies, the governors, and the magistrates of the city of Neufchatel affixed their respective seals.⁴

Farel did not appear in all this business: one might have said that the reformer was not at Neufchatel: the citizens appealed only to the Word of God; and the governor himself, in his long report to the princess, does not once mention him. It was the apostles of our Lord, St. Peter, St. John, St. Paul, and St. James, who by their divine writings re-established the true foundations of the Church in the midst of the people of Neufchatel. The Word of God was the law of the *prudhommes*. In vain will the Roman Church say, "But these very Scriptures,—it is I who give them to you; you cannot therefore believe in them without believing in me." It is *not* from the Church of Rome that the Protestant Church receives the Bible. Protestantism has always existed in the Church. It has existed alone in every place where men have been engaged in the study of the Holy Scriptures, of their Divine origin, of their interpretation, and in their dissemination. The Protestantism of the sixteenth century received the Bible from the Protestantism of every age. When Rome speaks of the hierarchy, she is on her own ground: as soon as she speaks of the Scriptures, she is on ours. If Farel had been put forward in Neufchatel, he would not perhaps have been able to stand against the

¹ The Governor's letter to the Princess.

² Alors ceux dirent en pleurant que les noms et les surnoms des bons et des pervers fussent écrits en perpétuelle mémoire, et qu'ils protestassent être bons et fidèles bourgeois de Madame, et lui faire service jusqu'à la mort.

³ Governor's letter. Nous disons le semblable en toute autre chose où il plaira à Madame nous commander, sauf et réserve celle-ci évangélique, dans laquelle nous voulons vivre et mourir.

⁴ Reces de MM. de Berne, MS. Et que l'on paie à Madame ou à qui il sera dû justement dimes, cense, rentes et revenus.

pope; but the Word of Christ alone was concerned, and Rome must fall before Jesus.

Thus terminated, by a mutual contract, that day at first so threatening. If the reformed had sacrificed any of their convictions to a false peace, disorder would have been perpetuated in Neuchâtel. A bold manifestation of the truth, and the inevitable shocks that accompanied it, far from destroying society, preserved it. This manifestation is the wind that lifts the vessel from the rocks and brings it into the harbour.

The Lord of Prangins felt that, between fellow-citizens, "it is better to touch one another, even if it be by collision, than to avoid each other continually." The free explanation that had taken place had rendered the opposition of the two parties less irritating. "I give my promise," said the governor, "to undertake nothing against the vote of this day, for I am myself a witness that it has been honest, upright, without danger, and without coercion."¹

It was necessary to dispose of the spoils of the vanquished party: the governor opened the castle to them. Thither were transported the relics, the ornaments of the altars, the church papers, and even the organ; and the mass, expelled from the city, was there mournfully chanted every day.

All the ornaments, however, did not take this road. Some days after, as two citizens, named Fauche and Sauge, were going out together to their vineyards, they passed a little chapel, in which the latter had set up a wooden figure of St. John. He said to his companion, "There is an image I shall heat my stove with to-morrow." And, in fact, as he returned, he carried away the saint and laid it down in front of his house.

The next morning he took the image and put it on the fire. Immediately a horrible explosion spread dismay through this humble family. The trembling Fauche doubted not that it was a miracle of the saint, and hastened to return to the mass. In vain did his neighbour Sauge protest to him upon oath that, during the night, he had made a hole in the statue, filled it with gunpowder, and closed it up again. Fauche would listen to nothing, and resolved to flee from the vengeance of the saints. He went and settled with his family at Morteau in Franche Comté.² Such are the miracles upon which the divinity of Rome reposes!

By degrees every thing became settled: some of the canons, as Jacques Baillois, William de Pury, and Benedict Chambrier, embraced the Reformation. Others were recommended by the governor to the priory of Motiers, in the Val de Travers; and, in the middle of November, at the time when the winds began to rage among the mountains, several canons, surrounded by a few

singing-boys,—sad relics of the ancient powerful, rich, voluptuous, and haughty chapter of Neuchâtel,—painfully climbed the gorges of the Jura, and went to conceal in these lofty and picturesque valleys the disgrace of a defeat, which their long disorders and their insupportable tyranny had but too justly provoked.

During this time the new worship was organized. In room of the high-altar were substituted two marble tables to receive the bread and wine; and the Word of God was preached from a pulpit stripped of every ornament. The pre-eminence of the Word, which characterizes the evangelical worship, replaced in the church of Neuchâtel the pre-eminence of the sacrament, which characterizes Popery. Towards the end of the second century, Rome, that ancient metropolis of all religions, after having welcomed the christian worship in its primitive purity, had gradually transformed it into mysteries: a magic power had been ascribed to certain forms; and the reign of the sacrifice offered by the priest had succeeded to the reign of the Word of God. The preaching of Farel had restored the Word to the rights which belonged to it; and those vaulted roofs, which the piety of Count Ulric II. had, on his return from Jerusalem, dedicated to the worship of the Virgin, served at last, after four centuries, to nourish the faithful, as in the time of the apostles, "in the words of faith and of good doctrine."³

CHAPTER IX.

Reaction preparing—Failure of the Plot—Farel in Valangin and near the Lake—De Bély at Fontaine—Farel's sufferings—Marcourt at Valangin—Disgraceful Expedition—Vengeance—The Reform established—French Switzerland characterized—Gathering Tempest.

The convention, drawn up under the mediation of Berne, stipulated that "the change should take place only in the city and parish of Neuchâtel." Must the rest of the country remain in darkness? This was not Farel's wish, and the zeal of the citizens, in its first fervour, effectually seconded him. They visited the surrounding villages, exhorting some, combating others. Those who were compelled to labour with their hands during the day went thither at night. "Now, I am informed," writes the governor to the princess, "that they are working at a reformation night and day."

George de Rive, in alarm, convoked the magistrates of all the districts in the earldom. These good folks believed that their consciences, as well as their places, depended upon Madame de Longueville. Affrighted at the thought of freely receiving a new conviction from the Word of God, they were quite ready to accept it from the countess as

¹ Ungefehrlich, ungeswungen, aufrecht und redlich. Berne to the Governor, 17th Dec. 1530.

² *Boye Annals*, 225.

³ 1 Tim. iv. 6.

they would a new impost;—a sad helotism, in which religion springs from the soil, instead of descending from heaven! "We desire to live and die under the protection of our lady," said the magistrates to the Lord of Rive, "without changing the ancient faith, until it be so ordered by her."¹ Rome, even after her fall, could not receive a deeper insult.

These assurances of fidelity and the absence of the Bernese restored De Rive's confidence, and he secretly prepared a reaction among the nobles and the lower classes. There is in every historical catastrophe, in the fall of great establishments, and in the spectacle of their ruins, something which excites and improves the mind. This was what happened at the period in question. Some were more zealous for Popery after its fall than in its day of power. The clergy gliding into the houses said mass to a few friends mysteriously called together around a temporary altar. If a child was born, the priest noiselessly arrived, breathed on the infant, made the sign of the cross on its forehead and breast, and baptized it according to the Roman ritual.² Thus they were rebuilding in secret what had been overthrown in the light of day. At length a counter-revolution was agreed upon; and Christmas-day was selected for the restoration of Roman Catholicism. While the Christians' songs of joy should be rising to heaven, the partisans of Rome were to rush into the church, expel the heretical assembly, overthrow the pulpit and the holy table, restore the images, and celebrate the mass in triumph. Such was the plan of the Neuchâtelan vespers.³

The plot got wind. Deputies from Berne arrived at Neuchâtel on the very eve of the festival. "You must see to this," said they to the governor: "if the reformed are attacked, we, their co-burghers, will protect them with all our power." The conspirators laid down their arms, and the Christmas hymns were not disturbed.

This signal deliverance augmented the devotion and zeal of the friends of the Gospel. Already Emier Beynon of Serrière, where Farel had one day landed from a small boat, ascending the pulpit, had said to his parishioners: "If I have been a good priest, I desire by the grace of God to be a still better pastor." It was necessary that these words should be heard from every pulpit. Farel recommenced a career of labours, fatigues, and struggles, which the actions of the apostles and missionaries alone can equal.

Towards the end of the year 1530, he crossed the mountain in the middle of winter, entered the church of Valangin, went into

the pulpit, and began to preach at the very moment that Guillemette de Vergy was coming to mass. She endeavoured to shut the reformer's mouth, but in vain, and the aged and noble dowager retired precipitately saying: "I do not think this is according to the old Gospels; if there are any new ones that encourage it, I am quite amazed at them."⁴ The people of Valangin embraced the Gospel. The affrighted lieutenant ran to Neuchâtel, thence to Berne, and on the 11th February 1531 laid his complaint before the council; but all was useless. "Why," said their excellencies of Berne to him, "why should you disturb the water of the river? let it flow freely on."

Farel immediately turned to the parishes on the slopes between the lake and Mount Jura. At Corcelles a fanatic crowd, well armed and led on by the curate of Neuchâtel, rushed into the church where the minister was preaching, and he did not escape without a wound. At Bevaix, the abbot John of Livron and his monks collected a numerous body of friends, surrounded the church, and having thus completed the blockade, entered the building, dragged the minister from the pulpit, and drove him out with blows and insults. Each time he reappeared, they pursued him as far as Anvernier with stones and gun-shots.

While Farel was thus preaching in the plain, he sent one of his brethren into the valley; it was John de Bély, a man of good family from Crest in Dauphiny. Beyond Valangin, at a little distance from Fontaine, on the left side of the road to Cernier, was a stone that remains to this day. Here in the open air, as if in a magnificent temple, this herald of the Gospel began to proclaim salvation by grace.⁵ Before him stretched the declivity of Chaumont, dotted with the pretty villages of Fenin, Villars, Sole, and Savagnier, and beyond, where the mountains fell away, might be seen the distant and picturesque chain of the Alps. The most zealous of his hearers entreated him to enter the church. He did so; but suddenly the priest and his curate "arrived with great noise." They proceeded to the pulpit, dragged Bély down; and then turning to the women and young persons of the place, "excited them to beat him and drive him away."⁶

John de Bély returned to Neuchâtel, hooted and bruised, like his friend after the affair at Valangin; but these evangelists followed the traces of the Apostle Paul, whom neither whips nor scourges could arrest.⁷ De Bély often returned to Fontaine. The mass was abolished ere long in this village; Bély was its pastor for twenty-seven years;

¹ Champard MS. Nous voulons vivre et mourir sous la protection de Madame, sans changer l'ancienne foi, jusqu'à ce que par elle on soit ordonné.

² Thiers to Neuchâtel, 17th December.

³ Thiers to the Governor, 22d December.

⁴ Cor. xi. 34, 35.

his descendants have more than once exercised the ministry there, and now they form the most numerous family of agriculturists in the place.

Farel, after evangelizing the shores of the lake to the south of Neufchatel, had gone to the north, and preached at St. Blaise. The populace, stirred up by the priests and the lieutenant, had fallen upon him, and Farel escaped from their hands, severely beaten, spitting blood, and scarcely to be recognised. His friends had thrown him hurriedly into a boat, and conveyed him to Morat, where his wounds detained him for some time.¹

At the report of this violence the reformed Neufchatelans felt their blood boil. If the lieutenant, the priest, and his flock have bruised the body of Christ's servant, which is truly the altar of the living God, why should they spare dead idols? Immediately they rushed to St. Blaise, threw down the images, and did the same at the abbey of Fontaine-André,—a sanctuary of the ancient worship.

The images still existed at Valangin, but their last hour was about to strike. A Frenchman, Anthony Marcourt, had been nominated pastor of Neufchatel. Treading in Farel's footsteps, he repaired with a few of the citizens to Valangin on the 14th June, a great holiday in that town.² Scarcely had they arrived when a numerous crowd pressed around the minister, listening to his words. The canons, who were on the watch in their houses, and Madame de Vergy and M. de Bellegarde from their towers, sought how they could make a diversion against this heretical preaching. They could not employ force because of Berne. They had recourse to a brutal expedient, worthy of the darkest days of Popery, and which, by insulting the minister, might divert (they imagined) the attention of the people, and change it into shouts and laughter. A canon,³ assisted by the countess's coachman, went to the stables and took thence two animals, which they led to the spot where Marcourt was preaching. We will throw a veil over this scene: it is one of those disgraceful subjects that the pen of history refuses to transcribe.⁴ But never did punishment follow closer upon crime. The conscience of the hearers was aroused at the sight of this infamous spectacle. The torrent, that such a proceeding was intended to check, rushed out of its channel. The indignant people, undertaking the defence of that religion which their opponents had wished to insult, entered the church like an avenging wave; the ancient windows were broken, the shields of the lords were demo-

lished, the relics scattered about; the books torn, the images thrown down, and the altar overturned. But this was not enough: the popular wave, after sweeping out the church, flowed back again, and dashed against the canons' houses. Their inhabitants fled in consternation into the forests, and every thing was destroyed in their dwellings.

Guillemette de Vergy and M. de Bellegarde, agitated and trembling behind their battlements, repented, but too late, of their monstrous expedient. They were the only ones who had not yet felt the popular vengeance. Their restless eyes watched the motions of the indignant townspeople. The work is completed: the last house is sacked! The burghers consult together.—O horror!—they turn towards the castle,—they ascend the hill,—they draw near. Is then the abode of the noble counts of Arberg about to be laid waste? But no!—"We come," said the delegates standing near the gate of the castle, "we are come to demand justice for the outrage committed against religion and its minister." They were permitted to enter, and the trembling countess ordered the poor wretches to be punished who had acted solely by her orders. But at the same time she sent deputies to Berne, complaining of the "great insults that had been offered her."¹ Berne declared that the reformed should pay for the damage; but that the countess should grant them the free exercise of their worship. Jacques Veluzat, a native of Champagne, was the first pastor of Valangin. A little later we shall see new struggles at the foot of Mount Jura.

Thus was the Reformation established at Valangin, as it had been at Neufchatel: the two capitals of these mountains were gained to the Gospel. Erlong it received a legal sanction. Francis, marquis of Rothelin, son of the Duchess of Longueville, arrived in the principality in March 1531, with the intention of playing on this small theatre the part of a Francis I. But he soon found out that there are revolutions which an irresistible hand has accomplished, and that must be submitted to. Rothelin excluded from the estates of the earldom the canons who had hitherto formed the first power, and replaced them by four bannerets and four burgesses. Then, availing himself of the principle that all abandoned property falls to the state, he laid his hands upon their rich heritage, and proclaimed freedom of conscience throughout the whole country. All the necessary forms having been observed with Madame, the politic M. de Rive became reformed also. Such was the support Rome received from the state, to which she had looked for her deliverance.

A great energy characterized the Reformation of French Switzerland; and this is

¹ De Perrot: *L'Eglise et la Réformation*, II. 23.

² This incident is generally attributed to Farel, but Choupart, following an older manuscript, says, *le ministre de Neufchatel*, by which title he always means Marcourt, and never Farel.

³ Some historians say "the coachman of the countess;" but Choupart, on three different occasions, writes *un canone*. The latter is no doubt more revolting; but there is nothing incredible in it.

⁴ De equo admissario loquitur qui equum iuit.

¹ *Chronicle of Besançon's Chronicle*. Des grands vices pères qu'on lui avait faits.

shown by the events we have just witnessed. Men have attributed to Farel this distinctive feature of his work; but no man has ever created his own times; it is always, on the contrary, the times that create the man. The greater the epoch, the less do individualities prevail in it. All the good contained in the events we have just related came from that Almighty Spirit, of which the strongest men are but weak instruments. All the evil proceeded from the character of the people; and, indeed, it was almost always Popery that began these scenes of violence. Farel submitted to the influence of his times, rather than the times received his. A great

man may be the personification and the type of the epoch for which God destines him: he is never its creator.

But it is time to quit the Jura and its beautiful valleys, brightened by the vernal sun, to direct our steps towards the Alps of German Switzerland, along which thick clouds and horrible tempests are gathering. The free and courageous people, who dwell there below the eternal glaciers, or on the smiling banks of the lakes, daily assume a fiercer aspect, and the collision threatens to be sudden, violent, and terrible. We have just been witnessing a glorious conquest: a dreadful catastrophe awaits us.

BOOK XVI.

SWITZERLAND—CATASTROPHE. 1528—1531.

CHAPTER I.

Two great Lessons—Christian Warfare—Zwingli, Pastor, Statesman, and General—His noble Character—Persecutions—Swiss Catholics seek an Alliance with Austria—Great Dissatisfaction—Deputation to the Forest Cantons—Zwingli's Proposal—Moderation of Berne—Keyser's Martyrdom—Zwingli and War—Zwingli's Error.

It was the will of God that at the very gates of his revived Church there should be two great examples to serve as lessons for future generations. Luther and the German Reformation, declining the aid of the temporal power, rejecting the force of arms, and looking for victory only in the confession of the truth, were destined to see their faith crowned with the most brilliant success; while Zwingli and the Swiss Reformation, stretching out their hands to the mighty ones of the earth, and grasping the sword, were fated to witness a horrible, cruel, and bloody catastrophe fall upon the Word of God—a catastrophe which threatened to engulf the evangelical cause in the most furious whirlpool. God is a jealous God, and gives not his glory to another; he claims to perform his own work himself, and to attain his ends sets other springs in motion than those of a skillful diplomacy.

We are far from forgetting that we are called upon to relate facts and not to discuss theories; but there is a principle which the history we are narrating sets forth in capital letters: it is that professed in the Gospel, where it says: **THE WEAPONS OF OUR WARFARE ARE NOT CARNAL, BUT MIGHTY THROUGH GOD!** In maintaining this truth we do not place ourselves on the ground of any particular school, but on that of universal conscience and of the Word of God.

Of all carnal support that religion can invoke, there is none more injurious to it than arms and diplomacy. The latter throws it into tortuous ways; the former hurries it into paths of bloodshed; and religion, from whose brow has been torn the double wreath of truth and meekness, presents but a degraded and humiliated countenance that no person can, that no person desires to recognise.

It was the very extension of the Reform in Switzerland that exposed it to the dangers under which it sunk. So long as it was concentrated at Zurich, it continued a religious matter; but when it had gained Berne, Basle, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Glaris, Appenzell, and numerous bailiwicks, it formed inter-cantonal relations; and—here was the error and misfortune—while the connexion should have taken place between church and church, it was formed between state and state.

As soon as spiritual and political matters became mingled together, the latter took the upperhand. Zwingli ere long thought it his duty to examine not only doctrinal, but also federal questions; and the illustrious reformer might be seen, unconscious of the snares beneath his feet, precipitating himself into a course strewn with rocks, at the end of which a cruel death awaited him.

The primitive Swiss cantons had resigned the right of forming new alliances without the consent of all; but Zurich and Berne had reserved the power. Zwingli thought himself therefore quite at liberty to promote an alliance with the evangelical states. Constance was the first city that gave her adhe-

ation. But this christian co-burghery, which might become the germ of a new confederation, immediately raised up numerous adversaries against Zwingle, even among the partisans of the Reformation.

There was yet time: Zwingle might withdraw from public affairs, and occupy himself entirely with those of the Gospel. But no one in Zurich had, like him, that application to labour, that correct, keen, and sure eye, so necessary for politicians. If he retired, the vessel of the state would be left without a pilot. Besides, he was convinced, that political acts alone could save the Reform. He resolved, therefore, to be at one and the same time the man of the State and of the Church. The registers prove that in his later years he took part in the most important deliberations; and he was commissioned by the councils of his canton to write letters, compose proclamations, and draw up opinions. Already, before the dispute with Berne, looking upon war as possible, he had traced out a very detailed plan of defence, the manuscript of which is still in existence.¹ In 1528 he did still more; he showed in a remarkable paper, how the republic should act with regard to the empire, France, and other European states, and with respect to the several cantons and bailiwicks. Then, as if he had grown gray at the head of the Helvetic troops (and it is but just to remark that he had long lived among soldiers), he explained the advantages there would be in surprising the enemy; and described even the nature of the arms, and the manner of employing them. In truth, an important revolution was then taking place in the art of war. The pastor of Zurich is at once the head of the state and general of the army: this double—this triple part of the reformer was the ruin of the Reformation and of himself. Undoubtedly we must make allowances for the men of this age, who, being accustomed to see Rome wield two swords for so many centuries, did not understand that they must take up one and leave the other. We must admire the strength of that superior genius, which, while pursuing a political course, in which the greatest minds would have been absorbed, ceased not however to display an indefatigable activity as pastor, preacher, divine, and author. We must acknowledge that the republican education of Zwingle had taught him to confound his country with his religion, and that there was in this great man enough to fill up many lives. We must appreciate that indomitable courage which, relying upon justice, feared not, at a time when Zurich had but one or two weak cities for allies, to confront the redoubtable forces of the empire and of the confederation; but we should also see in the great and terrible lesson that God gave him, a precept for all times and for every

nation; and finally, understand what is so often forgotten, "that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world."

The Roman-catholic cantons, on hearing of the new alliances of the reformed, felt a violent indignation. William of Diesbach, deputy from Berne at the diet, was forced to submit to the keenest reproaches. The sitting, for a while interrupted, was resumed immediately after his departure. "They may try to patch up the old faith," said the Bernese, as he withdrew, "it cannot, however, last any longer."² In truth, they patched away with all their might, but with a sharp and envenomed needle that drew blood. Joseph Am Berg of Schwytz and Jacques Stocker of Zug, bailiffs of Thurgovia, behaved with cruelty towards all who were attached to the Gospel. They enforced against them fines, imprisonment, torture, the scourge, confiscation, and banishment: they cut out the ministers' tongues, beheaded them, or condemned them to be burnt.³ At the same time they took away the Bibles and all the evangelical books; and if any poor Lutherans, fleeing from Austria, crossed the Rhine and that low valley where its calm waters flow between the Alps of the Tyrol and of Appenzell,—if these poor creatures, tracked by the lansquenets, came to seek a refuge in Switzerland, they were cruelly given up to their persecutors.

The heavier lay the hands of the bailiffs on Thurgovia and the Rheinthal, the greater conquests did the Gospel make. The Bishop of Constance wrote to the Five Cantons, that if they did not act with firmness, all the country would embrace the Reform. In consequence of this, the cantons convoked at Frauenfeld all the prelates, nobles, judges, and persons of note in the district; and a second meeting taking place six days after (6th December 1528) at Weinfeld, deputies from Berne and Zurich entreated the assembly to consider the honour of God above all things, and in no respect to care for the threats of the world.⁴ A great agitation followed upon this discourse. At last a majority called for the preaching of the Word of God; the people came to the same decision; and the Rheinthal, as well as Bremgarten, followed this example.

What was to be done? The flood had become hourly more encroaching. Must then the Forest Cantons open their valleys to it at last? Religious antipathies put an end to national antipathies; and these proud mountaineers, directing their looks beyond the Rhine, thought of invoking the succour of Austria, which they had vanquished at Morgarten and at Sempach.⁵ The fanatical

¹ Mögen sie blätzen am alten Glauben. *Hottinger, Zwingle*, p. 350.

² Die Zünge geschlitt, mit dem Schwerdt richten und verbrannt. *Bull.* ii. 31.

³ Die Eer Gottes, uwer Seelen Heil. *Bull.* Chron. ii. 28.

⁴ *Bull.* Chron. ii. 46.

⁵ *Hesher et Hottinger, Archives* ii. 323.

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ty that had crushed the revolted asants was all-powerful on the letters were exchanged; mes- sed to and fro across the river; took advantage of a wedding in that was to take place at Feld- abia, six leagues from Appenzell. In February 1529, the marriage- ing a brilliant cavalcade, in the ich the deputies of the Five Can- oncealed, made their entry into und Am Berg had an immediate ith the Austrian governor. "The : enemies of our ancient faith has 1," said the Swiss, "that the he Church can resist them no : therefore turn our eyes to that rince who has saved in Germany our fathers."

nce was so very unnatural, that is had some difficulty in believing ere. "Take hostages," said the , "write the articles of the treaty own hands; command and we "—"Very good!" replied the "in two months you will find us dshut, and we will let you know ns."

r of these negotiations which ad excited great dissatisfaction, partisans of Rome. In no place out with greater force than in of Zug. The opposing parties ly agitated; they stamped their arted from their seats, and were ing to blows; but hatred pre- patriotism. The deputies of the ons appeared at Waldshut; they e arms of their cantons by the of the oppressors of Switzerland; eir hats with peacocks' feathers f Austria), and laughed, drank, d with the Imperialists. This ance was at last concluded. I shall form new sects among the ran, "shall be punished with if need be, with the help of Aus- power, in case of emergency, to Switzerland six thousand foot l four hundred horse, with all tillery. If necessary, the re- ons shall be blockaded, and all ntercepted." To the Romish n, belongs the initiative of this much decried. Finally, Austria o the Waldstettes the possession, he common bailiwicks, but of all that might be made on the left Rhine.

and consternation immediately Switzerland. This national vich Bullinger has preserved, every direction:—

Wall, Helvetians, wall,
For the peacock's plume of pride
To the forest cantons' savage bull
In friendship is allied.

All the cantons not included in this alli- ance, with the exception of Friburg, assem- bled in diet at Zurich, and resolved to send a deputation to their mountain confederates, with a view to reconciliation. The deputa- tion, admitted at Schwytz in the presence of the people, was able to execute its mission without tumult. At Zug there was a cry of "No sermon! no sermon!" At Altorf the answer was: "Would to God that your new faith was buried for ever!" At Lucerne they received this haughty reply: "We shall know how to defend ourselves, our children, and our children's children, from the poison of your rebellious priests." It was at Unterwalden that the deputation met with the worst reception. "We declare our alliance at an end," said they. "It is we,— it is the other Waldstettes who are the real Swiss. We graciously admitted you into our confederation, and now you claim to be- come our masters!—The emperor, Austria, France, Savoy, and Valais will assist us!" The deputies retired in astonishment, shud- dering as they passed before the house of the secretary of state, where they saw the arms of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Strasburg hang- ing from a lofty gibbet.

The deputation had scarcely returned to Zurich and made their report, when men's minds were inflamed. Zwingle proposed to grant no peace to Unterwalden, if it would not renounce foreign service, the alliance with Austria, and the government of the common bailiwicks. "No! no!" said Berne, that had just stifled a civil war in its own canton, "let us not be so hasty. When the rays of the sun shine forth, each one wishes to set out; but as soon as it begins to rain, every man loses heart! The Word of God enjoins peace. It is not with pikes and lances that faith is made to enter the heart. For this reason, in the name of our Lord's sufferings, we entreat you to moderate your anger."

This christian exhortation would have suc- ceeded, if the fearful news that reached Zurich, on the very day when the Bernese delivered their moderate speech, had not ren- dered it unavailing.

On Saturday the 22d May, Jacques Key- ser, a pastor and father of a family in the neighbourhood of the Greiffensee, after coast- ing the fertile shores of this little lake, crossed the rich pastures of the bailiwick of Gruningen, passed near the Teutonic house of Bubikon and the convent of Ruti, and reached that simple and wild district bathed by the upper part of Lake Zurich. Making his way to Oberkirk, a parish in the Gaster district, between the two lakes of Zurich and Wallenstadt, of which he had been nomi- nated pastor, and where he was to preach on

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the morrow, he crossed on foot the lengthened and rounded flanks of the Buchberg, fronting the picturesque heights of the Ammon. He was confidently advancing into those woods which for many weeks he had often traversed without obstruction, when he was suddenly seized by six men, posted there to surprise him, and carried off to Schwytz. "The bailiffs," said they to the magistrates, "have ordered all innovating ministers to be brought before the tribunals: here is one that we bring you." Although Zurich and Glaris interposed; although the government of Gaster, where Keyser had been taken, did not then belong to Schwytz; the landsgemeinde desired a victim, and on the 29th May they condemned the minister to be burnt alive. On being informed of his sentence, Keyser burst into tears.¹ But when the hour of execution arrived, he walked cheerfully to death, freely confessed his faith, and gave thanks to the Lord even with his latest breath. "Go and tell them at Zurich how he thanks us!" said one of the Schwytz magistrates to the Zurich deputies with a sarcastic smile. Thus had a fresh martyr fallen under the hands of that formidable power that is "drunk with the blood of the saints."²

The cup was full. The flames of Keyser's pile became the signal of war. Exasperated Zurich uttered a cry that resounded through all the confederation. Zwingle above all called for energetic measures. Every where, —in the streets, in the councils, and even in the pulpits,—he surpassed in daring even the most valiant captains. He spoke at Zurich,—he wrote to Berne. "Let us be firm, and fear not to take up arms," said he. "This peace, which some desire so much, is not peace, but war: while the war that we call for is not war but peace."³ We thirst for no man's blood, but we will clip the wings of the oligarchy.⁴ If we shun it, the truth of the Gospel and the ministers' lives will never be secure among us."

Thus spoke Zwingle. In every part of Europe he beheld the mighty ones of the earth aiding one another to stifle the reviving animation of the Church; and he thought that without some decisive and energetic movement, Christianity, overwhelmed by so many blows, would soon fall back into its ancient slavery. Luther under similar circumstances arrested the swords ready to be crossed, and demanded that the Word of God alone should appear on the field of battle. Zwingle thought not thus. In his opinion war was not revolt, for Switzerland had no master. "Undoubtedly," said he, "we must trust in God alone; but when He gives us a just cause, we must also know how to defend

it, and, like Joshua and Gideon, shed blood in behalf of our country and our God."

If we adopt the principles of justice which govern the rulers of nations, the advice of Zwingle was judicious and irreproachable. It was the duty of the Swiss magistrates to defend the oppressed against the oppressor. But is not language, which might have been suitable in the mouth of a magistrate, blamable in a minister of Christ? Perhaps Zwingle forgot his quality of pastor, and considered himself only as a citizen, consulted by his fellow-citizens; perhaps he wished to defend Switzerland, and not the Church, by his counsels; but it is a question, if he ought ever to have forgotten the Church and his ministry. We think we may go even further; and while granting all that may be urged in favour of the contrary supposition, we may deny that the secular power ought ever to interfere with the sword to protect the faith.

To accomplish his designs, the reformer needed even in Zurich the greatest unity. But there were many men in that city devoted to interests and superstitions which were opposed to him. "How long," he had exclaimed in the pulpit on the 1st December 1528, "how long will you support in the council these unbelievers, these impious men, who oppose the Word of God?"⁵ They had decided upon purging the council, as required by the reformer: they had examined the citizens individually; and then had excluded all the hostile members.

CHAPTER II.

Free Preaching of the Gospel in Switzerland—Zwingle supports the common Bailiwicks—War—Zwingle joins the Army—The Zurich Army threatens Zug—The Landmann Aebi—Bernese Interposition—Zwingle's Opposition—Swiss Cordiality—Order in the Zurich Camp—A Conference—Peace restored—Austrian Treaty torn—Zwingle's Hymn—Hills of Saint Catherine.

On Saturday the 15th of June 1529, seven days after Keyser's martyrdom, all Zurich was in commotion. The moment was come when Unterwalden should send a governor to the common bailiwicks; and the images, having been burnt in those districts, Unterwalden had sworn to take a signal revenge. Thus the consternation had become general. "Keyser's pile," thought they, "will be rekindled in all our villages." Many of the inhabitants flocked to Zurich, and on their alarmed and agitated features, one might, in imagination, have seen reflected the flames that had just consumed the martyr.

These unhappy people found a powerful advocate in Zwingle. The reformer imagined that he had at last attained the object he never ceased to pursue—the free preaching of the Gospel in Switzerland. To inflict a final blow would, in his opinion, suffice to

¹ Wetnet häftig. Bull. ii. 148.

² Rev. xvii. 6.

³ Bellum cui nos instamus, pax est, non bellum. Vita Zwingle, per O. Meymann.

⁴ Oligarchia nervi succidantur. Ibid.

⁵ Den rath reinigen. Füssli Beyträge, iv. 91.

⁶ Den götzen brand, so hien mitt der hand so richen Bull. Chron. ii. 130.

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surprise to a favourable issue. "I am not a soldier," said Zwingle to the officers, "who profit by the ignorance of the people to stir up these simple souls to the wars of the Gospel. Let us sever upon these haughty wildness of the lamb would only make the wolf more ferocious.¹ Let us to the Five Cantons to allow the preaching of the Word of the Lord, their wicked alliances, and to the rejection of foreign service. As to idols, rites, and superstitions, let us be forced to abandon them. It is of God alone to scatter with His breath all this idle dust.² Be bold, and in despite of certain enemies as black at Zurich as they are here, but whose malice will never turn the chariot of Reform, this difficult pass, and arrive at the Five Cantons and at unity of the Gospel, while calling for the reformation of political abuses, asked only for the Gospel; but he desired a reformation, in order that this might be secured to it. Oecolampadius said: "It is not a time for peace; it is not a time for parsimony! So long as the people are not utterly removed from this world, we shall be exposed to dangers."⁴

of Zurich, led away by the priests, used the bailiwicks to support themselves among them; and no sooner did that Anthony ab Acker of Basel was proceeding to Baden with his army, they ordered five hundred men for Bremgarten with four companies. This was the 5th June, the same evening the standard of the Reformation was raised over the convent of Muri. The Reformation had begun. The old statutes re-echoed afar in the land, and were arming in every direction. Messengers were sent off in haste to the assistance of the Valais and of other places. A few days later (Tuesday the 12th) the hundred Zurichers, under the command of Jacques Werdmüller, set out from Basel and the district of Gaster; on the 13th, four thousand men reached the command of the Five Cantons in George Bergher, to whom the Reformation, pastor of Küssnacht, had appointed chaplain. "We do not wish to start a war," said Burgomaster Bergher; "for the pope, the Archbishops, the Romish cantons, the abbots, and the prelates, hate

you mortally. Stay with the council: we have need of you."—"No!" replied Zwingle, who was unwilling to confide so important an enterprise to any one: "when my brethren expose their lives I will not remain quietly at home by my fireside. Besides, the army also requires a watchful eye, that looks continually around it." Then, taking down his glittering halberd, which he had carried (as it is said) at Marignan, and placing it on his shoulder, the reformer mounted his horse, and set out with the army.¹ The walls, towers, and battlements were covered with a crowd of old men, children, and women, among whom was Anna, Zwingle's wife.

Zurich had called for the aid of Berne; but that city, whose inhabitants showed little disposition for a religious war, and which besides was not pleased at seeing the increasing influence of Zurich, replied, "Since Zurich has begun the war without us, let her finish it in like manner." The evangelical states were disunited at the very moment of struggle.

The Romish cantons did not act thus. It was Zug that issued the first summons; and the men of Uri, of Schwytz, and of Unterwalden had immediately begun to march. On the 8th June, the great banner floated before the townhouse of Lucerne, and on the next day the army set out to the sound of the antique horns that Lucerne pretended to have received from the Emperor Charlemagne.

On the 10th June, the Zurichers, who were posted at Cappel, sent a herald at daybreak to Zug, who was commissioned, according to custom, to denounce to the Five Cantons the rupture of the alliance. Immediately Zug was filled with cries and alarm. This canton, the smallest in Switzerland, not having yet received all the confederate contingents, was not in a condition to defend itself. The people ran to and fro, sent off messengers, and hastily prepared for battle; the warriors fitted on their armour, the women shed tears, and the children shrieked.

Already the first division of the Zurich army, amounting to two thousand men, under the command of William Thöming, and stationed near the frontier below Cappel, was preparing to march, when they observed, in the direction of Baar, a horseman pressing the flanks of his steed, and galloping up as fast as the mountain which he had to ascend would permit. It was Aebli, landamman of Glaris. "The Five Cantons are prepared," said he, as he arrived, "but I have prevailed upon them to halt, if you will do the same. For this reason I entreat my lords and the people of Zurich, for the love of God and the safety of the confederation, to suspend their march at the present moment." As he uttered these words, the brave Helvetian

agni, magis magisque vorax fit. Zw. in hoc pulvere omnes facile statu suo. —Excepit aliquot nigris equis. Ibid. nescio ille colubro. Ibid.

¹ Sonderm sass auf ein Ross, und führte eine kuhische Heiparten auf den Achelein. Füssli Beitr. iv. 106.

shed tears.¹ "In a few hours," continued he, "I shall be back again. I hope, with God's grace, to obtain an honourable peace, and to prevent our cottages from being filled with widows and orphans."

Aebli was known to be an honourable man, friendly to the Gospel, and opposed to foreign service: his words, therefore, moved the Zurich captains, who resolved to halt. Zwingle alone, motionless and uneasy, beheld in his friend's intervention the machinations of the adversary. Austria, occupied in repelling the Turks, and unable to succour the Five Cantons, had exhorted them to peace. This, in Zwingle's opinion, was the cause of the propositions brought to them by the Landamman of Glaris. So at the moment Aebli turned round to return to Zug,² Zwingle, approaching him, said with earnestness, "Gossip landamman, you will render to God an account of all this. Our adversaries are caught in a sack: and hence they give you sweet words. By and by they will fall upon us unawares, and there will be none to deliver us." Prophetic words, whose fulfilment went beyond all foresight! "Dear gossip!" replied the landamman, "I have confidence in God that all will go well. Let each one do his best." And he departed.

The army, instead of advancing upon Zug, now began to erect tents along the edge of the forest and the brink of the torrent, a few paces from the sentinels of the Five Cantons; while Zwingle, seated in his tent, silent, sad, and in deep thought, anticipated some distressing news from hour to hour.

He had not long to wait. The deputies of the Zurich council came to give reality to his fears. Berne, maintaining the character that it had so often filled as representative of the federal policy, declared that if Zurich or the cantons would not make peace, they would find means to compel them: this state at the same time convoked a diet at Arau, and sent five thousand men into the field, under the command of Sebastian Diesbach. Zwingle was struck with consternation.

Aebli's message, supported by that of Berne, was sent back by the council to the army; for, according to the principles of the time, "wherever the banner waves, there is Zurich."—"Let us not be staggered," cried the reformer, ever decided and firm; "our destiny depends upon our courage; to-day they beg and entreat, and in a month, when we have laid down our arms, they will crush us. Let us stand firm in God. Before all things, let us be just; peace will come after that." But Zwingle, transformed to a statesman, began to lose the influence which he had gained as a servant of God. Many could not understand him, and asked if what they had heard was really the language of a minis-

ter of the Lord. "Ah!" said Osi-
nius, one of his friends, who per-
him best, "Zwingle certainly was
pid man in the midst of dang-
always had a horror of blood, even
his most deadly enemies. The
his country, the virtues of our
and, above all, the glory of Christ
sole end of all his designs.³—I
truth, as if in the presence of God,

While Zurich was sending
Arau, the two armies received
ments. The men of Thurgovia
joined their banners to that of
Valaisans and the men of St. Got-
with the Romanist cantons. The
posts were in sight of each other
Leematt, and Goldesbrunnen, on
ful slopes of the Albis.

Never, perhaps, did Swiss cord
forth brighter with its ancient
soldiers called to one another in
manner, and shook hands, styling
confederates and brothers. "We
fight," said they. "A storm is p-
our heads, but we will pray to G-
will preserve us from every harm
afflicted the army of the Five Can-
abundance reigned in the camp
Some young famishing Waldstet-
passed the outposts: the Zurich
them prisoners, conducted them
and then sent them back laden
sions, with still greater good-
was shown by Henry IV. at
Paris. At another time, some
the Five Cantons, having placed
filled with milk on the frontier
to the Zurichers that they had
The latter came down immediately
their bread into the enemies'
which the soldiers of the two p-
with jokes to eat out of the same
on this side, some on that. They
were delighted that, notwithstanding
hibition of their priests, the Wal-
with heretics. When one of the
a morsel that was on the side of
saries, the latter sportively struck
their spoons, and said: "Do not
frontier!" Thus did these good
make war upon one another; and
was that the Burgomaster Stum-
burg, one of the mediators, exclaim-
confederates are a singular people
you are disunited, you still live
with one another, and your ass-
ship never slumbers."³

The most perfect order reigned
camp of Zurich. Every day
commander sent a hawk abbe-
or some other bird to the
soldiers.

¹ Das redt er mit weynenden Augen. Bull. ii. 160.

² Als nun der Amman wiederum zu den Sorten ritten
wollt. Bull. Chron. ii. 170. Zwingle was godfather to one
of Aebli's children.

³ Liberté
Christi.

² A morsel
for a hawk.

³ Weisheit

[illegible]

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem. This involves gathering information about the situation and the people involved. It is important to understand the context and the impact of the problem.

In June, they discovered the bones of a young girl buried with the Whites. The event shocked the community, and led to a new investigation. The bones were found in a shallow grave, and the girl was identified as a young girl who had been missing for some time. The investigation led to the discovery of a hidden grave, and the bones were buried with the Whites. The investigation also led to the discovery of a hidden grave, and the bones were buried with the Whites. The investigation also led to the discovery of a hidden grave, and the bones were buried with the Whites.

the treaty was concluded to the 29. Zwinge did not obtain all Instead of the free preaching of God, the treaty stipulated our inscience; it declared that the livwicks should procure for or Reform by a majority of votes. creeing the abolition of foreign was recommended to the Romain Alliance with Austria was Five Cantons were to pay the the war, Murner to retract his ords, and an indemnity was lawyer's family.²

warlike demonstration of Zaria
antons felt it. Glomy, immed
umping the bit that had been
air mouths, their child
giving up the deal of
Austria. Zaria's im
roops, the mediator

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[The page contains faint, illegible markings and artifacts.]

"I heard Ulrich rose and wrote to me! It is you, will you, will hunters," he said to Italian."

...make to get it
...that the Reform
...centuries ago.
...ned. He com-
...gospel; but at one
...non vult. Zw. Epp. II. 13.
...cuses, at another rejects,
...o Zwingle, Epp. II. 615.

bishop of Milan, suppressed
is in this district: "Moni-
nantium contubernia," said
mo von P. Meyer, l. 100.
m patrocínio, cucullumque
Epp. l. 44s.

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

Send down thy peace, and banish strife,
Let bitterness depart;
Revive the spirit of the past
In every Swiss's heart;
Then shall thy Church for ever sing
The praises of her heavenly King.

An edict, published in the name of the confederates, ordered the revival every where of the old friendship and brotherly concord; but decrees are powerless to work such miracles.

This treaty of peace was nevertheless favourable to the Reform. Undoubtedly it met with a violent opposition in some places. The nuns of the vale of St. Catherine in Thurgovia, deserted by their priests and excited by some noblemen beyond the Rhine, who styled them in their letters, "Chivalrous women of the house of God," sang mass themselves, and appointed one of their number preacher to the convent. Certain deputies from the Protestant cantons having had an interview with them, the abbess and three of the nuns secretly crossed the river by night, carrying with them the papers of the monastery and the ornaments of the church. But such isolated resistance as this was unavailing. Already in 1529 Zwingli was able to hold a synod in Thurgovia, which organized the church there, and decreed that the property of the convents should be consecrated to the instruction of pious young men in sacred learning. Thus concord and peace seemed at last to be re-established in the confederation.

CHAPTER III.

Conquests of Reform in Schaffhausen and Zurzach—Reform in Glaris—To-day the Cow! To-morrow the Reverse—Italian Bailiwicks—The Monk of Como—Ezido's Hope for Italy—Call of the Monk of Locarno—Hopes of reforming Italy—The Monks of Wettingen—Abbey of Saint Gall—Rilian Koum—Saint Gall recovers its Liberty—The Reform in Soleure—Miracle of Saint Ours—Popery triumphs—The Grisons invaded by the Spaniards—Address of the Ministers to the Romish Cantons—God's Word the Means of Unity—Ecolampadius for Spiritual Influence—Autonomy of the Church.

WHENEVER a conqueror abandons himself to his triumph, in that very confidence he often finds destruction. Zurich and Zwingli were to exemplify this mournful lesson of history. Taking advantage of the national peace, they redoubled their exertions for the triumph of the Gospel. This was a legitimate zeal, but it was not always wisely directed. To attain the unity of Switzerland by unity of faith was the object of the Zurichers; but they forgot that, by desiring to force on a unity, it is broken to pieces, and that freedom is the only medium in which contrary elements can be dissolved, and a salutary union established. While Rome aims at unity by anathemas, imprisonment, and the stake, christian truth demands unity through liberty. And let us not fear that liberty, expanding each individuality beyond measure, will produce by this means

an infinite multiplicity. While we urge every mind to attach itself to the Word of God, we give it up to a power capable of restoring its diverging opinions to a whole some unity.

Zwingli at first signalized his victory by legitimate conquests. He advanced with courage. "His eye and his arm were every where." "A few wretched mischief-makers," says Salat, a Romanist chronicler, "penetrating into the Five Cantons, troubled men's souls, distributed their frippery, scattered every where little poems, tracts, and testaments, and were continually repeating that the people ought not to believe the priests."¹ This was not all: while the Reform was destined to be confined around the lake of the Waldstettes to a few fruitless efforts, it made brilliant conquests among the cantons,—the allies and subjects of Switzerland; and all the blows there inflicted on the Papacy re-echoed among the lofty valleys of the primitive cantons, and filled them with affright. Nowhere had Popery shown itself more determined than in the Swiss mountains. A mixture of Romish despotism and Helvetian roughness existed there. Rome was resolved to conquer all Switzerland, and yet she beheld her most important positions successively wrested from her.

On the 29th September 1529, the citizens of Schaffhausen removed the "great God"² from the cathedral, to the deep regret of a small number of devotees whom the Roman worship still counted in this city; then they abolished the mass, and stretched out their hands to Zurich and to Berne.

At Zurzach, near the confluence of the Rhine and the Aar, at the very moment when the priest of the place, a man devoted to the ancient worship, was preaching with zeal, a person named Tüfel (devil), raising his head, observed to him: "Sir, you are heaping insults on good men, and leading the pope and the saints of the Roman calendar with honour; pray where do we find that in the Holy Scriptures?" This question, put in a serious tone of voice, raised a sly smile on many faces, and the congregation with their eyes fixed on the pulpit awaited the reply. The priest in astonishment and at his wit's end answered with a trembling voice: "Devil is thy name; thou actest like the devil, and thou art the devil! For this reason I will have nothing to do with thee." He then hastily left the pulpit, and ran away as if Satan had been behind him. Immediately the images were torn down, and the mass abolished. The Roman-catholics sought to console themselves by repeating every where. "At Zurzach it was the devil who introduced the Reformation."³

¹ Die seetlichen haltend vil elends Hölzel volk getrieben etc. Salat, Chron.

² Le bon Dieu, probably the patron saint. W.

³ That der Tüfel den ersten Angriff.

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

The priests and warriors of the Forest ntons beheld the overthrow of the Romish th in countries that lay nearer to them. the canton of Glaris, whence by the steep eses of the Klaus and the Pragel,¹ the Rem might suddenly fall upon Uri and wyltz, two men met face to face. At ollis, Fridolin Brunner who questioned nself every day by what means he could vance the cause of Christ,² attacked the ases of the Church with the energy of his end Zwingle,³ and endeavoured to spread ong the people, who were passionately id of war, the peace and charity of the spel. At Glaris, on the contrary, Valen-e Tschudi studied with all the circumspec-n of his friend Erasmus to preserve a just dium between Rome and the Reform. And hough, in consequence of Fridolin's preach- g, the doctrines of purgatory, indulgences, ritorious works, and intercession of the nts, were looked at by the Glaronais as re follies and fables,⁴ they still believed th Tschudi that the body and blood of rist were substantially in the bread of e Lord's Supper.

At the same time a movement in opposi- n to the Reform was taking place in that gh and savage valley, where the Linth, uring at the foot of vast rocks with jagged ste—enormous citadels which seem built the air,—bathes the villages of Schwanden d Ruti with its waters. The Roman-catho- s, alarmed at the progress of the Gospel, d wishing to save these mountains at least, d scattered with liberal hands the money y derived from their foreign pensions; d from that time violent hostility divided friends, and men who appeared to have en won over to the Gospel basely sought a pretext to conceal a disgraceful flight.⁵ "Peter⁶ and I," wrote Rasdorfer, pastor of ti, in despair, "are labouring in the vine- rd, but alas! the grapes we gather are not ployed for the sacrifice, and the very birds not eat them. We fish, but after having led all night, we find that we have only ght leeches.⁷ Alas! we are casting pearls ore dogs, and roses before swine!" The irt of revolt against the Gospel soon de- ended from these valleys with the noisy sters of the Linth as far as Glaris and ollis. "The council, as if it had been com- sed only of silly women, shifted its sails ery day," said Rasdorfer;⁸ "one day it

will have the cowl, on the next it will not."¹ Glaris, like a leaf carried along on the bosom of one of its torrents, and which the waves and eddies drive in different directions, wavered, wheeled about, and was nearly swallowed up.

But this crisis came to an end: the Gospel suddenly regained strength, and on Easter Monday 1530, a general assembly of the people "put the mass and the altars to the vote." A powerful party that relied upon the Five Cantons vainly opposed the Reform. It was proclaimed, and its vanquished and disconcerted enemies were forced to content themselves, says Bullinger, with mysteriously concealing a few idols, which they reserved for better days.

In the meanwhile, the reform advanced in the exterior Rhodes of Appenzell,² and in the district of Sargans. But what most exaspe- rated the cantons that remained faithful to the Romish doctrines, was to see it pass the Alps and appear in Italy, in those beautiful districts round Lake Maggiore, where, near the embouchure of the Maggia, within the walls of Locarno, in the midst of laurels, pomegranates, and cypresses, flourished the noble families of Orelli, Muralto, Magoria, and Duni, and where floated since 1512 the sovereign standard of the cantons. "What!" said the Waldstettes, "is it not enough that Zurich and Zwingle infest Switzerland! They have the impudence to carry their pretended reform even into Italy,—even into the coun- try of the pope!"

Great irregularities prevailed there among the clergy: "Whoever wishes to be damned must become a priest," was a common say- ing.³ But the Gospel succeeded in making its way even into that district. A monk of Como, Egidio à Porta, who had taken the cowl in 1511, against the wishes of his family,⁴ struggled for years in the Augustine convent, and nowhere found peace for his soul. Motionless, environed, as it appeared to him, with profound night, he cried aloud: "Lord, what wilt thou that I should do?" Erelong the monk of Como thought he heard these words in his heart: "Go to Ulrich Zwingle and he will tell thee." He rose trembling with emotion. "It is you," wrote he to Zwingle immediately, "but no! it is not you, it is God who, through you, will deliver me from the nets of the hunters." "Translate the New Testament into Italian," replied Zwingle; "I will undertake to get it printed at Zurich." This is what the Reform did for Italy more than three centuries ago.

Egidio therefore remained. He com- menced translating the Gospel; but at one

¹ This is the road by which the army of Suwaroff escaped 1799.

² Nam quotidie cogitare soleo quam rem Christianum Jovem profectum. Zw. Epp. II. 12.

³ Audere ego intrepide omnem ecclesiam abusum et omnia mala precepta in enunciatione verbi Dei damnare. Id.

⁴ Nugas esse et fabulas. Ibid.

⁵ Id. n. are convicti pallioli in canunt. Ibid. 222.

⁶ Pierre Humelin, pastor of Schwanden.

⁷ Id. enim nocte plicantes, sanguisugae, apendios ce- nus. Zw. Epp. II. 13. Rasdorfer evidently alludes to St. Pliny says of a kind of vine termed *Apandios*; Egidio apendios, damnae arie. Ferunt eam nec ab aliis attingi. Hist. Nat. lib. xiv. cap. xviii. § 22.

⁸ Veritè vixit indices sanatus noster muliercularum mors. Epp. II. 13.

¹ Vult jam cucullum, post non vult. Zw. Epp. II. 12. That is, at one time it recognises, at another rejects, the Abbot of Saint Gall.

² See Benedict Noll's Letter to Zwingle, Epp. II. 436.

³ St. Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, suppressed somewhat later several convents in this district: "Monachum non dicam collegia, sed amantium contubernia," said he.

⁴ Die evangel. Germ. in Locarno von F. Meyer, I. 108.

⁵ Subdixi memet a parentum patrocinio, cucullumque nigrum ex animo suscep. Zw. Epp. I. 64a.

time he had to beg for the convent, at another to repeat his "hours," and then to accompany one of the fathers on his journeys.¹ Every thing that surrounded him increased his distress. He saw his country reduced to the greatest misery by desolating wars,—men formerly rich, holding out their hands for alms,—crowds of women driven by want to the most shameful degradation. He imagined that a great political deliverance could alone bring about the religious independence of his fellow-countrymen.

On a sudden he thought that this happy hour was arrived. He perceived a band of Lutheran lansquenets descending the Alps. Their serried phalanxes, their threatening looks, were directed towards the banks of the Tiber. At their head marched Freundsberg, wearing a chain of gold around his neck, and saying: "If I reach Rome I will make use of it to hang the pope."—"God wills to save us," wrote Egidio to Zwingle: "write to the constable;² entreat him to deliver the people over whom he rules,—to take from the shaven crowns, whose God is their belly, the wealth which renders them so proud,—and to distribute it among the people who are dying of hunger. Then let each one preach without fear the pure Word of the Lord.—The strength of Antichrist is near its fall!"

Thus, about the end of 1526, Egidio already dreamt of the Reformation of Italy. From that time his letters cease: the monk disappeared. There can be no doubt that the arm of Rome was able to reach him, and that, like so many others, he was plunged into the gloomy dungeon of some convent.

In the spring of 1530, a new epoch commenced for the Italian bailiwicks. Zurich appointed Jacques Werdmüller bailiff of Locarno; he was a grave man, respected by all, and who even in 1524 had kissed the feet of the pope; he had since then been won over to the Gospel, and had sat down at the feet of the Saviour.³ "Go," said Zurich, "and bear yourself like a Christian, and in all that concerns the Word of God conform to the ordinances." Werdmüller met with nothing but darkness in every quarter. Yet, in the midst of this gloom, a feeble glimmering seemed to issue from a convent situated on the delightful shores of Lake Maggiore. Among the Carmelites at Locarno was a monk named Fontana, skilled in the Holy Scriptures, and animated with the same spirit that had enlightened the monk of Como. The doctrine of salvation, "without money and without price," which God proclaims in the Gospel, filled him with love and joy. "As long as I live," said he, "I will preach upon the Epistles of St. Paul;"⁴ for it was

particularly in these epistles that he had found the truth. Two monks, of whose names we are ignorant, shared his sentiments. Fontana wrote a letter "to all the Church of Christ in Germany," which was forwarded to Zwingle. We may imagine we hear that man of Macedonia, who appeared in a vision to Paul in the night, calling him to Europe, and saying, "Come over and help us."¹—"O, trusty and well-beloved of Christ Jesus," cried the monk of Locarno to Germany, "remember Lazarus, the beggar, in the Gospel,—remember that humble Canaanitish woman, longing for the crumbs that fell from the Lord's table: hungry as David, I have recourse to the shewbread placed upon the altar. A poor traveller devoured by thirst, I rush to the springs of living water.² Plunged in darkness, bathed in tears, we cry to you who know the mysteries of God to send us by the hands of the munificent J. Werdmüller all the writings of the divine Zwingle, of the famous Luther, of the skilful Melancthon, of the mild Ecolampadius, of the ingenious Pomeranus, of the learned Lambert, of the elegant Brentz, of the penetrating Bucer, of the studious Leo, of the vigilant Hütten, and of the other illustrious doctors, if there are any more. Excellent princes, pivots of the Church, our holy mother, make haste to deliver from the slavery of Babylon a city of Lombardy that has not yet known the Gospel of Jesus Christ. We are but three who have combined together to fight on behalf of the truth;³ but it was beneath the blows of a small body of men, chosen by God, and not by the thousands of Gideon, that Midian fell. Who knows if, from a small spark, God may not cause a great conflagration?"

Thus three men on the banks of the Maggia hoped at that time to reform Italy. They uttered a call to which, for three centuries, the evangelical world has not replied. Zurich, however, in these days of its strength and of its faith, displayed a holy boldness, and dared extend her heretical arms beyond the Alps. Hence, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, and all the Romanists of Switzerland gave vent to loud and terrible threats, swearing to arrest even in Zurich itself the course of these presumptuous invasions.

But the Zurichers did not confine themselves to this: they gave the confederates more serious cause of fear by waging incessant war against the convents,—those centres of ultra-montane fanaticism. The extensive monastery of Wettingen, around which roll the waters of the Limmat, and which, by its proximity to Zurich, was exposed more than any other to the breath of reform, was in violent commotion. On the 23d August

¹ *Confratres nonnulli viri certe et pietate ac eruditione nequaquam contemptibiles.* Zw. Epp. i. 631.

² Bourbon, who commanded in Italy on behalf of the emperor. *Supra*, book xiii. p. 504.

³ Luke x. 30.

⁴ *Se dum vivat satis de Epistolis Pauli concionaturum esse.* Zw. Epp. ii. 607.

¹ Acts xvi. 9.

² *Debilis et infirmus apud piscinam, salutem meam et populi toto mentis affectu citissime exspecto.* Hottelinger, *mem.* 16, pars 2, p. 619.

³ *Confederati conjunctive in expeditionem varietate tantum numero sumus.* *Ibid.* 620.

D'AUBIGNE'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

1529, a great change took place; the monks ceased to sing mass; they cut off each other's hards, not without shedding a few tears; they laid down their frocks and their rods, and clothed themselves in becoming secular dresses.¹ Then, in astonishment at this metamorphosis, they listened devoutly to the sermon which Sebastian Benli of Ulrich came and preached to them, and ere long employed themselves in propagating the gospel, and in singing psalms in German. Thus Wettingen fell into the current of that river which seemed to be every where reversing the confederation. The cloister, aiming to be a house for gaming, gluttony, and drunkenness, was changed into a school. Two monks alone in all the monastery remained faithful to the cowl.

The commander of Mulinen, without troubling himself about the threats of the Swiss cantons, earnestly pressed the commandery of St. John at Hitzkirch towards the Reformation. The question was put to a vote, and the majority declared in favour of the Word of God. "Ah!" said the commander, "I have been long pushing behind the chariot."² On the 4th September the commandery was reformed. It was the same with that of Wädenswyl, with the convent

Pfeffers, and others besides. Even at Zurich the majority declared for the Gospel; but the minority prevailed through the support of the Five Cantons.³ A new triumph, and one of greater value, was destined to immortalize the reform, and to raise the indignation of the Waldstettes to the highest pitch. The Abbot of St. Gall, by his wealth, by the number of his subjects, and the influence which he exercised in Switzerland, was one of the most formidable adversaries of the Gospel. In 1529, therefore, at the moment when the army of Zurich took the field against the Five Cantons, the Abbot Francis Geisberg, in alarm and at the brink of death, caused himself to be hastily removed to the strong castle of Rohrschach, not thinking himself secure except within its walls. Four days after this, the illustrious Adrian, burgomaster of St. Gall, entered the convent, and announced the intention of the people to resume the use of their cathedral-church, and to remove the images. The monks were astonished at such audacity, and, rising in vain protested and cried for help, at their most precious effects in a place of safety, and fled to Einsidlen.

Among these was Kilian Kouffi, head-ward of the abbey, a cunning and active monk, and, like Zwingle, a native of the Tockenbourg. Knowing how important it was to find a successor to the abbot, before the news of his death was bruited abroad, he came to an understanding with those who

waited on the prelate; and the latter dying on Tuesday in Holy Week, the meals were carried as usual into his chamber, and with downcast eyes and low voice the attendants answered every inquiry about his health. While this farce was going on round a dead body, the monks who had assembled at Einsidlen repaired in all haste to Rapperschwyl, in the territory of St. Gall, and there elected Kilian, who had so skillfully managed the affair. The new abbot went immediately to Rohrschach, and on Good Friday he there proclaimed his own election and the death of his predecessor. Zurich and Glaris declared they would not recognise him, unless he could prove by the Holy Scriptures that a monkish life was in conformity with the Gospel. "We are ready to protect the house of God," said they; "and for this reason we require that it be consecrated anew to the Lord. But we do not forget that it is our duty also to protect the people. The free Church of Christ should raise its head in the bosom of a free people." At the same time the ministers of St. Gall published forty-two theses, in which they asserted that convents were not "houses of God, but houses of the devil."¹ The abbot, supported by Lucerne and Schwytz, which with Zurich and Glaris exercised sovereign power in St. Gall, replied that he could not dispute about rights which he held from popes and emperors. The two natives of the Tockenbourg, Zwingle and Kilian, were thus struggling around St. Gall,—the one claiming the people for the abbey, and the other the abbey for the people. The army of Zurich having approached Wyl, Kilian seized upon the treasures and muniments of the convent, and fled precipitately beyond the Rhine. As soon as peace was concluded, the crafty monk put on a secular dress, and crept mysteriously as far as Einsidlen, whence on a sudden he made all Switzerland re-echo with his cries. Zurich in conjunction with Glaris replied by publishing a constitution, according to which a governor, "confirmed in the evangelical faith," should preside over the district, with a council of twelve members, while the election of pastors was left to the parishes.² Not long afterwards, the abbot, expelled and a fugitive, while crossing a river near Bregentz, fell from his horse, got entangled in his frock, and was drowned. Of the two combatants from the Tockenbourg, it was Zwingle who gained the victory.

The convent was put up to sale, and was purchased by the town of St. Gall, "with the exception," says Bullinger, "of a detached building, called *Hell*, where the monks were left who had not embraced the Reformation."³ The time having arrived when the governor sent by Zurich was to give place

¹ Bekleitend sich in erbare gemeine Landskleyder. Bull. 1529. H. 21.

² Hinc in hoc curru promovendo laborasse, prinquam a longe processit. Zw. Hup. H. 234.

³ Das das milder müet das meer sin. Bull. H. 241.

¹ Thesis 8. Bull. H. 116.

² Die Pfarrer soll den Gemeinden ihre Pflichten zu erklären Zugestelt syn. Ibid. 208.

³ Allein was ein gebur die Zeit genampt, das liess man den Mönchen blyben. Ibid. 271.

to one from Lucerne, the people of St. Gall called upon the latter to swear to their constitution. "A governor has never been known," replied he, "to make an oath to peasants; it is the peasants who should make oath to the governor!" Upon this he retired: the Zurich governor remained, and the indignation of the Five Cantons against Zurich, which so daringly assisted the people of St. Gall in recovering their ancient liberties, rose to the highest paroxysm of anger.

A few victories, however, consoled in some degree the partisans of Rome. Soleure was for a long time one of the most contested battle-fields. The citizens and the learned were in favour of Reform: the patricians and canons for Popery. Philip Grotz of Zug was preaching the Gospel there, and when the council desired to compel him to say mass, one hundred of the reformed appeared in the hall of assembly on the 13th September 1529, and with energy called for liberty of conscience. As Zurich and Berne supported this demand, their prayer was granted.

Upon this the most fanatical of the Roman-catholics exasperated at the concession, closed the gates of the city, pointed the guns, and made a show of expelling the friends of the Reform. The council prepared to punish these agitators, when the reformed, willing to set an example of christian moderation, declared they would forgive them.¹ The Great Council then published throughout the canton that the dominion of conscience belonging to God alone, and faith being the free gift of His grace, each one might follow the religion which he thought best. Thirty-four parishes declared for the Reformation, and only ten for the mass. Almost all the rural districts were in favour of the Gospel; but the majority in the city sided with the pope.² Haller, whom the reformed of Soleure had sent for, arrived, and it was a day of triumph for them. It was in the middle of winter: "To-day," ironically observed one of the evangelical Christians, "the patron saint (St. Ours) will sweat!" And in truth—oh! wonderful!—drops of moisture fell from the holy image! It was simply a little holy water that had frozen and then thawed. But the Romanists would listen to no railery on so illustrious a prodigy, which may remind us of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples. All the city resounded with piteous cries,—the bells were tolled,—a general procession moved through the streets,—and high mass was sung in honour of the heavenly prince who had shown in so marvellous a manner the pangs he felt for his dearly beloved. "It is the fat minister of Berne (Haller) who is the cause of the saint's alarm," said the devout old women. One of them declared that she would thrust a knife

into his body; and certain Romanists threatened to go to the Cordeliers' murder the pastors who preach. Upon this the reformed rushed to the aid and demanded a public discussion of the hundred of their adversaries proposed at the same time in the church. Ours and refused all inquiry. Nei two parties was willing to be t abandon the camp in which it was: The senate, wishing to clear the tw thus in a manner transformed int announced that at Martinmas, months later, a public disputation sh place. But as the reformed found too long, both parties remained fo week more under arms. Commerce rupted,—the public offices were messengers ran to and fro,—arra were proposed;—but the people stiff-necked,¹ that no one would. The city was in a state of siege. were agreed about the discussion ministers committed four theses to which the canons immediately att refute.

Nevertheless they judged it a plan to elude them. Nothing als Romanists so much as a disputation need have we of any?" said they. "the writings of the two parties dec sentiments?" The conference w fore, put off until the following yea of the reformed, indignant at the imprudently quitted the city; and cils, charmed at this result, whic far from expecting, ha-tily declar people should be free in the canton. in the city no one should attack. From that time the reformed were every Sunday to leave Soleure and the village of Zuchswyl to hear the God. Thus Popery, defeated in places, triumphed in Soleure.

Zurich and the other reformed c tentively watched these successes adversaries, and lent a fearful e threats of the Roman-catholics, a continually announcing the inter the emperor: when on a sudden heard that nine hundred Spaniard tered the Grisons; that they were Chatelain of Musso, recently inve the title of marquis by Charles t that the chatelain's brother-in-law d'Embs, was also marching ag Swiss at the head of three thousand lansquenets; and that the emperc was ready to support them wi forces. The Grisons uttered a cry The Waldstetters remained motion all the reformed cantons assem troops, and eleven thousand men b march.² The emperor and the Milan having soon after declared.

¹ Buzhat, li. 130.

² Major pars agri abolita superstitione a parte nostra est. Major et potior pars urbis a papista. Sw. Epp. li. 222.

¹ Tam dura cervix populi est. Sw. Epp. li. 222.

not support the chatelain, this adven-
held his castle razed to the ground,
compelled to retire to the banks of
a, giving guarantees of future tran-
while the Swiss soldiers returned
homes, fired with indignation against
e Cantons, who by their inactivity
ringed the federal alliance.¹ "Our
and energetic resistance," said they,
indoubtedly baffled their perfidious
; but the reaction is only adjourned.
h the parchment of the Austrian
has been torn in pieces, the alliance
ill exists. The truth has freed us,
the imperial lansquenets will come
to place us again under the yoke of
."

in consequence of so many violent
the two parties that divided Switzer-
d attained the highest degree of irri-
The gulf that separated them widen-
r. The clouds—the forerunners of
pest—drove swiftly along the moun-
nd gathered threateningly above the

Under these circumstances Zwingle
friends thought it their duty to raise
oices, and if possible to avert the

In like manner, Nicholas de Flue
former days thrown himself between
tile parties.

On 5th September 1530, the principal
rs of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Stras-
Ecolampadius, Capito, Megander,
la, and Myconius,—were assembled
h in Zwingle's house. Desirous of
a solemn step with the Five Cantons,
sw up an address that was presented
Confederates at the meeting of the
Baden. However unfavourable the
s were, as a body, to these heretical
rs, they nevertheless listened to this
but not without signs of impatience
riness.² "You are aware, gracious
hat concord increases the power of
and that discord overthrows them."³
e yourselves a proof of the first of
ruths. Setting out from a small
ng, you have, by a good understand-
with another, arrived at a great end.
d condescend to prevent you also
ving a striking proof of the second!
comes disunion, if not from selfish-
nd how can we destroy this fatal
, except by receiving from God the
the common weal? For this reason we
you to allow the Word of God to be
preached among you, as did your
cestors. When has there ever ex-
government, even among the hea-
which saw not that the hand of God
pholds a nation? Do not two drops
sailer unite so soon as you remove

that which separates them? Away then
with that which separates you from our
cities, that is, the absence of the Word
of God; and immediately the Almighty will
unite us, as our fathers were united. Then
placed in your mountains, as in the centre of
Christendom, you will be an example to it,
its protection and its refuge; and after hav-
ing passed through this vale of tears, being
the terror of the wicked and the consolation
of the faithful, you will at last be established
in eternal happiness."

Thus frankly did these men of God ad-
dress their brothers, the Waldstettes. But
their voice was not attended to. "The
ministers' sermon is rather long,"¹ said
some of the deputies yawning and stretch-
ing their arms, while others pretended to
find in it new cause of complaint against the
cities.

This proceeding of the ministers was use-
less: the Waldstettes rejected the Word of
God, which they had been entreated to admit;
they rejected the hands that were extended
towards them in the name of Jesus Christ.
They called for the pope and not for the
Gospel. All hope of reconciliation appeared
lost.

Some persons, however, had at that time a
glimpse of what might have saved Switzer-
land and the Reformation,—the *autonomy*
(self-government) of the Church, and its in-
dependence of political interests. Had they
been wise enough to decline the secular power
to secure the triumph of the Gospel, it is
probable that harmony might have been
gradually established in the Helvetic can-
tons, and that the Gospel would have con-
quered by its Divine strength. The power
of the Word of God presented chances of suc-
cess that were not afforded by pikes and
muskets. The energy of faith, the influence
of charity, would have proved a securer pro-
tection to Christians against the burning
piles of the Waldstettes than diplomats
and men-at-arms. None of the reformers
understood this so clearly as Ecolampadius.
His handsome countenance, the serenity of
his features, the mild expression of his eyes,
his long and venerable beard, the spirituality
of his expression, and a certain dignity that
inspired confidence and respect, gave him
rather the air of an apostle than of a reformer.
It was the power of the inner word that he
particularly extolled; perhaps he even went
too far in spiritualism. But, however that
may be, if any man could have saved Re-
form from the misfortunes that were about
to befall it—that man was he. In separating
from the Papacy, he desired not to set up the
magistracy in its stead. "The magistrate
who should take away from the churches the
authority that belongs to them," wrote he to
Zwingle, "would be more intolerable than

an grosser Unwill wieder sie. Bull. Chron. H.
ent epistola nostra in comitiis Eadema'bus. Ecol.
26th December 1530
it al-helligkeit kleine Ding gross werdend. Zw.

¹ I bellum supplicem ad quinque pagos breviorum valles.
Zw. Epp. II. 611. Fastidiant iam sancta. Ecol.

Antichrist himself (i. e. the pope)."¹—"The hand of the magistrate strikes with the sword, but the hand of Christ heals. Christ has not said,—If thy brother will not hear thee, tell it to the magistrate, but—*tell it to the Church*. The functions of the State are distinct from those of the Church. The State is free to do many things which the purity of the Gospel condemns."² Ecolampadius saw how important it was that his convictions should prevail among the reformed. This man, so mild and so spiritual, feared not to stand forth boldly in defence of doctrines then so novel. He expounded them before a synodal assembly, and next developed them before the senate of Basle.³ It is a strange circumstance that these ideas, for a moment at least, were acceptable to Zwingle;⁴ but they displeased an assembly of the brethren to whom he communicated them; the politic Bucer above all feared that this independence of the Church would in some measure check the exercise of the civil power.⁵ The exertions of Ecolampadius to constitute the Church were not, however, entirely unsuccessful. In February 1531, a diet of four reformed cantons (Basle, Zurich, Berne, and St. Gall), was held at Basle, in which it was agreed, that whenever any difficulty should arise with regard to doctrine or worship, an assembly of divines and laymen should be convoked, which should examine what the Word of God said on the matter.⁶ This resolution, by giving greater unity to the renovated Church, gave it also fresh strength.

CHAPTER IV.

Zwingle and the Christian State—Zwingle's double Part—Zwingle and Luther in Relation to Politics—Philip of Hesse and the Free Cities—Projected Union between Zwingle and Luther—Zwingle's political Action—Project of Alliance against the Emperor—Zwingle advocates active Resistance—He destines the Imperial Crown for Philip—Faults of the Reformation—Embassy to Venice—Gildness of the Reformation—Projected Alliance with France—Zwingle's Plan of Alliance—Approaching Ruin—Slanders in the Five Cantons—Violence—Mysterious Paper—Berne and Basle vote for Peace—General Diet at Baden—Evangelical Diet at Zurich—Political Reformation of Switzerland—Activity of Zurich.

BUT it was too late to tread in this path which would have prevented so many disasters. The Reformation had already entered with all her sails set upon the stormy ocean of politics, and terrible misfortunes were gathering over her. The impulse communicated to the Reform came from another than Ecolampadius. Zwingle's proud and piercing eyes,—his harsh features,—his bold step,

—all proclaimed in him a resolute man of action. Nurtured in the of the heroes of antiquity, he threw to save Reform, in the footsteps of theses and Cato, rather than in the John and St. Paul. His prompt acting looks were turned to the right the left,—to the cabinets of kings councils of the people, whilst they have been directed solely to God. I already seen, that as early as 1527, observing how all the powers were against the Reformation, had conceived plan of a *co-burgbery* or Christian which should unite all the friends Word of God in one holy and league. This was so much the of Zwingle's reformation had won over burg, Augsburg, Ulm, Reutlingen, Memmingen, and other towns of Upper many. Conference in December 1527 in June 1528, St. Gall in November same year, Bienne in January 1528; hausen in February, Basle in March, hausen in September, and Strasburg cember, entered into this alliance. political phasis of Zwingle's character the eyes of some persons his highest to glory; we do not hesitate to acknowledge it as his greatest fault. The reforming the paths of the apostles, himself to be led astray by the pervasiveness of Popery. The primitive never opposed their persecutors but sentiments derived from the Gospel of Faith was the only sword by which quished the mighty ones of the Zwingle felt clearly that by entering the ways of worldly politicians, being those of a minister of Christ; before sought to justify himself. "No, it is not by human strength," said he by the strength of God alone that the of the Lord should be upheld. But God makes use of men as instruments to men. Let us therefore unite, and let sources of the Rhine to Strasburg let but one people and one alliance."⁷

Zwingle played two parts at once a reformer and a magistrate. But two characters that ought not to be united than those of a minister and a judge. We will not altogether blame the magistrates; in form and drawing the sword, even for the religion, they act according to their view, although it is not the same but we must decidedly blame the minister who becomes a diplomatist general.

In October 1529, as we have already served, Zwingle repaired to Marburg where he had been invited by Philip and while neither of them had been

¹ Intolerabilior enim Antichristo ipso magistratus, qui Ecclesiæ auctoritatem suam admittit. Sw. Epp. II. 100.
² Ipsorum functio alia est et ecclesiastica, multaque ferre et facere potest quam puritas evangelica non agnoscit. Ibid.

³ Orationis mee quam, fratrum nomine, coram senatu habui. Ibid.

⁴ Ut mihi magis ac magis ardeat. Ibid. 518.

⁵ Ut non impediatur alioquin magistratum Christianum. Bucer to Sw. p. 224.

⁶ J. J. Hottinger, III. 284.

⁷ Citius Christiana.

⁸ Dass von oben hinab die Rhein, bis zu ein Volk und Bundeswürde. Sw. Opp. II. 24.

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

to an understanding with Luther, the brave and the Swiss reformer, animated the same bold and enterprising spirit, soon joined together.

Two reformers differed not less in their zeal than in their religious system. Luther brought up in the cloister and in monastic submission, was imbued in youth with writings of the fathers of the Church; while, on the other hand, reared in the love of Swiss liberty, had, during those years which decide the course of all the lives, imbibed the history of the ancient republics. Thus, while Luther was in favour of passive obedience, Zwingli advocated resistance against tyrants.

These two men were the faithful representatives of their respective nations. In the north of Germany, the princes and nobility the essential part of the nation, and the strangers to all political liberty—only to obey. Thus, at the epoch of the Reformation they were content to follow the lead of their doctors and chiefs. In Switzerland, in the south of Germany, and on the contrary, many cities, after long and violent struggles, had won civil liberty; and hence we find in almost every place the people taking a decided part in the movement of the Church. There was good in this, but evil was close at hand. The reformers, themselves men of the people, who not act upon princes, might be tempted to carry away the people. It was easier for the Reformation to unite with republics than with kings. This facility nearly proved its danger.

The Gospel was thus to learn that its kingdom is in heaven.

There was, however, one prince with whom the reformed party of the free states desired to form an union: this was Philip of Hesse. It was he who in great measure prompted the emperor's warlike projects. Zwingli desired to see him some return, and to introduce his friend into the evangelical league. He was watchful to avert any thing that might irritate the emperor and its ancient allies, rejected this proposal, and thus drew a lively discontent in the "Christian League." "What!" cried they, "do the Bernese refuse an alliance that would be honourable to us, acceptable to Jesus Christ, and profitable to our adversaries?"—"The Bear," the high-spirited Zwingli, "is jealous of the Lion (Zurich); but there will be an end to all these artifices, and victory will be with the bold." It would appear, in accordance to a letter in cipher, that the emperor at last sided with Zwingli, regarding only that this alliance with a prince's empire should not be made public.²

But Æcolampadius had not given way, his meekness contended, although no-

destly, with the boldness of his impetuous friend. He was convinced that faith was destined to triumph only by the cordial union of all believers. A valuable relief occurred to reanimate his exertions. The deputies of the Christian co-burgery having assembled at Basle in 1530, the envoys from Strasburg endeavoured to reconcile Luther and Zwingli. Æcolampadius wrote to Zwingli on the subject, begging him to hasten to Basle,³ and not show himself too unyielding. "To say that the body and blood of Christ are really in the Lord's Supper, may appear to many too hard an expression," said he, "but is it not softened, when it is added—spiritually and not bodily?"⁴

Zwingli was immovable. "It is to flatter Luther that you hold such language, and not to defend the truth." *Edere est credere.*⁵ Nevertheless there were men present at the meeting, who were resolved upon energetic measures. Brotherly love was on the eve of triumphing: peace was to be obtained by union. The Elector of Saxony himself proposed a concord of all evangelical Christians, to which the Swiss cities were invited by the landgrave to accede. A report spread that Luther and Zwingli were about to make the same confession of faith. Zwingli, calling to mind the early professions of the Saxon reformer, said one day at table before many witnesses, that Luther would not think so erroneously about the Eucharist, if he were not misled by Melancthon.⁶ The union of the whole of the Reformation seemed about to be concluded: it would have vanquished by its own weapons. But Luther soon proved that Zwingli was mistaken in his expectations. He required a written engagement by which Zwingli and Æcolampadius should adhere to his sentiments, and the negotiations were broken off in consequence. Concord having failed, there remained nothing but war. Æcolampadius must be silent, and Zwingli must act.

And in truth from that hour Zwingli advanced more and more along that fatal path into which he was led by his character, his patriotism, and his early habits. Stunned by so many violent shocks, attacked by his enemies and by his brethren, he staggered, and his head grew dizzy. From this period the reformer almost entirely disappears, and we see in his place the politician, the great citizen, who beholding a formidable coalition preparing its chains for every nation, stands up energetically against it. The emperor had just formed a close alliance with the pope. If his deadly schemes were not opposed it

¹ Si potes, mox advola. Zw. Epp. II. 547.

² Christi corpus et sanguinem adesse vero in consensu fidei culpam durius sonat, sed mitigatur dum adiungitur animo non corpore. Ibid.

³ Hac omnia fieri pro Luthero neque pro veritate propagandi causa. Ibid. 550.

⁴ To eat is to believe. Ibid.

⁵ Memini dudum Tiguri dicentem cum convivio me exciperet, Lutherum non adeo perperam de Eucharistia sentire, nisi quod Melancthon ex alio eum cogeret. Ibid. 552.

⁶ et nobis honestius, ob religionis et caritatis causam, gratius, ob conjunctas vires utilius, hosti-terribilius. Zw. Epp. II. 541. The emperor recanted, and the Bernese.

would be all over, in Zwingle's opinion, with the Reformation, with religious and political liberty, and even with the confederation itself. "The emperor," said he, "is stirring up friend against friend, enemy against enemy: and then he endeavours to raise out of this confusion the glory of the Papacy, and, above all, his own power. He excites the Chatelain of Musso against the Grisons—Duke George of Saxony against Duke John—the Bishop of Constance against the city—the Duke of Savoy against Berne—the Five Cantons against Zurich—and the bishops of the Rhine against the landgrave; then, when the confusion shall have become general, he will fall upon Germany, will offer himself as a mediator, and ensnare princes and cities by fine speeches, until he has them all under his feet. Alas! what discord, what disasters, under the pretence of re-establishing the empire and restoring religion!"¹ Zwingle went farther. The reformer of a small town in Switzerland, rising to the most astonishing political conceptions, called for a European alliance against such fatal designs. The son of a peasant of the Tockenburgh held up his head against the heir of so many crowns. "That man must either be a traitor or a coward," wrote he to a senator of Constance, "who is content to stretch and yawn, when he ought to be collecting men and arms on every side, to convince the emperor that in vain he strives to re-establish the Romish faith, to enslave the free cities, and to subdue the Helvetians."² He showed us only six months ago how he would proceed. To-day he will take one city in hand, to-morrow another; and so, step by step, until they are all reduced. Then their arms will be taken away, their treasures, their machines of war, and all their power.....Arouse Lindau and all your neighbours; if they do not awake, public liberty will perish under the pretext of religion. We must place no confidence in the friendship of tyrants. Demosthenes teaches us that there is nothing so hateful in their eyes as *τὴν τῶν πόλεων εὐδαιμονίαν*.³ The emperor with one hand offers us bread, but in the other he conceals a stone."⁴ And a few months later Zwingle wrote to his friends in Constance: "Be bold; fear not the schemes of Charles. The razor will cut him who is sharpening it."⁵

Away, then, with delay! Should they wait until Charles the Fifth claimed the ancient castle of Hapsburg? The papacy and the empire, it was said at Zurich, are so confounded together,⁶ that one cannot exist or perish without the other. Whoever rejects

Popery should reject the empire, and who rejects the emperor should reject the pope.

It appears that Zwingle's thoughts went beyond a simple resistance. V. once the Gospel had ceased to be his principal study, there was nothing that could arrest him. "A single individual," said he, "must not take it into his head to dethrone a tyrant; this would be a revolt, and kingdom of God commands peace, righteousness, and joy. But if a whole people are in common accord, or if the majority at least rejects him, without committing any excess it is God himself who acts."⁷ Charles was at that time a tyrant in Zwingle's eyes, and the reformer hoped that Europe, awaking at length from its long slumber, would be the hand of God to hurl him from throne.

Never since the time of Demosthenes: of the two Catos had the world seen a more energetic resistance to the power of tyrannical oppressors. Zwingle in a political point of view is one of the greatest characters of modern times: we must pay him this honour, which is, perhaps, for a minister of God, the greatest reproach. Every thing was prepared in mind to bring about a revolution that would have changed the history of Europe. He knew what he desired to substitute in place of the power he wished to overthrow. He had already cast his eyes upon the prince who was to wear the imperial crown instead of Charles. It was his friend the landgrave. "Most gracious prince," wrote he on the November 1529, "if I write to you as a father, it is because I hope that God chosen you for great events.....I dare this but I dare not speak of them."⁸ However we must bell the cat at last.⁹.....All this can do with my feeble means to manifest truth, to save the universal Church, to augment your power and the power of those who love God—with God's help, I will do." It was this great man led astray. It is the will of God that there be spots even in those who shine brightest in the eyes of the world and that only one upon earth shall say: "Which of you convinceth me of sin?"¹⁰ are now viewing the faults of the Reformation: they arise from the union of religion with politics. I could not take upon myself to pass them by; the recollection of errors of our predecessors is perhaps the most useful legacy they have bequeathed to us.

It appears that already at Marburg, Zwingle and the landgrave had drawn out the first sketch of a general alliance against Charles V. The landgrave had undertaken to bring over the princes, Zwingle the cities of Southern Germany and Switzerland. He went still further, and formed a plan gaining over to this league the republics

¹ Quæ discordia, quæ turbæ, quæ mala, quæ cladēs! Zw. Ep. ii. 422.

² Romanam fidem restituere, urbes liberos capere, Helvetios in ordinem cogere. Ibid. March 1530.

³ "The freedom of cities." These words are in Greek in the original.

⁴ Cæsar altera manu panem ostentat, altera lapidem celat. Ibid.

⁵ Incidet in ceterum aliquando novacula. Ibid. 544.

⁶ Papet und Keyserthumen habend also dermassen in einander geschickt. Bull. ii. 343.

⁷ So ist es mit Gott. Zw. Opp.

⁸ Spero Deum te ad magnas res.....quas quidem cupio sed non diuerso licet. Zw. Ep. ii. 422.

⁹ Sed fieri non potest quin tintinnabulum aliquando adnotetur. Ibid.

Italy—the powerful Venice at least—that she might detain the emperor beyond the Alps, and prevent him from leading all his forces into Germany. Zwingle, who had earnestly pleaded against all foreign alliances, and proclaimed on so many occasions that the only ally of the Swiss should be the arm of the Almighty, began now to look around for what he had condemned, and thus prepared the way for the terrible judgment that was about to strike his family, his country, and his Church.

He had hardly returned from Marburg, and had made no official communication to the Great Council, when he obtained from the senate the nomination of an ambassador to Venice. Great men, after their first success, easily imagine that they can do every thing. It was not a statesman who was charged with this mission, but one of Zwingle's friends, who had accompanied him into Germany, to the court of the future chief of the new empire—the Greek professor, Rodolph Collins, a bold and skilful man, and who was now an Italian. Thus the Reform stretched its hands to the Doge and the Procurator of St. Marc. The Bible was not enough for it—it must have the *Golden Book*: never did greater humiliation befall God's work. The opinion which Protestants then entertained of Venice may, however, partly excuse Zwingle. There was in that city more independence of the pope, more freedom of thought, than in all the rest of Italy. Luther himself about this time wrote to Gabriel Zwilling, pastor at Torgau: "With what joy do I learn what you write to me concerning the Venetians. God be praised and glorified, for that they have received his Word!"¹

Collins was admitted, on the 26th December, to an audience with the doge and senate, who looked with an air of astonishment at his schoolmaster, this strange ambassador, without attendants and without parade. They could not even understand his credentials, in so singular a style were they drawn up, and Collins was forced to explain their meaning. "I am come to you," said he, "in the name of the council of Zurich and of the cities of the christian co-burghery—free cities like Venice, and to which common interests should unite you. The power of the emperor is formidable to republics; he is aiming at a universal monarchy in Europe; if he succeeds, all the free states will perish. We must therefore check him."² The doge replied that the republic had just concluded an alliance with the emperor, and betrayed the distrust that so mysterious a mission excited in the Venetian senate. But afterwards, in a private conference,³ the doge, wishing to preserve a retreat on both sides,

added, that Venice gratefully received the message from Zurich, and that a Venetian regiment, armed and paid by the republic itself, should be always ready to support the evangelical Swiss. The chancellor, covered with his purple robe, attended Collins to the door, and, at the very gates of the ducal palace, confirmed the promise of support. The moment the Reformation passed the magnificent porticos of St. Marc it was seized with giddiness; it could but stagger onwards to the abyss. They dismissed poor Collins by placing in his hands a present of twenty crowns. The rumour of these negotiations soon spread abroad, and the less suspicious, Capito for example, shook their heads, and could see in this pretended agreement nothing but the accustomed perfidy of Venice.⁴

This was not enough. The cause of the Reform was fated to drink the cup of degradation to the very dregs. Zwingle, seeing that his adversaries in the empire increased daily in numbers and in power, gradually lost his ancient aversion for France; and, although there was now a greater obstacle than before between him and Francis I.—the blood of his brethren shed by that monarch,—he showed himself favourably disposed to a union that he had once so forcibly condemned.

Lambert Maigret, a French general, who appears to have had some leaning to the Gospel—which is a slight excuse for Zwingle—entered into correspondence with the reformer, giving him to understand that the secret designs of Charles V. called for an alliance between the King of France and the Swiss republics. "Apply yourself," said this diplomatist to him in 1530, "to a work so agreeable to our Creator, and which, by God's grace, will be very easy to your mightiness."⁵ Zwingle was at first astonished at these overtures. "The King of France," thought he, "cannot know which way to turn."⁶ Twice he took no heed of this prayer; but the envoy of Francis I. insisted that the reformer should communicate to him a plan of alliance. At the third attempt of the ambassador, the simple child of the Tockenburgh mountains could no longer resist his advances. If Charles V. must fall, it cannot be without French assistance; and why should not the Reformation contract an alliance with Francis I., the object of which would be to establish a power in the empire that should in its turn oblige the king to tolerate the Reform in his own dominions? Every thing seemed to meet the wishes of Zwingle; the fall of the tyrant was at hand, and he would drag the pope along with him. He communicated the general's

¹ *Litteræ audio de Venetiis quæ scribis, quod verbum Dei receperint, Deo gratia ac gloria.* 7th March 1526. L. Epp. II. 290.

² *Formidandum rebus-publiis potentiam Cesaris, quæ omnino ad Europæ monarchiam vergit.* Zw. Epp. II. 445.

³ *Pœctæ privatis alia respondisse.* Ibid.

⁴ *Perfidiam adversus Cesarem, fidem videri volunt.* Capito, Zw. Epp. II. 415.

⁵ *Opere Creatori nostro acceptissimo, Dominationi tuæ facillimo, media gratia.* Ibid. Zw. Epp. II. 413.

⁶ *Regem admodum desperare et inopem concilii esse, ut necesse quo se vertat.* Ibid. 414.

overtures to the secret council, and Collins set out, commissioned to bear the required project to the French ambassador.¹ "In ancient times," it ran, "no kings or people ever resisted the Roman empire with such firmness as those of France and Switzerland. Let us not degenerate from the virtues of our ancestors. His most Christian Majesty—all whose wishes are that the purity of the Gospel may remain undefiled²—engages therefore to conclude an alliance with the christian co-burglery that shall be in accordance with the Divine law, and that shall be submitted to the censure of the evangelical theologians of Switzerland." Then followed an outline of the different articles of the treaty.

Lanzerant, another of the king's envoys, replied the same day (27th February) to this astonishing project of alliance about to be concluded between the reformed Swiss and the persecutor of the French reformed, *under reserve of the censure of the theologians*..... This was not what France desired: it was Lombardy, and not the Gospel that the king wanted. For that purpose, he needed the support of all the Swiss. But an alliance which ranged the Roman-catholic cantons against him, would not suit him. Being satisfied, therefore, for the present with knowing the sentiments of Zurich, the French envoys began to look coolly upon the reformer's scheme. "The matters you have submitted to us are admirably drawn up," said Lanzerant to the Swiss commissioner, "but I can scarcely understand them, no doubt because of the weakness of my mind..... We must not put seed into the ground, unless the soil be properly prepared for it."

Thus, the Reform acquired nothing but shame from these propositions. Since it had forgotten these precepts of the Word of God: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers!"³ how could it fail to meet with striking reverses? Already, Zwingli's friends began to abandon him. The landgrave, who had pushed him into this diplomatic career, drew towards Luther, and sought to check the Swiss reformer, particularly after this saying of Erasmus had sounded in the ears of the great: "They ask us to open our gates, crying aloud—the Gospel! the Gospel!..... Raise the cloak, and under its mysterious folds you will find—democracy."

While the Reform, by its culpable proceedings, was calling down the chastisement of Heaven, the Five Cantons, that were to be the instruments of its punishment, accelerated with all their might those fatal days of anger and of vengeance. They were irritated at the progress of the Gospel throughout the confederation, while the peace they

had signed became every day more irksome to them. "We shall have no repose," said they, "until we have broken those bonds and regained our former liberty."⁴ A general diet was convoked at Baden for the 8th January 1531. The Five Cantons then declared that if justice was not done to their grievances, particularly with respect to the abbey of St. Gall, they would no more appear in diet. "Confederates of Glaris, Schaffhausen, Friburg, Solcure, and Appenzell" cried they, "aid us in making our ancient alliances respected, or we will ourselves contrive the means of checking this guilty violence: and may the Holy Trinity assist us in this work!"⁵

They did not confine themselves to threats. The treaty of peace had expressly forbidden all insulting language—"for fear," it said, "that by insults and calumnies, discord should again be excited, and greater troubles than the former should arise." Thus was concealed in the treaty itself the spark whence the conflagration was to proceed. In fact, to restrain the rude tongues of the Waldstettes was impossible. Two Zurichers, the aged prior Ravensbühler, and the pensioner Gaspard Gödli, who had been compelled to renounce, the one his convent, and the other his pension, especially aroused the anger of the people against their native city. They used to say every where in these valleys, and with impunity, that the Zurichers were heretics; that there was not one of them who did not indulge in unnatural sins, and who was not a robber at the very least; that Zwingli was a thief, a murderer, and an arch-heretic; and that, on one occasion at Paris (where he had never been), he had committed a horrible offence, in which Lea Juda had been his pander.⁶ "I shall have no rest," said a pensioner, "until I have thrust my sword up to the hilt in the heart of this impious wretch." Old commanders of troops, who were feared by all on account of their unruly character; the satellites who followed in their train; insolent young people, sons of the first persons in the state, who thought every thing lawful against miserable preachers and their stupid flocks; priests inflamed with hatred, and treading in the footsteps of these old captains and gaily young men, who seemed to take the pulpit of a church for the bench of a pot-house: all poured torrents of insults on the Reform and its adherents. "The townspeople," exclaimed with one accord these drunken soldiers and fanatic priests, "are heretics, soul-stealers, conscience-slayers, and Zwingli—that horrible man, who commits infamous sins—is the *Lutheran God*."⁷

¹ Bis negavit, at tertio misit, non sine conscientia Probatum. Zw. Epp. ii. 422.

² Nihil enim equi esse in votis Christianissimi Regis, atque ut Evangelii puritas illibata permaneat. Ibid. 417.

³ 1 Cor. vi. 14.

⁴ Nicht ruhen liess sie der banden ledig. Boll. ii. 204.

⁵ Darzu helfe uns die heilig dryfaltigkeit. Ibid. 204.

⁶ Es were kein Zurycher er hätte chuy und machu schyt. Ibid. 224.

⁷ Alles der zu Parys ein Esel gehryt; und habe ihm Lea Juda denselben gehbeyt. Ibid. 224.

⁸ Der lutherischen Gott. Ibid. 227.

They went still further. Passing from words to deeds, the Five Cantons persecuted the poor people among them who loved the Word of God, flung them into prison, imposed fines upon them, brutally tormented them, and mercilessly expelled them from their country. The people of Schwytz did even worse. Not fearing to announce their sinister designs, they appeared at a *landsge-meinde* wearing pine-branches in their hats, in sign of war, and no one opposed them. "The Abbot of St. Gall," said they, "is a prince of the empire, and holds his investiture from the emperor. Do they imagine that Charles V. will not avenge him?"—"Have not these heretics," said others, "dared to form a *christian fraternity*, as if old Switzerland was a heathen country?" Secret councils were continually held in one place or another.¹ New alliances were sought with the Valais, the pope, and the emperor²—blamable alliances no doubt, but such as might at least be justified by the proverb: "Birds of a feather go together;" which Zurich and Venice could not say.

The Valaisans at first refused their support: they preferred remaining neuter; but on a sudden their fanaticism was inflamed. A sheet of paper was found on an altar—such at least was the report circulated in their valleys—in which Zurich and Berne were accused of preaching that to commit an offence against nature is a smaller crime than to hear mass!³ Who had placed this mysterious paper on the altar? Came it from man? Did it fall from heaven?..... They know not; but however that might be, it was copied, circulated, and read every where; and the effects of this fable, invented by some villain, says Zwingle,⁴ was such that Valais immediately granted the support it had at first refused. The Waldstettes, proud of their strength, then closed their ranks; their fierce eyes menaced the heretical cantons; and the winds bore from their mountains to their neighbours of the towns a formidable clang of arms.

At the sight of these alarming manifestations the evangelical cities were in commotion. They first assembled at Basle in February 1531, then at Zurich in March. "What is to be done?" said the deputies from Zurich, after setting forth their grievances; "how can we punish these infamous calumnies, and force these threatening arms to fall?"—"We understand," replied Berne, "that you would have recourse to violence; but think of these secret and formidable alliances that are forming with the pope, the emperor, the King of France, with so many

princes, in a word with all the priests' party, to accelerate our ruin;—think on the innocence of so many pious souls in the Five Cantons, who deplore these perfidious machinations;—think how easy it is to begin a war, but that no one can tell when it will end."¹ Sad foreboding! which a catastrophe, beyond all human foresight, accomplished but too soon. "Let us therefore send a deputation to the Five Cantons," continued Berne; "let us call upon them to punish these infamous calumnies in accordance with the treaty; and if they refuse, let us break off all intercourse with them."² "What will be the use of this mission?" asked Basle. "Do we not know the brutality of this people? And is it not to be feared that the rough treatment to which our deputies will be exposed may make the matter worse? Let us rather convoke a general diet." Schaffhausen and St. Gall having concurred in this opinion, Berne summoned a diet at Baden for the 10th April, at which deputies from all the cantons were assembled.

Many of the principal men among the Waldstettes disapproved of the violence of the retired soldiers and of the monks. They saw that these continually repeated insults would injure their cause. "The insults of which you complain," said they to the diet, "afflict us no less than you. We shall know how to punish them, and we have already done so. But there are violent men on both sides. The other day a man of Basle having met on the high road a person who was coming from Berne, and having learnt that he was going to Lucerne:—'To go from Berne to Lucerne,' exclaimed he, 'is passing from a father to an arrant knave!'" The mediating cantons invited the two parties to banish every cause of discord.

But the war of the Chatelain of Musso having then broken out, Zwingle and Zurich, who saw in it the first act of a vast conspiracy, destined to stifle the Reform in every place, called their allies together. "We must waver no longer," said Zwingle; "the rupture of the alliance on the part of the Five Cantons, and the unheard-of insults with which they load us, impose upon us the obligation of marching against our enemies,³ before the emperor, who is still detained by the Turks, shall have expelled the landgrave, seized upon Strasburg, and subjugated even ourselves." All the blood of the ancient Swiss seemed to boil in this man's veins; and while Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden basely kissed the hand of Austria, this Zurich—the greatest Helvetian of the age—faithful to the memory of old Switzerland, but not so to still holier traditions, followed in the glorious steps of Stauffacher and Winkelried.

The warlike tone of Zurich alarmed its

¹ *Erdtschlagend und tagend heymlich v. c. Bull. H.*

² *Nüwe fründschaften, by den Walliseren, dem Papst, und dem Keyserlichen. Ibid.*

³ *Ut si quis rem obscenam cum jumento aive bove habeat, minus peccare quam si missam inaudiat. Zw. Epp. d. 610.*

⁴ *Perfidorum ac sceleratorum hominum commentum. Ibid.*

¹ *Aber sin end und usgang möchte niemam bald wissen. Bull. H. 348.*

² *By gewaltig so überziehen. Ibid. 366.*

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confederates. Basle proposed a summons, and then, in case of refusal, the rupture of the alliance. Schaffhausen and St. Gall were frightened even at this step: "The mountaineers, so proud, indomitable, and exasperated," said they, "will accept with joy the dissolution of the confederation, and then shall we be more advanced." Such was the posture of affairs, when, to the great astonishment of all, deputies from Uri and Schwytz made their appearance. They were coldly received; the cup of honour was not offered to them; and they had to walk, according to their own account, in the midst of the insulting cries of the people. They unsuccessfully endeavoured to excuse their conduct. "We have long been waiting," was the cold reply of the diet, "to see your actions and your words agree."¹ The men of Schwytz and of Uri returned in sadness to their homes; and the assembly broke up, full of sorrow and distress.

Zwingle beheld with pain the deputies of the evangelical towns separating without having come to any decision. He no longer desired only a reformation of the Church; he wished for a transformation in the confederacy; and it was this latter reform that he now was preaching from the pulpit, according to what we learn from Bullinger.² He was not the only person who desired it. For a long time the inhabitants of the most populous and powerful towns of Switzerland had complained that the Waldstettes, whose contingent of men and money was much below theirs, had an equal share in the deliberations of the diet, and in the fruits of their victories. This had been the cause of division after the Burgundian war. The Five Cantons, by means of their adherents, had the majority. Now Zwingle thought that the reins of Switzerland should be placed in the hands of the great cities, and, above all, in those of the powerful cantons of Berne and Zurich. New times, in his opinion, called for new forms. It was not sufficient to dismiss from every public office the pensioners of foreign princes, and substitute pious men in their place; the federal compact must be remodelled, and settled upon a more equitable basis. A national constituent assembly would doubtless have responded to his wishes. These discourses, which were rather those of a tribune of the people than of a minister of Jesus Christ, hastened on the terrible catastrophe.

And indeed the animated words of the

patriot reformer passed from the church where they had been delivered into the councils and the halls of the guilds, into the streets and the fields. The burning words that fell from this man's lips kindled the hearts of his fellow-citizens. The electric spark, escaping with noise and commotion, was felt even in the most distant cottage. The ancient traditions of wisdom and prudence seemed forgotten. Public opinion declared itself energetically. On the 29th and 30th April, a number of horsemen rode hastily out of Zurich; they were envoys from the council, commissioned to remind all the allied cities of the encroachment of the Five Cantons, and to call for a prompt and definitive decision. Reaching their several destinations, the messengers recapitulated the grievances.¹ Take care," said they in conclusion; "great dangers are impending over all of us. The emperor and King Ferdinand are making vast preparations; they are about to enter Switzerland with large sums of money, and with a numerous army."

Zurich joined actions to words. This state, being resolved to make every exertion to establish the free preaching of the Gospel in those bailiwicks where it shared the sovereignty with the Roman-catholic cantons, desired to interfere by force wherever negotiations could not prevail. The federal rights, it must be confessed, were trampled under foot at St. Gall, in Thurgovia, in the Rheintal; and Zurich substituted arbitrary decisions in their place, that excited the indignation of the Waldstettes to the highest degree. Thus the number of enemies to the Reform kept increasing; the tone of the Five Cantons became daily more threatening, and the inhabitants of the canton of Zurich, whom business called into the mountains, were loaded with insults, and sometimes badly treated. These violent proceedings excited in turn the anger of the reformed cantons. Zwingle traversed Thurgovia, St. Gall, and the Tockenbourg, every where organizing synods, taking part in their proceedings, and preaching before excited and enthusiastic crowds. In all parts he met with confidence and respect. At St. Gall an immense crowd assembled under his window, and a concert of voices and instruments expressed the public gratitude in harmonious songs. "Let us not abandon ourselves," he repeated continually, "and all will go well." It was resolved that a meeting should be held at Arau on the 12th May, to deliberate on a posture of affairs that daily became more critical. This meeting was to be the beginning of sorrows.

They are to be found in Bullinger, *l.* 200-201.

¹ Und wort und werk mit einander gangen werind. Bull. ii. 367.

² Traug gar häufig uff eine gemeine Reformation gemeiner bydgenoeschaft. Ibid. 368.

CHAPTER V.

—Helvetic Unity—Berne proposes to close the Opposition of Zurich—Proposition agreed to then—Zwingle's War Sermon—Blockade of the sea—No Bread, no Wine, no Salt—Indignation of Cantons—The Roads blockaded—Processions of Despair—France tries to conciliate—Diet at N. —Hope—The Cantons inflexible—The of Zurich broken—Discontent—Zwingle's false Zwingle demands his Dismission—The Council se—the remains—Zwingle at Bremgarten—Farwell to Bullinger—Zwingle's Agony—The stons reject all Conciliation—Frightful Omens set—Zwingle's Tranquillity.

a scheme with regard to the establishment of a new Helvetic constitution did it in the diet of Arau. Perhaps it might better to see the result of the perhaps a more christian, a more ierw—the hope of procuring the witzerland by unity of faith—occu—s minds more than the pre-eminence es. In truth, if a certain number remained with the pope, the unity federation was destroyed, it might c. But if all the confederation was ver to the same faith, the ancient nity would be established on the and surest foundation. Now was for acting—or never; and there no fear of employing a violent re-estore the whole body to health. reless, the allies shrank back at ht of restoring religious liberty or nity by means of arms; and to m the difficulties in which the con-was placed, they sought a middle ween war and peace. "There is " said the deputies from Berne, behaviour of the cantons with re-e Word of God fully authorizes an ervention; but the perils that s on the side of Italy and the em-danger of arousing the lion from er—the general want and misery t our people—the rich harvests soon cover our fields, and which ould infallibly destroy—the great pious men among the Waldstettes, innocent blood would flow along of the guilty—all these motives o leave the sword in the scabbard. er close our markets against the ns; let us refuse them corn, salt, , and iron; we shall thus impart o the friends of peace among them, nt blood will be spared."¹ The parated forthwith to carry this in-proposition to the different evan-tons; and on the 15th May again at Zurich.

ad that the means apparently the nt were nevertheless both the he most humane, Zurich resisted e proposition with all its might. ding this proposition," said they,

ch unabdules Bids erspart wurde. Bull. II.

"we sacrifice the advantages that we now possess, and we give the Five Cantons time to arm themselves, and to fall upon us first. Let us take care that the emperor does not then assail us on one side, while our ancient confederates attack us on the other; a just war is not in opposition to the Word of God; but this is contrary to it—taking the bread from the mouths of the innocent as well as the guilty; straitening by hunger the sick, the aged, pregnant women, children, and all who are deeply afflicted by the injustice of the Waldstettes.¹ We should beware of exciting by this means the anger of the poor, and transforming into enemies many who at the present time are our friends and our brothers!"

We must acknowledge that this language, which was Zwingle's, contained much truth. But the other cantons, and Berne in particular, were immovable. "When we have once shed the blood of our brothers," said they, "we shall never be able to restore life to those who have lost it; while, from the moment the Waldstettes have given us satisfaction, we shall be able to put an end to all these severe measures. We are resolved not to begin the war." There were no means of running counter to such a declaration. The Zurichers consented to refuse supplies to the Waldstettes; but it was with hearts full of anguish, as if they had foreseen all that this deplorable measure would cost them.² It was agreed that the severe step that was now about to be taken should not be suspended except by common consent, and that, as it would create great exasperation, each one should hold himself prepared to repel the attacks of the enemy. Zurich and Berne were commissioned to notify this determination to the Five Cantons; and Zurich, discharging its task with promptitude, immediately forwarded an order to every bailiwick to suspend all communication with the Waldstettes, commanding them at the same time to abstain from ill-usage and hostile language. Thus the Reformation, becoming imprudently mixed up with political combinations, marched from fault to fault; it pretended to preach the Gospel to the poor, and was now about to refuse them bread!

On the Sunday following—it was Whitsunday—the resolution was published from the pulpits. Zwingle walked towards his, where an immense crowd was waiting for him. The piercing eye of this great man easily discovered the dangers of the measure in a political point of view, and his christian heart deeply felt all its cruelty. His soul was overburdened, his eyes downcast. If at this moment the true character of a minister of the Gospel had awoke within him;—if Zwingle with his powerful voice had called on the people to humiliation before God, to

¹ Kranke, alte, schwangere wyber, kinder und sonst betribe. Bull. II. 363.
² Schmerzlich und kammersachlich. Ibid. 366.

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forgiveness of trespasses, and to prayer; safety might yet have dawned on "broken-hearted" Switzerland. But it was not so. More and more the Christian disappeared in the reformer, and the citizen alone remained; but in that character he soared far above all, and his policy was undoubtedly the most skilful. He saw clearly that every delay might ruin Zurich; and after having made his way through the congregation, and closed the book of the Prince of Peace, he hesitated not to attack the resolution which he had just communicated to the people, and on the very festival of the Holy Ghost to preach war. "He who fears not to call his adversary a criminal," said he in his usual forcible language, "must be ready to follow the word with a blow.¹ If he does not strike, he will be stricken. Men of Zurich! you deny food to the Five Cantons, as to evil doers: well! let the blow follow the threat, rather than reduce poor innocent creatures to starvation. If, by not taking the offensive, you appear to believe that there is not sufficient reason for punishing the Waldstettes, and yet you refuse them food and drink, you will force them by this line of conduct to take up arms, to raise their hands, and to inflict punishment upon you. This is the fate that awaits you."

These words of the eloquent reformer moved the whole assembly. Zwingle's politic mind already so influenced and misled all the people, that there were few souls christian enough to feel how strange it was, that on the very day when they were celebrating the outpouring of the Spirit of peace and love upon the Christian Church, the mouth of a minister of God should utter a provocation to war. They looked at this sermon only in a political point of view: "It is a seditious discourse; it is an excitement to civil war!" said some. "No," replied others, "it is the language that the safety of the state requires!" All Zurich was agitated. "Zurich has too much fire," said Berne. "Berne has too much cunning," replied Zurich.² Zwingle's gloomy prophecy was too soon to be fulfilled!

No sooner had the reformed cantons communicated this pitiless decree to the Waldstettes than they hastened its execution; and Zurich showed the greatest strictness respecting it. Not only the markets of Zurich and of Berne, but also those of the free bailiwicks of St. Gall, of the Tockenburi, of the district of Sargans and of the valley of the Rhine, a country partly under the sovereignty of the Waldstettes, were shut against the Five Cantons. A formidable power had suddenly encompassed with barrenness, famine, and death the noble founders of Helvetican liberty. Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden,

Zug, and Lucerne, were, as it seemed, in the midst of a vast desert. Their own subjects, at least they thought the communes that have taken the oath of allegiance to them, would range themselves on their side! But no; Bremgarten, and even Mellingen, refused all succour. Their last hope was in Wesen and the Gastal. Neither Berne nor Zurich had any thing to do there; Schwytz and Glaris alone ruled over them; but the power of their enemies had penetrated every where. A majority of thirteen votes had declared in favour of Zurich at the landsgemeinde of Glaris; and Glaris closed the gates of Wesen and of the Gastal against Schwytz. In vain did Berne itself cry out: "How can you compel subjects to refuse supplies to their lords?" In vain did Schwytz raise its voice in indignation; Zurich immediately sent to Wesen—gunpowder and bullets. It was upon Zurich, therefore, that fell all the odium of a measure which that city had at first so earnestly combated. At Arau, at Bremgarten, at Mellingen, in the free bailiwicks, were several carriages laden with provisions for the Waldstettes. They were stopped, unloaded, and upset: with them barricades were erected on the roads leading to Lucerne, Schwytz, and Zug. Already a year of dearth had made provisions scarce in the Five Cantons;—already had a frightful epidemic, the *Sweating Sickness*, scattered every where despondency and death: but now the hand of man was joined to the hand of God; the evil increased, and the poor inhabitants of these mountains beheld unheard-of calamities approach with hasty steps. No more bread for their children—no more wine to revive their exhausted strength—no more salt for their flocks and herds! Every thing failed them that man requires for subsistence.¹ One could not see such things, and be a man, without feeling his heart wrung. In the confederate cities, and out of Switzerland, numerous voices were raised against this implacable measure. What good can result from it? Did not St. Paul write to the Romans: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head?"² And when the magistrates wished to convince certain refractory communes of the utility of the measure: "We desire no religious war," cried they. "If the Waldstettes will not believe in God, let them stick to the devil!"

But it was especially in the Five Cantons that earnest complaints were heard. The most pacific individuals, and even the secret partisans of the Reform, seeing famines invade their habitations, felt the deepest indignation. The enemies of Zurich skillfully took advantage of this disposition; they fostered these murmurs; and soon the cry of

¹ Das er wort und faust mitt einander gan lasse. Bull. B. 30.

² It was Zwingle who thus characterized the two cities.—Bern: kieno Zurich wære su hitzig; Zurich: Bern wære su hitzig.—Stettler.

¹ Deshalb er bald grossen mangel erlittend an allem dem das der Mensch geliben soll. Bull. B. 30.

² Ibid. Romans xii. 20.

anger and distress re-echoed from all the mountains. In vain did Berne represent to the Waldstettes that it is more cruel to refuse men the nourishment of the soul than to cut off that of the body. "God," replied these mountaineers in their despair, "God causes the fruits of the earth to grow freely for all men!"¹ They were not content with groaning in their cottages, and venting their indignation in the councils; they filled all Switzerland with complaints and menaces.² "They wish to employ famine to tear us from our ancient faith; they wish to deprive our wives and our children of bread, that they may take from us the liberty we derive from our forefathers. When did such things ever take place in the bosom of the confederation? Did we not see, in the last war, the confederates with arms in their hands, and who were ready to draw the sword, eating together from the same dish? They tear in pieces old friendships—they trample our ancient manners under foot—they violate treaties—they break alliances..... We invoke the charters of our ancestors. Help! help!..... Wise men of our people give us your advice, and all you who know how to handle the sling and the sword, come and maintain with us the sacred possessions for which our fathers, delivered from the yoke of the stranger, united their arms and their hearts."

At the same time the Five Cantons sent into Alsace, Brisgau, and Swabia, to obtain salt, wine, and bread; but the administration of the cities was implacable; the orders were every where given and every where strictly executed. Zurich and the other allied cantons intercepted all communication, and sent back to Germany the supplies that had been forwarded to their brethren. The Five Cantons were like a vast fortress, all the issues from which are closely guarded by watchful sentinels. The afflicted Waldstettes, on beholding themselves alone with famine between their lakes and their mountains, had recourse to the observances of their worship. All sports, dances, and every kind of amusement were interdicted;³ prayers were directed to be offered up; and long processions covered the roads to Einsiedlen and other resorts of pilgrims. They assumed the belt, and staff, and arms of the brotherhood to which they each belonged; each man carried a chaplet in his hands, and repeated paternosters; the mountains and the valleys re-echoed with their plaintive hymns. But the Waldstettes did still more: they grasped their swords—they sharpened the points of their halberds—they brandished their weapons in the direction of Zurich and

of Berne, and exclaimed with rage: "They block up their roads, but we will open them with our right arms!"⁴ No one replied to this cry of despair; but there is a just Judge in heaven to whom vengeance belongs, and who will soon reply in a terrible manner, by punishing those misguided persons, who, forgetful of christian mercy, and making an impious mixture of political and religious matters, pretend to secure the triumph of the Gospel by famine and by armed men.

Some attempts, however, were made to arrange matters; but these very efforts proved a great humiliation for Switzerland and for the Reform. It was not the ministers of the Gospel, it was France—more than once an occasion of discord to Switzerland—that offered to restore peace. Every proceeding calculated to increase its influence among the cantons was of service to its policy. On the 14th May, Maigret and Dangelting (the latter of whom had received the Gospel truth, and consequently did not dare return to France),⁵ after some allusions to the spirit which Zurich had shown in this affair—a spirit little in accordance with the Gospel—said to the council: "The king our master has sent you two gentlemen to consult on the means of preserving concord among you. If war and tumult invade Switzerland, the whole society of the Helvetians will be destroyed,⁶ and whichever party is the conqueror, he will be as much ruined as the other." Zurich having replied that if the Five Cantons would allow the free preaching of the Word of God, the reconciliation would be easy, the French secretly sounded the Waldstettes, whose answer was: "We will never permit the preaching of the Word of God, as the people of Zurich understand it."⁷

These more or less interested exertions of the foreigners having failed, a general diet became the only chance of safety that remained for Switzerland. One was accordingly convoked at Bremgarten. It was opened in presence of deputies from France, from the Duke of Milan, from the Countess of Neuchâtel, from the Grisons, Valais, Thurgovia, and the district of Sargans; and met on five different occasions,—on the 14th and 20th June, on the 9th July, and the 10th and 23d August. The chronicler Bullinger, who was pastor of Bremgarten, delivered an oration at the opening, in which he earnestly exhorted the confederates to union and peace.

A gleam of hope for a moment cheered Switzerland. The blockade had become less strict; friendship and good neighbourhood had prevailed in many places over the de-

¹ Hartmann von Hallwyl to Albert of Mülhausen, 7th August.

² Klingend sich allent halben wyt und breit. Bull. II. 67.

³ Stelltent ab Spielen, Tanzen.—Tschudi der Caspeller Krieg, 1301. This MS. is attributed to Egidius Tschudi, who must have written it in 1525, in favour of the Five Cantons; it was printed in the "Helvetia," vol. II. 166.

⁴ Trovrend auch die Strassen uff zu thun mit gewalt. Bull. II. 37.

⁵ Ep. Rugeri ad Bulling., 12th November 1600.

⁶ Universam societatem Helveticorum dilaberet, si tumultus et bellum inter eam eruperit. Zw. Ep. II. 60.

⁷ Respondendum verbi Dei predicationem non latuisse, quomodo nos intelligimus. Ibid. 67.

crosses of the state. Unusual roads had been opened across the wildest mountains to convey supplies to the Waldstettes. Provisions were concealed in bales of merchandise; and while Lucerne imprisoned and tortured its own citizens, who were found with the pamphlets of the Zurichers,¹ Berne punished but slightly the peasants who had been discovered bearing food for Unterwalden and Lucerne; and Glaris shut its eyes on the frequent violation of its orders. The voice of charity, that had been momentarily stifled, pleaded with fresh energy the cause of their confederates before the reformed cantons.

But the Five Cantons were inflexible. "We will not listen to any proposition before the raising of the blockade," said they. "We will not raise it," replied Berne and Zurich, "before the Gospel is allowed to be freely preached, not only in the common bailiwicks, but also in the Five Cantons." This was undoubtedly going too far, even according to the natural law and the principles of the confederation. The councils of Zurich might consider it their duty to have recourse to war for maintaining liberty of conscience in the common bailiwicks; but it was unjust—it was a usurpation, to constrain the Five Cantons in a matter that concerned their own territory. Nevertheless the mediators succeeded, not without much trouble, in drawing up a plan of conciliation that seemed to harmonize with the wishes of both parties. The conference was broken up, and this project was hastily transmitted to the different states for their ratification.

The diet met again a few days after; but the Five Cantons persisted in their demand, without yielding in any one point. In vain did Zurich and Berne represent to them, that, by persecuting the reformed, the cantons violated the treaty of peace; in vain did the mediators exhaust their strength in warnings and entreaties. The parties appeared at one time to approximate, and then on a sudden they were more distant and more irritated than ever. The Waldstettes at last broke up the third conference by declaring, that far from opposing the evangelical truth, they would maintain it, as it had been taught by the Redeemer, by his holy apostles, by the four doctors, and by their holy mother, the Church—a declaration that seemed a bitter irony to the deputies from Zurich and Berne. Nevertheless Berne, turning towards Zurich as they were separating, observed: "Be aware of too much violence, even should they attack you!"

This exhortation was unnecessary. The strength of Zurich had passed away. The first appearance of the Reformation and of the reformers had been greeted with joy. The people, who groaned under a twofold slavery, believed they saw the dawn of liberty. But their minds, abandoned for

ages to superstition and ignorance, I unable immediately to realize the hopes had conceived, a spirit of discontent spread among the masses. The change which Zwingle, ceasing to be a man of Gospel, became the man of the State, away from the people the enthusiasm necessary to resist the terrible attacks they have to sustain. The enemies of the Reform had a fair chance against it, so soon: friends abandoned the position that they strength. Besides, Christians not have recourse to famine and to secure the triumph of the Gospel, with their consciences becoming troubled. Zurichers "*walked not in the Spirit, but in the flesh; now, the works of the flesh are variance, emulations, wrath, strife, sedition*." The danger without was increasing, within, hope, union, and courage were from being augmented: men saw on the contrary the gradual disappearance of harmony and lively faith which had been the strength of the Reform. The Reformers had grasped the sword, and that very sword pierced its heart.

Occasions of discord were multiplied in Zurich. By the advice of Zwingle, the number of nobles was diminished in the councils, because of their opposition to the Gospel; and this measure spread discontent among the most honourable families of the canton. The millers and bakers were under certain regulations, which the government rendered necessary, and a great part of the townspeople attributed this proceeding to the sermons of the reformer, and became irritated against him. Rodolph Lavater, bail of Kibourg, was appointed captain-general of the officers who were of longer standing than he were offended. Many who had been formerly the most distinguished by their loyalty for the Reform, now openly opposed the cause they had supported. The ardour with which the ministers of peace demanded war in every quarter a smothered dissatisfaction and many persons gave vent to their irritation. This unnatural confusion of Church and State, which had corrupted Christianity after the age of Constantine, was hurried on the ruin of the Reformation. The authority of the Great Council, ever ready to adopt important and salutary resolutions, was destroyed. The old magistrates, who were still at the head of affairs, allowed themselves to be carried away by feelings of jealousy against men whose non-official influence prevailed over theirs. All those who hated the doctrine of the Gospel, whether from love of the world or from love to the pope, began to raise their heads in Zurich. The parties of the monks, the friends of foreign servitude, the malcontents of every class, coalesced pointing out Zwingle as the author of all sufferings of the people.

¹ Warf etc in Gollinggen. Bull. El. 20.

² Galatians v. 19, 20.

Zwingle was heart-broken. He saw that Zurich and the Reformation were hastening to their ruin, and he could not check them. How could he do so, since, without suspecting it, he had been the principal accomplice in these disasters? What was to be done? Should the pilot remain in the ship which he is no longer permitted to save? There was but one means of safety for Zurich and for Zwingle. He should have retired from the political stage, and fallen back on that *kingdom which is not of this world*; he should, like Moses, have kept his hands and his heart night and day raised towards heaven, and energetically preached repentance, faith, and peace. But religious and political matters were united in the mind of this great man by such old and dear ties, that it was impossible for him to distinguish their line of separation. This confusion had become his dominant idea; the Christian and the citizen were for him one and the same character; and hence it resulted, that all resources of the state—even cannons and arquebuses—were to be placed at the service of the Truth. When one peculiar idea thus seizes upon a man, we see a false conscience formed within him, which approves of many things condemned by the Word of the Lord.

This was now Zwingle's condition. War appeared to him legitimate and desirable; and if that was refused, he had only to withdraw from public life: he was for every thing or nothing. He therefore, on the 26th July, appeared before the Great Council with dimmed eyes and disconsolate heart: "For eleven years," said he, "I have been preaching the Gospel among you, and have warned you faithfully and paternally of the woes that are hanging over you; but no attention has been paid to my words; the friends of foreign alliances, the enemies of the Gospel, are elected to the Council, and while you refuse to follow my advice, I am made responsible for every misfortune. I cannot accept such a position, and I ask for my dismissal." The reformer retired bathed in tears.

The council shuddered as they heard these words. All the old feelings of respect which they had so long entertained for Zwingle were revived; to lose him now was to ruin Zurich. The burgo-master and the other magistrates received orders to persuade him to recall his fatal resolution. The conference took place on the same day; Zwingle asked time for consideration. For three days and three nights he sought the road that he should follow. Seeing the dark storm that was gathering from every quarter, he considered whether he ought to quit Zurich and seek refuge on the lofty hills of the Tockenburgh, where he had been reared, at a time when his country and his Church were on the point of being assailed and beaten down by their enemies, like corn by the hail-storm. He groaned and cried to the

Lord. He would have put away the cup of bitterness that was presented to his soul, but could not gather up the resolution. At length the sacrifice was accomplished, and the victim was placed shuddering upon the altar. Three days after the first conference, Zwingle reappeared in the council: "I will stay with you," said he, "and I will labour for the public safety—until death!"

From this moment he displayed new zeal. On the one hand, he endeavoured to revive harmony and courage in Zurich; on the other, he set about arousing and exciting the allied cities to increase and concentrate all the forces of the Reformation. Faithful to the political vocation he imagined to have received from God himself—persuaded that it was in the doubts and want of energy of the Bernese that he must look for the cause of all the evil, the reformer repaired to Bremgarten with Collins and Steiner, during the fourth conference of the diet, although he incurred great danger in the attempt. He arrived secretly by night, and having entered the house of his friend and disciple, Bullinger, he invited the deputies of Berne (J. J. de Watteville and Im Hag) to meet him there with the greatest secrecy, and prayed them in the most solemn tone earnestly to reflect upon the dangers of the Reform. "I fear," said he, "that in consequence of our unbelief this business will not succeed. By refusing supplies to the Five Cantons, we have begun a work that will be fatal to us. What is to be done? Withdraw the prohibition? The cantons will then be more insolent and haughty than ever. Enforce it? They will take the offensive, and if their attack succeed you will behold our fields red with the blood of the believers, the doctrine of truth cast down, the Church of Christ laid waste, all social relations overthrown, our adversaries more hardened and irritated against the Gospel, and crowds of priests and monks again filling our rural districts, streets, and temples.....And yet," added Zwingle, after a few instants of emotion and silence, "that also will have an end." The Bernese were filled with agitation by the solemn voice of the reformer. "We see," replied they, "all that is to be feared for our common cause, and we will employ every care to prevent such great disasters."—"I who write these things was present and heard them," adds Bullinger.¹

It was feared that if the presence of Zwingle at Bremgarten became known to the deputies of the Five Cantons, they would not restrain their violence. During this nocturnal conference three of the town-councillors were stationed as sentinels in front of Bullinger's house. Before daybreak, the reformer and his two friends, accompanied by Bullinger and the three councillors, passed through the deserted streets leading

¹ These words are in Latin: *Hæc ipse, qui hæc scribo, illis audivi, præsens colloquio.* Bul. iii. 42.

to the gate on the road to Zurich. Three different times Zwingle took leave of Bullinger, who was ere long to be his successor. His mind was filled with a presentiment of his approaching death; he could not tear himself from that young friend whose face he was never to see again; he blessed him amidst floods of tears. "O my dear Henry!" said he, "may God protect you! Be faithful to our Lord Jesus Christ and to his Church." At length they separated; but at that very moment, says Bullinger, a mysterious personage, clad in a robe as white as snow, suddenly appeared, and after frightening the soldiers who guarded the gate, plunged suddenly into the water, and vanished. Bullinger, Zwingle, and their friends did not perceive it; Bullinger himself sought for it all around, but to no purpose;¹ still the sentinels persisted in the reality of this frightful apparition. Bullinger greatly agitated returned in darkness and in silence to his house. His mind involuntarily compared the departure of Zwingle and the white phantom; and he shuddered at the frightful omen which the thought of this specter impressed upon his mind.

Sufferings of another kind pursued Zwingle to Zurich. He had thought that by consenting to remain at the head of affairs, he would recover all his ancient influence. But he was deceived: the people desired to see him there, and yet they would not follow him. The Zurichers daily became more and more indisposed towards the war which they had at first demanded, and identified themselves with the passive system of Berne. Zwingle remained for some time stupified and motionless before this inert mass, which his most vigorous exertions could not move. But soon discovering in every quarter of the horizon the prophetic signs, precursors of the storm about to burst upon the ship of which he was the pilot, he uttered cries of anguish, and showed the signal of distress. "I see," exclaimed he one day to the people from the pulpit, whither he had gone to give utterance to his gloomy forebodings,—*"I see that the most faithful warnings cannot save you; you will not punish the pensioners of the foreigner.....They have too firm a support among us! A chain is prepared—behold it entire—it unrolls link after link,—soon will they bind me to it, and more than one pious Zurichers with me.....It is against me they are enraged! I am ready; I submit to the Lord's will. But these people shall never be my masters.....As for thee, O Zurich, they will give thee thy reward; they will strike thee on the head. Thou wilt it. Thou refusest to punish them; well! it is they who will punish thee."*² But God will not the less preserve his Word, and their haughtiness shall come to an end." Such was Zwin-

gle's cry of agony; but the immobility of death alone replied. The hearts of the Zurichers were so hardened that the sharpest arrows of the reformer could not pierce them, and they fell at his feet blunted and useless.

But events were pressing on, which justified all his fears. The Five Cantons had rejected every proposition that had been made to them. "Why do you talk of punishing a few wrongs?" they had replied to the mediators: "it is a question of quite another kind. Do you not require that we should receive back among us the heretics whom we have banished, and tolerate no other priests than those who preach conformably to the Word of God? We know what that means. No—no—we will not abandon the religion of our fathers; and if we must see our wives and our children deprived of food, our hands will know how to conquer what is refused to us: to that we pledge our bodies—our goods—our lives." It was with this threatening language that the deputies quitted the diet of Bremgarten. They had proudly shaken the folds of their mantles, and war had fallen from them.

The terror was general, and the alarmed citizens beheld every where frightful portents, terrific signs, apparently foreboding the most horrible events. It was not only the white phantom that had appeared at Bremgarten at Zwingle's side: the most fearful omens, passing from mouth to mouth, filled the people with the gloomiest presentiments. The history of these phenomena, however strange it may appear, characterizes the period of which we write. We do not create the times: it is our simple duty to paint them as they really were.

On the 26th July, a widow chancing to be alone before her house, in the village of Castelschloss, suddenly beholds a frightful spectacle—blood springing from the earth all around her.³ She rushes in alarm into the cottage.....but, oh horrible! blood is flowing every where—from the wainscot and from the stones;²—it falls in a stream from a basin on a shelf, and even the child's cradle overflows with it. The woman imagines that the invisible hand of an assassin has been at work, and rushes in distraction out of doors, crying murder! murder!³ The villagers and the monks of a neighbouring convent assemble at the noise—they partly succeed in effacing the bloody stains; but a little later in the day, the other inhabitants of the house, sitting down in terror to eat their evening meal under the projecting eaves, suddenly discover blood bubbling up in a pond—blood flowing from the blood covering all the walls of the house. Blood—blood—every where blood! The bailiff of Schenkenberg and the pastor of

¹ Ein menschen in ein schneeweisses Kleid. Bull. III. 46.
² Straffen willt sy nit, doe werden sy dich straffen. Ibid. 48.

¹ Ante et post eam purus sanguis ita agitator ex domo rem egressus, ut ex vena inclina. Zw. Epp. II. 237.
² Sed etiam sanguis ex terra, lignis, et lapidibus effusus. Ibid. 237.

³ Ut eadem excurreret eadem clamantia. Ibid.

arrive—inquire into the matter—diately report it to the lords of to Zwingle.

had this horrible recital—the par—which are faithfully preserved in in German—filled all minds with a horrible butchery, than in the quarter of the heavens there a frightful comet,¹ whose immense pale yellow colour turned towards

At the time of its setting, this shone in the sky like the fire of a

One night—on the 15th August 1d appear?—Zwingle and George rmerly abbot of Wettingen, being n the cemetery of the cathedral, their eyes upon this terrific meteor. inous globe," said Zwingle, "is ght the path that leads to my grave. at the cost of my life and of many with me. Although I am rather ed, I foresee great calamities in the he truth and the Church will at Christ will never forsake us."

t only at Zurich that this flaming d consternation. Vadian being on an eminence in the neighbourt. Gall, surrounded by his friends ies, after having explained to them ; of the stars and the miracles of r, stopped before this comet, which the anger of God; and the famous tus declared that it foreboded not bloodshed, but most especially the earned and illustrious men. "This s phenomenon prolonged its fright-on until the 3d September.

once the noise of these omens was road, men could no longer contain s. Their imaginations were ex-y heaped fright upon fright: each its terrors. Two banners waving els had been seen on the mountain uning; at Zug a buckler had ap-the heavens; on the banks of the terated explosions were heard durgt; on the lake of the Four Can-s with aerial combatants careered every direction. War—war;—sod!—these were the general cries. midst of all this agitation, Zwingle ed tranquil. He rejected none of entiments, but contemplated them mess. "A heart that fears God," eares not for the threats of the To forward the designs of God, may happen.—this is his task. A to has a long road to go must make

eichschlicher comet. Bull ii. 46. It was et, that returns about every 76 years. It ap- 1535
hows in omerous. Ibid. Perhaps Bellinger is way to the phenomenon remarked by Ap- mer to Charles V., who observed this comet . and who says that the tail disappeared as approached the horizon. In 1456, its appear- only excited great terror
I jam tribus motibus videntur apud nos alii, um, puto 13 Augusti. Zw. Ep. p. 434.
his non unum calamitatem expecto. Ibid.

up his mind to wear his waggon and his gear during the journey. If he carry his merchandise to the appointed spot, that is enough for him. We are the waggon and the gear of God. There is not one of the articles that is not worn, twisted, or broken; but our great Driver will not the less accomplish by our means his vast designs. Is it not to those who fall upon the field of battle that the noblest crown belongs? Take courage, then, in the midst of all these dangers, through which the cause of Jesus Christ must pass. Be of good cheer! although we should never here below see its triumphs with our own eyes. The Judge of the combat beholds us, and it is he who confers the crown. Others will enjoy upon earth the fruits of our labours; while we, already in heaven, shall enjoy an eternal reward."²

Thus spoke Zwingle, as he advanced calmly towards the threatening noise of the tempest, which, by its repeated flashes and sudden explosions, foreboded death.

CHAPTER VI.

The Five Cantons decide for War—Decisive Calm—Fatal Inactivity—Zurich forewarned—Banner of Lucerne planted—Manifesto—The Balliwicks pillaged—The Monastery of Cappel—Letter—Infatuation of Zurich—New Warnings—The War begins—The Tocalin—A fearful Night—The War—Banner and Army of Zurich—Zwingle's departure—Zwingle's Horse—Anna Zwingle.

THE Five Cantons, assembled in diet at Lucerne, appeared full of determination, and war was decided upon. "We will call upon the cities to respect our alliances," said they, "and if they refuse, we will enter the common bailiwicks by force to procure provisions, and unite our banners in Zug to attack the enemy." The Waldstettes were not alone. The nuncio, being solicited by his Lucerne friends, had required that auxiliary troops, paid by the pope, should be put in motion towards Switzerland, and he announced their near arrival.

These resolutions carried terror into Switzerland; the mediating cantons met again at Arau, and drew up a plan that should leave the religious question just as it had been settled by the treaty of 1529. Deputies immediately bore these propositions to the different councils. Lucerne haughtily rejected them. "Tell those who sent you," was the reply, "that we do not acknowledge them as our schoolmasters. We would rather die than yield the least thing to the prejudice of our faith." The mediators returned to Arau, trembling and discouraged. This useless attempt increased the disagreement among the reformed, and gave the Waldstettes still greater confidence. Zurich, so decided for the reception of the Gospel, now became daily more irresolute! The mem-

¹ Zw. Opp. Comment. in Jeremiam. This work was composed the very year of Zwingle's death.

bers of the council distrusted each other; the people felt no interest in this war; and Zwingle, notwithstanding his unshaken faith in the justice of his cause, had no hope for the struggle that was about to take place. Berne, on its side, did not cease to entreat Zurich to avoid precipitation. "Do not let us expose ourselves to the reproach of too much haste, as in 1529," was the general remark in Zurich. "We have sure friends in the midst of the Waldstettes; let us wait until they announce to us, as they have promised, some real danger."

It was soon believed that these temporizers were right. In fact the alarming news ceased. That constant rumour of war, which incessantly came from the Waldstettes, was discontinued. There were no more alarms—no more fears! Deceitful omens! Over the mountains and valleys of Switzerland hangs a gloomy and mysterious silence, the forerunner of the tempest.

Whilst the Zurichers were sleeping, the Waldstettes were preparing to conquer their rights by force of arms. The chiefs, closely united to each other by common interests and dangers, found a powerful support in the indignation of the people. In a diet of the Five Cantons, held at Brunnen on the banks of the Lake of Lucerne, opposite Grutli, the alliances of the confederation were read; and the deputies, having been summoned to declare by their votes whether they thought the war just and lawful, all hands were raised with a shudder. The Waldstettes had immediately prepared their attack with the profoundest mystery. All the passes had been guarded—all communication between Zurich and the Five Cantons had been rendered impossible. The friends upon whom the Zurichers had reckoned on the banks of the Lakes Lucerne and Zug, and who had promised them intelligence, were like prisoners in their mountains. The terrible avalanche was about to slip from the icy summits of the mountain, and to roll into the valleys, even to the gates of Zurich, overthrowing every thing in its passage, without the least forewarning of its fall. The mediators had returned discouraged to their cantons. A spirit of imprudence and of error—sad forerunner of the fall of republics as well as of kings—had spread over the whole city of Zurich. The council had at first given orders to call out the militia; then, deceived by the silence of the Waldstettes, it had imprudently revoked the decree, and Lavater, the commander of the army, had retired in discontent to Rybolz, and indignantly thrown far from him that sword which they had commanded him to leave in the scabbard. Thus the winds were about to be unchained from the mountains; the waters of the great deep, aroused by a terrible earthquake, were about to open; and yet the vessel of the state, sadly abandoned, sported up and down with indifference over a frightful gulf,—its yards

struck, its sails loose and motionless—without compass or crew—without pilot, watch, or helm.

Whatever were the exertions of the Waldstettes, they could not entirely stifle the rumour of war, which from chalet to chalet called all their citizens to arms. God permitted a cry of alarm—a single one, it is true—to resound in the ears of the people of Zurich. On the 4th October, a little boy, who knew not what he was doing, succeeded in crossing the frontier of Zug, and presented himself with two loaves at the gate of the reformed monastery of Cappel, situated in the farthest limits of the canton of Zurich. He was led to the abbot, to whom the child gave the loaves without saying a word. The superior, with whom there chanced to be at that time a councillor from Zurich, Henry Peyer, sent by his government, turned pale at the sight. "If the Five Cantons intend entering by force of arms into the free bailiwicks," had said these two Zurichers to one of their friends in Zug, "you will send your son to us with one loaf; but you will give him two if they are marching at once upon the bailiwicks and upon Zurich." The abbot and the councillor wrote with all speed to Zurich. "Be upon your guard! take up arms," said they; but no credit was attached to this information. The council were at that time occupied in taking measures to prevent the supplies that had arrived from Alsace from entering the cantons. Zwingle himself, who had never ceased to announce war, did not believe it. "These pensioners are really clever fellows," said the reformer. "Their preparations may be after all nothing but a French manoeuvre."¹

He was deceived—they were a reality. Four days were to accomplish the ruin of Zurich. Let us retrace in succession the history of these disastrous moments.

On Sunday, 8th October, a messenger appeared at Zurich, and demanded in the name of the Five Cantons, letters of perpetual alliance.² The majority saw in this step nothing but a trick; but Zwingle began to discern the thunderbolt in the black cloud that was drawing near. He was in the pulpit: it was the last time he was destined to appear there; and as if he had seen the formidable spectre of Rome rise frightfully above the Alps, calling upon him and upon his people to abandon the faith—"No—no!" cried he, "never will I deny my Redeemer!"

At the same moment a messenger arrived in haste from Mulinen, commander of the Knights-hospitallers of St. John at Hitzkyleh. "On Friday, 6th October," said he to the councils of Zurich, "the people of Lucerne planted their banner in the Great

¹ Die drei Rustung mochte wohl eine französische sein. Bull. iii. 26

² Die ewige Bind absefordert. J. J. Hottinger, iii. 87. According to Bullinger, this did not take place until Monday.

and¹ Two men that I sent to Lucerne been thrown into prison. To-morrow being, Monday, 5th October, the Five Cantons will enter the bailiwicks. Already country-people, frightened and fugitive, running to us in crowds."² "It is an story," said the council.³ Nevertheless recalled the commander-in-chief Lava-who sent off a trusty man, nephew of Winckler, with orders to repair to Zug, and if possible as far as Zug, to renounce the arrangements of the cantons.

The Waldstettes were in reality assembling round the banner of Lucerne. The plea of this canton; the men of Schwytz, Zug, and Unterwalden; refugees from Rich and Berne, with a few Italians, formed the main body of the army, which had been raised to invade the free bailiwicks. No manifestoes were published—one addressed to the cantons, the other to foreign princes and nations.

The Five Cantons energetically set forth attacks made upon the treaties, the disorder throughout the confederation, and rally the refusal to sell them provisions—a usual whose only aim was (according to them) to excite the people against the magistrates, and to establish the Reform by force. "It is not true," added they, "that—they are continually crying out—we oppose the preaching of the truth and the reading of the Bible. As obedient members of the Church, we desire to receive all that our holy mother receives. But we reject the fables and the innovations of Zwingle and his companions."⁴

Hardly had the messengers charged with these manifestoes departed, before the first vision of the army began to march, and arrived in the evening in the free bailiwicks. The soldiers having entered the deserted churches, and seen the images of the saints moved and the altars broken, their anger was kindled; they spread like a torrent over the whole country, pillaged every thing they met with, and were particularly enraged against the houses of the pastors, where they destroyed the furniture with oaths and imprecations. At the same time the division was to form the main army marched on Zug, thence to move upon Zurich.

Cappel, at three leagues from Zurich, and out a league from Zug, was the first place they would reach in the Zurich territory, after crossing the frontier of the Five Cantons. Near the Albis, between two hills of similar height, the Granges on the north, and the Ifelsberg on the south, in the midst of delightful pastures, stood the ancient and rich convent of the Cistercians, in whose church were the tombs of many ancient and noble families of these districts. The Abbot

Wolfgang Joner, a just and pious man, a great friend of the arts and letters, and a distinguished preacher, had reformed his convent in 1527. Full of compassion, and rich in good works, particularly towards the poor of the canton of Zug and the free bailiwicks, he was held in great honour throughout the whole country.⁵ He predicted what would be the termination of the war; yet as soon as danger approached, he spared no labour to serve his country.

It was on Sunday night that the abbot received positive intelligence of the preparations at Zug. He paced up and down his cell with hasty steps; sleep fled from his eyes; he drew near his lamp, and addressing his intimate friend, Peter Simmler, who succeeded him, and who was then residing at Kytzhberg, a village on the borders of the lake, and about a league from the town, he hastily wrote these words: "The great anxiety and trouble which agitate me prevent me from busying myself with the management of the house, and induce me to write to you all that is preparing. The time is come.....the scourge of God appears."⁶.....After many journeys and inquiries, we have learnt that the Five Cantons will march to-day (Monday) to seize upon Hitzkylch, while the main army assembles its banners at Baar, between Zug and Cappel. Those from the valley of the Adige and the Italians will arrive to-day or to-morrow." This letter, through some unforeseen circumstance, did not reach Zurich till the evening.

Meanwhile the messenger whom Lavater had sent—the nephew of J. Winckler—creeping on his belly, gliding unperceived past the sentinels, and clinging to the shrubs that overhung the precipices, had succeeded in making his way where no road had been cleared. On arriving near Zug, he had discovered with alarm the banner and the militia hastening from all sides at beat of drum: then traversing again these unknown passes, he had returned to Zurich with this information.⁷

It was high time that the bandage should fall from the eyes of the Zurichers; but the delusion was to endure until the end. The council which was called together met in small number. "The Five Cantons," said they, "are making a little noise to frighten us, and to make us raise the blockade."⁸ The council, however, decided on sending Colonel Rodolph Dumysen and Ulrich Funck to Cappel, to see what was going on; and each one, tranquillized by this unmeaning step, retired to rest.

They did not slumber long. Every hour brought fresh messengers of alarm to Zurich.

¹ That armen löten vil guts....und by aller Erbarkeit in grossern ansehen. Bull. III. 161.

² Die Zyt ist hie, das die rüt gottes sich vil erzeigen. Ibid. 167.

³ Neben den Wachten, durch unruhig und gestrubb. Ibid.

⁴ Sy machend allein ein geprög. Ibid. 103.

Im paner in den Brunnen gesteckt. Bull. III. 168.
Die gepöch und vörgeret und unt darauffsetzend. Ibid.
Als wir vertrauen Gott und der Welt antwort zu geben.
d. 101.

"The banners of four cantons are assembled at Zug," said they. "They are only waiting for Uri. The people of the free bailiwicks are flocking to Cappel, and demanding arms Help! help!"

Before the break of day the council was again assembled, and it ordered the convocation of the Two Hundred. An old man, whose hair had grown gray on the battlefield and in the council of the state—the banneret John Schweitzer—raising his head enfeebled by age, and darting the last beam, as it were, from his eyes, exclaimed, "Now—at this very moment, in God's name, send an advanced-guard to Cappel, and let the army, promptly collecting round the banner, follow it immediately." He said no more; but the charm was not yet broken. "The peasants of the free bailiwicks," said some, "we know to be hasty, and easily carried away. They make the matter greater than it really is. The wisest plan is to wait for the report of the councillors." In Zurich there was no longer either arm to defend or lead to advise.

It was seven in the morning, and the assembly was still sitting, when Rodolph Gwerb, pastor of Rifferschwyl, near Cappel, arrived in haste. "The people of the lordship of Knonau," said he, "are crowding round the convent, and loudly calling for chiefs and for aid. The enemy is approaching. Will our lords of Zurich (say they) abandon themselves, and us with them? Do they wish to give us up to slaughter?" The pastor, who had witnessed these mournful scenes, spoke with animation. The councillors, whose infatuation was to be prolonged to the last, were offended at his message. "They want to make us act imprudently," replied they, turning in their arm-chairs.

They had scarcely ceased speaking before a new messenger appeared, wearing on his features the marks of the greatest terror: it was Schwytzer, landlord of the "Beech Tree" on Mount Albis. "My lords Dumysen and Funck," said he, "have sent me to you with all speed to announce to the council that the Five Cantons have seized upon Hitzkylch, and that they are now collecting all their troops at Baar. My lords remain in the bailiwicks to aid the frightened inhabitants."

This time the most confident turned pale. Terror, so long restrained, passed like a flash of lightning through every heart.¹ Hitzkylch was in the power of the enemy, and the war was begun.

It was resolved to expedite to Cappel a flying camp of six hundred men with six guns; but the command was intrusted to George Gädli, whose brother was in the army of the Five Cantons, and he was enjoined to keep on the defensive. Gädli and his troops had just left the city, when the captain-general Lavater, summoning into the hall of

the Smaller Council the old banneret Schweitzer, William Toning, captain of arquebusiers, J. Dennikon, captain of artillery, Zwingle, and some others, said to them, "Let us deliberate promptly on means of saving the canton and the Let the tocsin immediately call out all citizens." The captain-general feared the councils would shrink at this proceeding and he wished to raise the landsturm by simple advice of the chiefs of the army of Zwingle. "We cannot take it upon ourselves," said they; "the two councils still sitting; let us lay this proposition before them." They hastened towards the place of meeting; but, fatal mischance! there were only a few members of the Smaller Council on the benches. "The counsel the Two Hundred is necessary," said it. Again a new delay, and the enemy was on their march. Two hours after noon the Great Council met again, but only to prolong and useless speeches.² At length resolution was taken, and at seven in the evening the tocsin began to sound in all country districts. Treason united with dilatoriness, and persons who pretended to be envoys from Zurich stopped the landsturm in many places, as being contrary to the union of the council. A great number of citizens went to sleep again.

It was a fearful night. The thick darkness—a violent storm—the alarm-bell ringing from every steeple—the people rushing to arms—the noise of swords and guns—sound of trumpets and of drums, combined with the roaring of the tempest, the distrust, discontent, and even treason, which spread affliction in every quarter—the cries of women and of children—the cries which accompanied many a heart-rending accident—an earthquake which occurred about eleven o'clock at night, as if nature herself shuddered at the blood that was about to be spilt, and which violently shook the mountains and the valleys:³ all increased the terrors of this fatal night,—a night followed by a still more fatal day.

While these events were passing, Zurichers encamped on the heights of Cappel to the number of about one thousand fixed their eyes on Zug and upon the land attentively watching every movement. At a sudden, a little before night, they perceived a few barks filled with soldiers coming from the side of Arth, and rowing across the lake towards Zug. Their number increased—one boat follows another—soon they distinctly hear the bellowing of the Bull-horn of Uri,⁴ and discern the banner. Barks draw near Zug; they are more and more the shore, which is lined with an immense crowd. The warriors of Uri and the an-

¹ Ward so vil und lang darin geradschlagt. Bull. III.

² Ein starker Erdbeben, der das Land, auch das Thal gewaltig erschütt. Tschudi, Helvetica, II. 14.

³ Vill schiffen uff Zug lacen, und hurt man lugen den Stier. Bull. III. 106.

⁴ Dieser Botschaft erschreck manlich übel. Bull. III. 106.

the Adige spring up and leap on re they are received with acclamation. take up their quarters for the sold the enemies assembled! The informed with all speed.

itation was still greater at Zurich ppeel: the confusion was increased dntly. The enemy attacking them at sides at once, they knew not arry assistance. Two hours after five hundred men with four guns e city for Bremgarten, and three undred men with five guns for wyl. They turned to the right e left, while the enemy was in

l at its own weakness, the council apply without delay to the cities ation co-burgbery. "As this re te they, "has no other origin than of God, we entreat you once—rice, as loudly, as seriously, as d as earnestly, as our ancient alli—our christian co-burgbery permit and us to do—to set forth without l all your forces. Haste! haste! et as promptly as possible¹—the yours as well as ours." Thus ich; but it was already too late.

k of day the banner was raised be-town-house; instead of flaunting the wind, it hung drooping down a sad omen that filled many minds. Lavater took up his station standard; but a long period elapsed w hundred soldiers could be got to-In the square and in all the city id confusion prevailed. The troops, y a hasty march or by long wait-faint and discouraged.

o'clock, only 700 men were under e selfish, the lukewarm, the friends nd of the foreign pensioners, had at home. A few old men who had age than strength—several mem-e two councils who were devoted ly cause of God's Word—many of the Church who desired to live ith the Reform—the boldest of the le and a few peasants, especially the neighbourhood of the city—such lefenders who, wanting that moral necessary for victory, incompletely d without uniform, crowded in dis-nd the banner of Zurich.

ny should have numbered at least ; they waited still; the usual oath en administered; and yet courier ier arrived, breathless and in dis-rouncing the terrible danger that l Zurich. All this disorderly crowd tly agitated—they no longer waited mmands of their chiefs, and many king the oath rushed through the

gates. About 200 men thus set out in con-fusion. All those who remained prepared to depart.

Zwingle was now seen issuing from a house before which a caparisoned horse was stamping impatiently: it was his own. His look was firm, but dimmed by sorrow. He parted from his wife, his children, and his numerous friends, without deceiving himself, and with a bruised heart.¹ He observed the thick waterspout, which, driven by a terrible wind, advanced whirling towards him. Alas! he had himself called up this hurricane by quitting the atmosphere of the Gospel of peace, and throwing himself into the midst of political passions. He was convinced that he would be its first victim. Fifteen days before the attack of the Waldstettes, he had said from the pulpit: "I know the meaning of all this: I am the person specially pointed at. All this comes to pass—in order that I may die."² The council, according to an ancient custom, had called upon him to accompany the army as its chaplain. Zwingle did not hesitate. He prepared himself without surprise and without anger,—with the calmness of a Christian who places himself confidently in the hands of his God. If the cause of Reform was doomed to perish, he was ready to perish with it. Surrounded by his weeping wife and friends—by his children who clung to his garments to detain him, he quitted that house where he had tasted so much happiness. At the moment that his hand was upon his horse, just as he was about to mount, the animal violently started back several paces, and when he was at last in the saddle, it refused for a time to move, rearing and prancing backwards, like that horse which the greatest captain of modern times had mounted as he was about to cross the Niemen. Many in Zurich at that time thought with the soldier of the Grand Army when he saw Napoleon on the ground: "It is a bad omen! a Roman would go back!"³ Zwingle having at last mastered his horse, gave the reins, applied the spur, started forward, and disappeared.

At eleven o'clock the flag was struck, and all who remained in the square—about 500 men—began their march along with it. The greater part were torn with difficulty from the arms of their families, and walked sad and silent, as if they were going to the scaffold instead of battle. There was no order—no plan; the men were isolated and scattered, some running before, some after the colours, their extreme confusion presenting a fearful appearance;⁴ so much so, that those who remained behind—the women, the children, and the old men, filled with gloomy fore-

¹ Anna Rheinhard par G. Meyer of Knonau, and Bull. III. 32.

² Ut ego tollar fuit omnia. De vita et obitu Zwinglii, Myconius.

³ *Œuvres*: Hist. de Napoléon et de la Grande Armée, I. 142.

⁴ Nullus ordo, nulla consilia, nulla mentes, tanta animorum dissonantia, tam horrenda facies ante et post signa sparsim currentium hominum. De vita et ob. Zwinglii.

denks, ylenks, uffs aller schnellist. Bull. III.

sich doch das volck gmachsam. Ibid. 112.

boodings, beat their breasts as they saw them pass, and many years after, the remembrance of this day of tumult and sadness drew this groan from Oswald Myconius: "Whenever I recall it to mind, it is as if a sword pierced my heart." Zwingle, armed according to the usage of the chaplains of the confederation, rode mournfully behind this distracted multitude. Myconius, when he saw him, was nigh fainting.¹ Zwingle disappeared, and Oswald remained behind to weep.

He did not shed tears alone; in all quarters were heard lamentations, and every house was changed into a house of prayer.² In the midst of this universal sorrow, one woman remained silent; her only cry was a bitter heart, her only language the mild and suppliant eye of faith:—this was Anna, Zwingle's wife. She had seen her husband depart—her son, her brother, a great number of intimate friends and near relations, whose approaching death she foreboded. But her soul, strong as that of her husband, offered to God the sacrifice of her holiest affections. Gradually the defenders of Zurich precipitated their march, and the tumult died away in the distance.

CHAPTER VII.

The Scene of War—The Enemy at Zug—Declaration of War—Council—Army of the Forest Cantons appears—The first Gun fired—Zwingle's Gravity and Sorrow—Zurich Army ascending the Alps—Halt and Council at the Beech Tree—They quicken their March—Jauch's Reconnaissance—His Appeal—Ambuscade.

THIS night, which was so stormy in Zurich, had not been culmer among the inhabitants of Cappel. They had received the most alarming reports one after another. It was necessary to take up a position that would allow the troops assembled round the convent to resist the enemy's attack until the arrival of the reinforcements that were expected from the city. They cast their eyes on a small hill, which lying to the north towards Zurich, and traversed by the highroad, presented an uneven but sufficiently extensive surface. A deep ditch that surrounded it on three sides defended the approaches; but a small bridge, that was the only issue on the side of Zurich, rendered a precipitate retreat very dangerous. On the south-west was a wood of beech-trees; on the south, in the direction of Zug, was the highroad and a marshy valley. "Lead us to the Granges," cried all the soldiers. They were conducted thither. The artillery was stationed near some ruins. The line of battle was drawn up on the side of the monastery and of Zug, and sentinels were placed at the foot of the slope.

Meantime, the signal was given at Zug

¹ Quem ut vidi repentino dolore cordis vix constatabam. De vita et ob. Zwingii.
² Manebamus non corde sine Jugibus suspiria, non sine precibus ad Deum. Ibid.

and Baar; the drums beat: the soldiers of the Five Cantons took up their arms. A universal feeling of joy animated them. The churches were opened, the bells rang, and the serried ranks of the cantons entered the cathedral of St. Oswald, where mass was celebrated and the Host offered up for the sins of the people. All the army began their march at nine o'clock, with banners flying. The avoyer John Golder commanded the contingent of Lucerne; the landammans James Troguer that of Uri; the landammans Rychmuth, a mortal enemy of the Reformation, that of Schwytz; the landammans Zeller, that of Unterwalden; and Oswald Doss that of Zug. Eight thousand men marched in order of battle: all the picked men of the Five Cantons were there. Fresh and active after a quiet night, and having only one short league to cross before reaching the enemy, these haughty Waldstettens advanced with a firm and regular step under the command of their chiefs.

On reaching the common meadow of Zug, they halted to take the oath: every hand was upraised to heaven, and all swore to avenge themselves. They were about to resume their march, when some aged men made signs to them to stop. "Comrades," said they, "we have long offended God. Our blasphemies, our oaths, our wars, our revenge, our pride, our drunkenness, our adulteries, the gold of the stranger to whom our hands have been extended, and all the disorders in which we have indulged, have so provoked his anger, that if he should punish us to-day, we should only receive the desert of our crimes." The emotion of the chiefs had passed into the ranks. All the army bent the knee in the midst of the plain; deep silence prevailed, and every soldier, with bended head, crossed himself devoutly, and repeated in a low voice five paters, as many aves, and the credo. One might have said that they were for a time in the midst of a vast and stilly desert. Suddenly the noise of an immense crowd was again heard. The army rose up. "Soldiers," said the captains, "you know the cause of this war. Bear your wives and your children continually before your eyes."

The chief usher (*grand sautier*) of Lucerne, wearing the colours of the canton, now approached the chiefs of the army: they placed in his hands the declaration of war, dated on that very day, and sealed with the arms of Zug. He then set off on horseback, preceded by a trumpeter, to carry this paper to the commander of the Zurichers.

It was eleven in the morning. The Zurichers soon discovered the enemy's army, and cast a sorrowful glance on the small force they were able to oppose to it. Every minute the danger increased. All bent their knees, their eyes were raised to heaven, and every Zurichers uttered a cry from the bottom of his heart, praying for deliverance

from God. As soon as the prayer was ended, they got ready for battle. There were at that time about twelve hundred men under arms.

At noon the trumpet of the Five Cantons sounded not far from the advanced posts. Gädli, having collected the members of the two councils who happened to be with the army, as well as the commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and having ranged them in a circle, ordered the secretary Rheinard to read the declaration of which the outier of Lucerne was the bearer. After he reading, Gädli opened a council of war.

"We are few in number, and the forces of our adversaries are great," said Landolt, alldiff of Marpac, "but I will here await the enemy in the name of God." "Wait!" cried the captain of the halberdiers, Rodolph Zigler; impossible! let us rather take advantage of the ditch that cuts the road to effect our retreat, and let us every where raise a levée *à masse*." This was in truth the only means of safety. But Rudi Gallmann, considering every step backwards as an act of cowardice, cried out, stamping his feet forcibly on the earth, and casting a fiery glance around him, "Here—here shall be my grave!"—"It is now too late to retire with honour," said the officers. "This day is in the hands of God. Let us suffer whatever he lays upon us." It was put to the vote.

The members of the council had scarcely raised their hands in token of assent, when a great noise was heard around them. "The captain! the captain!" cried a soldier from the outposts who arrived in haste. "Silence, silence!" replied the ushers driving him back; "they are holding a council!"—"It is no longer time to hold a council," replied the soldier. "Conduct me immediately to the captain."—"Our sentinels are falling back," cried he with an agitated voice, as he arrived before Gädli. "The enemy is there—they are advancing through the forest with all their forces and with great tumult." He had not ceased speaking before the sentinels, who were in truth retiring on all sides, ran up, and the army of the Five Cantons was soon seen climbing the slope of Ifelsberg in aid of the Granges, and pointing their guns. The leaders of the Waldstettes were examining the position, and seeking to discover by what means their army could reach that of Zurich. The Zurichers were asking themselves the same question. The nature of the ground prevented the Waldstettes from passing below the convent, but they could arrive by another quarter. Ulrich Brüder, under-alldiff of Husen, in the canton of Zurich, fixed his anxious look on the beech-wood. "It is thence that the enemy will fall upon us!" "Axes—axes!" immediately cried several voices: "let us cut down the trees!"¹

Gädli, the abbot, and several others were opposed to this: "If we stop up the wood, by throwing down the trees, we shall ourselves be unable to work our guns in that direction," said they.—"Well! at least let us place some arquebusiers in that quarter."—"We are already so small a number," replied the captain, "that it will be imprudent to divide the forces." Neither wisdom nor courage were to save Zurich. They once more invoked the help of God, and waited in expectation.

At one o'clock the Five Cantons fired the first gun: the ball passing over the convent fell below the Granges; a second passed over the line of battle; a third struck a hedge close to the ruins. The Zurichers, seeing the battle was begun, replied with courage; but the slowness and awkwardness with which the artillery was served in those days prevented any great loss being inflicted on either side. When the enemy perceived this, they ordered their advanced guard to descend from Ifelsberg and to reach the Granges through the meadow; and soon the whole army of the cantons advanced in this direction, but with difficulty and over bad roads. Some arquebusiers of Zurich came and announced the disorder of the cantons. "Brave Zurichers," cried Rudi Gallmann, "if we attack them now, it is all over with them." At these words some of the soldiers prepared to enter the wood on the left, to fall upon the disheartened Waldstettes. But Gädli perceiving this movement, cried out: "Where are you going?—do you not know that we have agreed not to separate?" He then ordered the skirmishers to be recalled, so that the wood remained entirely open to the enemy. They were satisfied with discharging a few random shots from time to time to prevent the cantons from establishing themselves there. The firing of the artillery continued until three o'clock, and announced far and wide, even to Bremgarten and Zurich, that the battle had commenced.

In the meanwhile the great banner of Zurich and all those who surrounded it, among whom was Zwingle, came advancing in disorder towards the Albis. For a year past the gaiety of the reformer had entirely disappeared: he was grave, melancholy, easily moved, having a weight on his heart that seemed to crush it. Often would he throw himself weeping at the feet of his Master, and seek in prayer the strength of which he stood in need. No one had ever observed in him any irritation; on the contrary, he had received with mildness the counsels that had been offered, and had remained tenderly attached to men whose convictions were not the same as his own. He was now advancing mournfully along the road to Cappel; and John Maaler of Winterthour, who was riding a few paces behind him, heard his groans and sighs, intermingled with fervent prayers. If any one spoke to him, he was

¹ Da, da mus min Kirchhof sin. Bull. III. 118.

² Kitzliche schrowend nach Achsen das man das Waldt erhalte. Ibid.

found firm and strong in the peace that proceeds from faith; but he did not conceal his conviction that he should never see his family or church again. Thus advanced the forces of Zurich. A woful march! resembling rather a funeral procession than an army going to battle.

As they approached they saw express after express galloping along the road from Cappel, begging the Zurichers to hasten to the defence of their brothers.¹

At Adliawyl, having passed the bridge under which flow the impetuous waters of the Sihl, and traversed the village through the midst of women, children and old men, who, standing before their cottages, looked with sadness on this disorderly troop, they began to ascend the Albis. They were about half-way from Cappel when the first cannon-shot was heard. They stop, they listen: a second, a third succeeds.....There is no longer any doubt. The glory, the very existence of the republic are endangered, and they are not present to defend it! The blood curdles in their veins. On a sudden they arouse, and each begins to run to the support of his brothers. But the road over the Albis was much steeper than it is in our days. The badly harnessed artillery could not ascend it; the old men and citizens, little habituated to marching, and covered with weighty armour, advanced with difficulty: and yet they formed the greater portion of the troops. They were seen stopping one after another, panting and exhausted, along the sides of the road near the thickets and ravines of the Albis, leaning against a beech or an ash tree, and looking with dispirited eyes to the summit of the mountain covered with thick pines.

They resumed their march, however; the horsemen and the most intrepid of the foot-soldiers hastened onwards, and having reached the "Beech Tree," on the top of the mountain, halted to take council.

What a prospect then extended before their eyes! Zurich, the lake and its smiling shores—those orchards, those fertile fields, those vine-clad hills, almost the whole of the canton, alas! soon, perhaps, to be devastated by the forest-bands.

Scarcely had these noble-minded men begun to deliberate, when fresh messengers from Cappel appeared before them, exclaiming, "Hasten forwards!" At these words many of the Zurichers prepared to gallop towards the enemy.² Toning, the captain of the arquebusiers, stopt them. "My good friends," cried he to them, "against such great forces what can we do alone? Let us wait here until our people are assembled, and then let us fall upon the enemy with the whole army."—"Yes, if we had an army," bitterly replied the captain-general, who, in despair of

saving the republic, thought only of dying with glory; "but we have merely a banner and no soldiers."—"How can we stay calmly upon these heights," said Zwingli, "while we hear the shots that are fired at our fellow-citizens? In the name of God I will march towards my brother warriors, prepared to die in order to save them."—"And I too," added the aged banneret Schweitzer. "As for you," continued he, turning with a contemptuous look towards Toning, "wait till you are a little recovered."—"I am quite as much refreshed as you," replied Toning, the colour mantling on his face, "and you shall soon see whether I cannot fight." All hastened their steps towards the field of battle.

The descent was rapid; they plunged into the woods, passed through the village of Hufen, and at length arrived near the Granges. It was three o'clock when the banner crossed the narrow bridge that led thither; and there were so few soldiers road it that every one trembled as he beheld this venerated standard thus exposed to the attacks of so formidable an enemy. The army of the Cantons was at that moment deploying before the eyes of the new comers. Zwingli gazed upon this terrible spectacle. Behold, then, these phalanxes of soldiers!—a few minutes more, and the labours of eleven years will be destroyed perhaps for ever!

A citizen of Zurich, one Leonard Bourkhard, who was ill-disposed towards the reformer, said to him in a harsh tone, "Well, Master Ulrich, what do you say about this business? Are the radishes salt enough?... who will eat them now?"—"I," replied Zwingli, "and many a brave man who is here in the hands of God; for we are his in life and in death."—"And I too—I will help to eat them," resumed Bourkhard immediately, ashamed of his brutality: "I will risk my life for them." And he did so, and many others with him, adds the chronicle.

It was four o'clock; the sun was sinking rapidly; the Waldstettes did not advance, and the Zurichers began to think that the attack would be put off till the morrow. In fact, the chiefs of the Five Cantons seeing the great banner of Zurich arrive, the night near at hand, and the impossibility of crossing under the fire of the Zurichers the marsh and the ditch that separated the combatants, were looking for a place in which their troops might pass the night. "If at this moment any mediators had appeared," says Bullinger, "their proposals would have been accepted."

The soldiers, observing the hesitation of their chiefs, began to murmur loudly. "The big ones abandon us," said one. "The captains fear to bite the fox's tail," said another. "Not to attack them," cried they all, "is to ruin our cause." During this time a daring

¹ Dan ein Manung uff die ander, von Cappel kamm. Bull. III. 117.

² Es rissen häufig yltend zum angriff. Ibid.

¹ Ich will rächt, in den namen Gottes, zu den Mühen luten und nicht mit und under ihnen sterben. Bull. III. 117.
² Sind die Kueben gesalzen? wer will sie essen. J. J. Hot. III. 363.

was preparing the skilful manœuvre as to decide the fate of the day. A son of Uri, John Jauch, formerly bailiff-gans, a good marksman and expert soldier, having taken a few men with him moved towards the right of the army of the Five Cantons, crept into the midst of the beech-trees that, by forming a semicircle the east, unites the hill of Ifelsberg to the Granges, found the wood arrived to within a few paces of the enemy, and there, hidden behind the trees, perceived the smallness of their numbers, and their want of caution. Then, silently retiring, he went to the chiefs at the very moment the discontent was on the point of bursting out. "Now is the time to strike the enemy," cried he. "Dear gossip," Troguer, captain-in-chief of Uri, "you mean to say that we should set out so late an hour; besides, the men are preparing their quarters, and every body what it cost our fathers at Naples and Milan for having commenced the attack before night. And then it is Innocent-day, and our ancestors have never fought on a feast-day."¹—"Don't think the Innocents of the calendar," replied Troguer, "but let us rather remember the insults that we have left in our cottages." And Gölli of Zurich, brother of the commander of the Granges, added his entreaties of the warrior of Uri. "We must beat the Zurichers to-night," said he, "or they will beat us to-morrow. Take care, take care!"

It was unavailing; the chiefs were irresolute, and the army prepared to take up quarters. Upon this the warrior of Uri, standing, like his fellow-countryman, that great evils require great remedies, drew his sword and cried: "Let all true warriors follow me!"² Then hastily jumping to his saddle, he spurred his horse into the forest; and immediately arquebus-soldiers from the Adige, and many warriors of the Five Cantons, especially the Interwalden—in all about 300 men, followed him into the wood after him. At this Jauch no longer doubted of the victory at Waldstettes. He dismounted and fell on his knees, "for," says Tschudi, "he was a man who feared God." All his fold followed the same, and together invoked the aid of God, of His holy mother, and of the heavenly host. They then advanced; on the warrior of Uri, wishing to excite one but himself, halted his troops, and moved from tree to tree to the verge of the wood. Observing that the enemy was as close as ever, he rejoined his arquebus-soldiers then stealthily forward, and posted

them silently behind the trees of the forest,³ enjoining them to take their aim so as not to miss their men. During this time the chiefs of the Five Cantons, foreseeing that this rash man was about to bring on the action, decided against their will, and collected their soldiers around the banners.

CHAPTER VIII.

Unforeseen Change—The whole Army advances—Universal Disorder—The Banneret's Death—The Banner in Danger—The Banner saved—Terrible Slaughter—Slaughter of the Pastors—Zwingli's last Words—Barbarity of the Victor—The Furnace of Trial—Zwingli's dying Moments—Day after the Battle—Homage and Outrage.

THE Zurichers, fearing that the enemy would seize upon the road that led to their capital, were then directing part of their troops and their guns to a low hill by which it was commanded. At the very moment that the invisible arquebusiers stationed among the beech-trees were taking their aim, this detachment passed near the little wood. The deepest silence prevailed in this solitude: each one posted there picked out the man he desired to bring down, and Jauch exclaimed: "In the name of the Holy Trinity—of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost—of the Holy Mother of God, and of all the heavenly host—fire!" At the word the deadly balls issued from the wood, and a murderous carnage in the ranks of Zurich followed this terrible discharge. The battle, which had begun four hours ago, and which had never appeared to be a serious attack, now underwent an unforeseen change. The sword was not again to be returned to the scabbard until it had been bathed in torrents of blood. Those of the Zurichers who had not fallen at this first discharge lay flat on the ground, so that the balls passed over their heads; but they soon sprang up, saying: "Shall we allow ourselves to be butchered? No! let us rather attack the enemy!" Lavater seized a lance, and rushing into the foremost rank exclaimed: "Soldiers, uphold the honour of God and of our lords, and behave like brave men!" Zwingli, silent and collected, like nature before the bursting of the tempest, was there also halberd in hand. "Master Ulrich," said Bernard Sprungli, "speak to the people and encourage them." "Warriors!" said Zwingli, "fear nothing. If we are this day to be defeated, still our cause is good. Commend yourselves to God!"

The Zurichers quickly turned the artillery they were dragging to another quarter, and pointed it against the wood: but their bullets, instead of striking the enemy, only

¹ nem solchen Tag Blut so vergiessen. Tschudi, ii. 191.
² Je redlicher Eidgenossen würt sind, die louffend uns mit ih. 191.
³ Jlands wiederum uff sin Ross. Tschudi, Helv. ii.

¹ Wertheilt die Haken hinter die Bäume im Wald in grosser Stille. Tschudi, Helv. ii. 191.

reached the top of the trees, and tore off a few branches that fell upon the skirmishers.¹

Rychmuth, the Landammann of Schwytz, came up at a gallop to recall the volunteers; but seeing the battle begun, he ordered the whole army to advance. Immediately the five banners moved forward.

But already Jauch's skirmishers, rushing from among the trees, had fallen impetuously upon the Zurichers, charging with their long and pointed halberds. "Heretics! sacrilegists!" cried they, "we have you at last!"—"Man-sellers, idolaters, impious papists!" replied the Zurichers, "is it really you?" At first a shower of stones fell from both parties and wounded several; immediately they came to close quarters. The resistance of the Zurichers was terrible.² Each struck with the sword or with the halberd: at last the soldiers of the Five Cantons were driven back in disorder. The Zurichers advanced, but in so doing lost the advantages of their position, and got entangled in the marsh. Some Roman-catholic historians pretend that this flight of their troops was a stratagem to draw the Zurichers into the snare.³

In the mean time the army of the Five Cantons hastened through the wood. Burning with courage and with anger, they eagerly quickened their steps; from the midst of the beech-trees there resounded a confused and savage noise—a frightful murmur; the ground shook; one might have imagined the forest was uttering a horrible roar, or that witches were holding their nocturnal revels in its dark recesses.⁴ In vain did the bravest of the Zurichers offer an intrepid resistance: the Waldstettes had the advantage in every quarter. "They are surrounding us," cried some. "Our men are fleeing," said others. A man from the canton of Zug, mingling with the Zurichers, and pretending to be of their party, exclaimed: "Fly, fly, brave Zurichers, you are betrayed!" Thus every thing was against Zurich. Even the hand of Him who is the disposer of battles turned against this people. Thus was it also in times of old that God frequently chastised his own people of Israel by the Assyrian sword. A panic-terror seized upon the bravest, and the disorder spread every where with frightful rapidity.

In the mean while the aged Schweitzer had raised the great banner with a firm hand, and all the picked men of Zurich were drawn up around it; but soon their ranks were thinned. John Kammlí, charged with the defence of the standard, having observed the small number of combatants that remained upon the field of battle, said to the banneret: "Let us lower the banner, my lord, and save

it, for our people are flying shamefully."—"Warriors, remain firm," replied the aged banneret, whom no danger had ever shaken. The disorder augmented—the number of fugitives increased every minute; the old man stood fast, amazed and immovable as an aged oak beaten by a frightful hurricane. He received unflinchingly the blows that fell upon him, and alone resisted the terrible storm. Kammlí seized him by the arm: "My lord," said he again, "lower the banner, or else we shall lose it: there is no more glory to be reaped here!" The banneret, who was already mortally wounded, exclaimed: "Alas! must the city of Zurich be so punished!" Then, dragged off by Kammlí, who held him by the arm, he retreated as far as the ditch. The weight of years, and the wounds with which he was covered, did not permit him to cross it. He fell in the mire at the bottom, still holding the glorious standard, whose folds dropped on the other bank.

The enemy ran up with loud shouts, being attracted by the colours of Zurich, as the bull by the gladiator's flag. Kammlí seeing this, unhesitatingly leapt to the bottom of the ditch, and laid hold of the stiff and dying hands of his chief, in order to preserve the precious ensign, which they tightly grasped. But it was in vain: the hands of the aged Schweitzer would not loose the standard. "My lord banneret!" cried this faithful servant, "it is no longer in your power to defend it." The hands of the banneret, already stiffened in death, still refused; upon which Kammlí violently tore away the sacred standard, leapt upon the other bank, and rushed with his treasure far from the steps of the enemy. The last Zurichers at this moment reached the ditch: they fell one after another upon the expiring banneret, and thus hastened his death.

Kammlí, however, having received a wound from a gun-shot, his march was retarded, and the Waldstettes soon surrounded him with their swords. The Zurichers, holding the banner in one hand, and his sword in the other, defended himself bravely. One of the Waldstettes caught hold of the staff—another seized the flag itself and tore it. Kammlí with one blow of his sword cut down the former, and striking around him, called out: "To the rescue, brave Zurichers! save the honour and the banner of our lords." The assailants increased in number, and the van was about to fall, when Adam Naff of Wollenwyd rushed up sword in hand, and the head of the Waldstette who had torn the colours rolled upon the plain, and his blood gushed out upon the flag of Zurich. Demy sen, member of the Smaller Council, supported Naff with his halberd, and both dealt such lusty blows, that they succeeded in disengaging the standard-bearer. He, although dangerously wounded, sprang forward, holding the blood-stained folds of the banner in

¹ Denn das die Aest auf sie fielen. Tschudi, p. 182.

² Der saget war hart und währt der Widerstand ein gute Wyl. Ibid. 182.

³ Catholici autem, postea insidia, retrocesserunt, fugam stimulantes. Cocleorus, Acta Luth. p. 214.

⁴ Der Hosen erittert; und nit anders war, denn als ob der Wald lut bruelete. Tschudi, p. 182.

hand, which he carried off hastily, dragging the staff behind him. With fierce look and fiery eye, he thus passed, sword in hand, through the midst of friends and enemies: crossed plains, woods, and marshes, everywhere leaving traces of his blood, which flowed from numerous wounds. Two of the my, one from Schwytz, the other from — were particularly eager in his pursuit. "Heretic! villain!" cried they, "surrender give us the banner."—"You shall have life first," replied the Zurich. Then two hostile soldiers, who were embarrassed by their cuirasses, stopped a moment to take them off. Kammli took advantage of this to get in advance: he ran; Huber, Nysen, and Dantzer of Naenikon were at his side. They all four thus arrived near the town, half-way up the Albis. They had to climb the steepest part of the mountain. Huber fell covered with wounds. Nysen, the colonel-general, who had fought as a private soldier, almost reached the church of Huseon, and there he dropt life; and two of his sons, in the flower of their youth, soon lay stretched on the battle-field: he had drunk their father's blood. Kammli took a few steps farther; but halted ere long, gasping and panting, near a hedge that he could not have to clear, and discovered his two enemies and other Waldstettes running from all sides, like birds of prey, towards the ringing standard of Zurich. The strength of Kammli was sinking rapidly, his eyes dimmed, thick darkness surrounded him: and of lead fastened him to the ground, mustering all his expiring strength, he grasped the standard on the other side of the hedge, exclaiming: "Is there any brave warrior nearer me? Let him preserve the banner and the honour of our lords! As for me, I can do no more!" Then turning a last look to heaven, he added: "May God be my helper!" He fell exhausted by this effort. Dantzer, who came up, flung away his sword, sprang over the hedge, seized the banner, and cried, "With the aid of God, I will carry it off." He then rapidly climbed the Albis, and at last placed the ancient standard of Zurich in safety. God, on whom the warriors fixed all their hopes, had heard their prayers, but the noblest blood of the republic had been spilt.

The enemy were victorious at all points. The soldiers of the Five Cantons, and particularly those of Unterwalden, long hardened by the wars of the Milanese, showed themselves more merciless towards their confederates than they had ever been towards foreigners. At the beginning of the battle, the Swiss had taken flight, and soon after he fled Zurich for ever. Lavater, the captain-general, after having fought valiantly, had fallen into the ditch. He was dragged by a soldier and escaped.

The most distinguished men of Zurich fell after another under the blows of the

Waldstettes.¹ Rudi Gallman found the glorious tomb he had wished for, and his two brothers stretched beside him left their father's house desolate. Toning, captain of the arquebusiers, died for his country as he had foretold. All the pride of the population of Zurich, seven members of the Smaller Council, nineteen members of the Two Hundred, sixty-five citizens of the town, four hundred and seventeen from the rural districts: the father in the midst of his children,—the son surrounded by his brothers,—lay on the field.

Gerold Meyer of Knonau, son of Anna Zwingle, at that time twenty-two years of age, and already a member of the council of Two Hundred,—a husband and a father,—had rushed into the foremost ranks with all the impetuosity of youth. "Surrender, and your life shall be spared," cried some of the warriors of the Five Cantons, who desired to save him. "It is better for me to die with honour, than to yield with disgrace," replied the son of Anna, and immediately, struck by a mortal blow, he fell and expired not far from the castle of his ancestors.

The ministers were those who paid proportionally the greatest tribute on this bloody day. The sword that was at work on the heights of Cappel thirsted for their blood: twenty-five of them fell beneath its stroke. The Waldstettes trembled with rage when ever they discovered one of these heretical preachers, and sacrificed him with enthusiasm, as a chosen victim to the Virgin and the saints. There has, perhaps, never been any battle in which so many men of the Word of God have bitten the dust. Almost every where the pastors had marched at the head of their flocks. One might have said that Cappel was an assembly of christian churches rather than an army of Swiss companies. The abbot Joner, receiving a mortal wound near the ditch, expired in sight of his own monastery. The people of Zug, in pursuit of the enemy, uttered a cry of anguish as they passed his body, remembering all the good he had done them.² Schmidt of Kussnacht, stationed on the field of battle in the midst of his parishioners, fell surrounded by forty of their bodies.³ Geroldsek, John Haller, and many other pastors, at the head of their flocks, suddenly met, in a terrible and unforeseen manner, the Lord whom they had preached.

But the death of one individual far surpassed all others. Zwingle was at the post of danger, the helmet on his head, the sword hanging at his side, the battle-axe in his hand.⁴ The action had scarcely begun, when, stooping to console a dying man, says J. J.

¹ Optimi et docti viri, quos necessitas traxerat in commune periculum patriam et ecclesiam veritatisque defendendam, quam et suo sanguine redemerunt. Pell. Vit. MS. p. 4.

² Et hiergend ihn insonders die Zuger. Pell. Vit. MS. p. 4.

³ Uff der Walstatt ward er funden, under und by sinem Kussnachern. Ibid. 147.

⁴ The chaplains of the Swiss troops still wear a sword. Zwingle did not make use of his arms.

Hottinger, a stone hurled by the vigorous arm of a Waldstette struck him on the head and closed his lips. Yet Zwingle arose, when two other blows which hit him successively on the leg,¹ threw him down again. Twice more he stands up; but a fourth time he receives a thrust from a lance; he staggers, and sinking beneath so many wounds, falls on his knees. Does not the darkness that is spreading around him announce a still thicker darkness that is about to cover the Church? Zwingle turns away from such sad thoughts; once more he uplifts that head which had been so bold, and gazing with calm eye upon the trickling blood, exclaims: "What matters this misfortune? They may indeed kill the body, but they cannot kill the soul!"² These were his last words.

He had scarcely uttered them ere he fell backwards. There, under a tree (Zwingle's Pear-tree), in a meadow, he remained lying on his back, with clasped hands, and eyes upturned to heaven.³

While the bravest were pursuing the scattered soldiers of Zurich, the stragglers of the Five Cantons had pounced like hungry ravens on the field of battle. Torch in hand, these wretches prowled among the dead, casting looks of irritation around them, and lighting up the features of their expiring victims by the dull glimmering of these funeral torches. They turned over the bodies of the wounded and the dead; they tortured and stripped them.⁴ If they found any who were still sensible, they cried out, "Call upon the saints and confess to our priests!" If the Zurichers, faithful to their creed, rejected these cruel invitations, these men, who were as cowardly as they were fanatical, pierced them with their lances, or dashed out their brains with the but-ends of their arquebuses. The Roman-catholic historian, Salat of Lucerne, makes a boast of this. "They were left to die like infidel dogs, or were slain with the sword or the spear, that they might go so much the quicker to the devil, with whose help they had fought so desperately."⁵ If any of the soldiers of the Five Cantons recognised a Zurichers against whom they had any grudge, with dry eyes, diabolical mouth, and features distorted by anger, they drew near the unhappy creature, writhing in the agonies of death, and said: "Well! has your heretical faith preserved you? Ah ha! it was pretty clearly seen to-day who had the true faith.....To-day we have dragged your Gospel in the mud, and you too, even you are covered with your own blood. God, the

Virgin, and the saints have punished you." They had scarcely uttered these words before they plunged their swords into their enemy's bosom. "Mass or death!" was their watchword.

Thus triumphed the Waldstettes; but the pious Zurichers who expired on the field of battle called to mind that they had for God one who has said: "*If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not?*" — "*Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.*" It is in the furnace of trial that the God of the Gospel conceals the pure gold of his most precious blessings. This punishment was necessary to turn aside the Church of Zurich from the "broad ways" of the world, and lead it back to the "narrow ways" of the Spirit and the life. In a political history, a defeat like that of Cappel would be styled a great misfortune; but in a history of the Church of Jesus Christ, such a blow, inflicted by the hand of the Father himself, ought rather to be called a great blessing.

Meanwhile Zwingle lay extended under the tree, near the road by which the mass of the people was passing. The shouts of the victors, the groans of the dying, those flickering torches borne from corpse to corpse, Zurich humbled, the cause of Reform lost,—all cried aloud to him that God punishes his servants when they have recourse to the arm of man. If the German reformer had been able to approach Zwingle at this solemn moment, and to pronounce those oft-repeated words: "Christians fight not with sword and arquebuse, but with sufferings and with the cross,"⁶ Zwingle would have stretched out his dying hand, and said, "Amen!"

Two of the soldiers who were prowling over the field of battle, having come near the reformer without recognising him, "Do you wish for a priest to confess yourself?" asked they. Zwingle, without speaking (for he had not strength), made signs in the negative. "If you cannot speak," replied the soldiers, "at least think in thy heart of the Mother of God, and call upon the saints!" Zwingle again shook his head, and kept his eyes still fixed on heaven.⁷ Upon this the irritated soldiers began to curse him. "No doubt," said they, "you are one of the heretics of the city!" One of them, being curious to know who it was, stooped down and turned Zwingle's head in the direction of a fire that had been lighted near the spot.⁸ The soldier immediately let him fall to the ground. "I think," said he, surprised and amazed, "I think it is Zwingle!" At this moment Captain Fockinger of Unterwalden, a veteran and a pensioner, drew near: he had heard the last words of the soldier. "Zwingle!" exclaimed he; "that vile heretic Zwingle!"

¹ Hatt auch in den Schenken zween Stiche. Tschudi, *Helv.* ii. 164.

² In genus prolapsum dixisse: "Eequid hoc infornali? Agat corpus quidem occidere possunt, salman non possunt." Oaw. Myconius, *Vit. Zw.*

³ Was er nach lebend, lag an dem Ringen und hat seine beide händ samen gethan, wie die beten, sach mit seinem augen oblich in hymel. *B. iii.* 136.

⁴ Ein gross pländere, sie ersuchen und nagelten der toden und der wunden. *Bull.* iii. 135.

⁵ Damit sie desto eher zum Teufel, darst sie mit allen viereu fochend, geführt würdend. Salat.

⁶ Christen sind nicht die für sich selbst mit dem Schwert oder Büchsen streiten, sondern mit dem Kreuz und Leiden. Luth. *Opp.*

⁷ Und sach über sich in Hymel. *Bull.* iii. 136.

⁸ Beyer Fuhr besach. Tschudi, *Helv.* ii. 164.

"that rascal, that traitor!" Then raising his sword, so long sold to the stranger, he struck the dying Christian on the throat, exclaiming in a violent passion, "Die, obstinate heretic!" Yielding under this last blow, the reformer gave up the ghost: he was doomed to perish by the sword of a mercenary. "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints." The soldiers ran to other victims. All did not show the same barbarity. The night was cold; a thick hoar-frost covered the fields and the bodies of the dying. The Protestant historian, Bullinger, informs us that some of the Waldstettes gently raised the wounded in their arms, bound up their wounds, and carried them to the fires lighted on the field of battle. "Ah!" cried they, "why have the Swiss thus slaughtered one another!"

The main body of the army had remained on the field of battle near the standards. The soldiers conversed around the fires, interrupted from time to time by the cries of the dying. During this time the chiefs assembled in the convent sent messengers to carry the news of their signal victory to the confederate cantons, and to the Roman-catholic powers of Germany.

At length the day appeared. The Waldstettes spread over the field of battle, running here and there, stopping, contemplating, struck with surprise at the sight of their most formidable enemies stretched lifeless on the plain; but sometimes also shedding tears as they gazed on corpses which reminded them of old and sacred ties of friendship. At length they reached the pear-tree under which Zwingli lay dead, and an immense crowd collected around it. His countenance still beamed with expression and with life. "He has the look," said Bartholomew Stocker of Zug, who had loved him, "he has the look of a living rather than of a dead man." Such was he when he kindled the people by the fire of his eloquence. "All eyes were fixed upon the corpse. John Schönbrunner, formerly canon of Zurich, who had retired to Zug at the epoch of the Reformation, could not restrain his tears: "Whatever may have been thy creed," said he, "I know, Zwingli, that thou hast been a loyal confederate! May thy soul rest with God!"

But the pensioners of the foreigner, on whom Zwingli had never ceased to make war, required that the body of the heretic should be dismembered, and a portion sent to each of the Five Cantons. "Peace be to the dead! and God alone be their judge!" exclaimed the avoyer Golder and the landamman Thoss of Zug. Cries of fury answered their appeal, and compelled them to retire. Immediately the drums beat to muster; the dead body was tried, and it was decreed that it should be quartered for treason against the confederation, and then burnt for heresy.

¹ Nicht einem Todten sondern einem Lebenden gleich. Zwingli für das Volk von J. J. Hottinger.

The executioner of Lucerne carried out the sentence. Flames consumed Zwingli's disjointed members; the ashes of swine were mingled with his; and a lawless multitude rushing upon his remains flung them to the four winds of heaven.¹

Zwingli was dead. A great light had been extinguished in the Church of God. Mighty by the Word as were the other reformers, he had been still mightier than they in action; but this very power had been his weakness, and he had fallen under the weight of his own strength. Zwingli was not forty-eight years old when he died. If the might of God always accompanied the might of man, what would he not have done for the Reformation in Switzerland, and even in the empire! But he had wielded an arm that God had forbidden; the helmet had covered his head, and he had grasped the halberd. His more devoted friends were themselves astonished, and exclaimed: "We know not what to say!.....a bishop in arms!"² The bolt had furrowed the cloud, the blow had reached the reformer, and his body was no more than a handful of dust in the palm of a soldier.

CHAPTER IX.

Consternation in Zurich—Violence of the Populace—Grief and Distress—Zwingli is dead!—Funeral Oration—Army of Zurich—Another Reverse on the Gubel—inactivity of the Bernese—Hopes and Plan of Charles V.—End of the War—Treaty of Peace.

Frightful darkness hung over Zurich during the night that followed the afflicting day of Cappel. It was seven in the evening when the first news of the disaster arrived..... Vague but alarming reports spread at first with the rapidity of lightning. It was known that a terrible blow had been inflicted, but not of what kind; soon a few wounded men, who arrived from the field of battle, cleared up the frightful mystery. "Then," said Bullinger, whom we shall allow to speak, "there arose suddenly a loud and horrible cry of lamentation and tears, bewailing and groaning." The consternation was so much the greater as no one had expected such a disaster. "There is not enough for a breakfast," had said some haughty worldly men; "With one blow we shall be masters of the *Fire Châlets*," had said another; and an old soldier added with disdainful sneer, "We shall soon have scattered these five dung-hills." The christian portion, convinced that Zurich was fighting in a good cause, had not doubted that victory would be on the side of truth.....Thus their first stupefaction was succeeded by a violent outburst

¹ Tschudi Helvet. II. 196. "Cadaver Ewilingii....in quatuor partes secatur, in ignem conlitter, in cinerem reseritur." Mve. de Vit. Ev.

² Ego nihil certe apud me possum statuere, maxime de Episcopo in armis. Zulichius Ecolampadio, 6th November 1531. Zurich MS.

of rage. With blind fury the mob accused all their chiefs, and loaded with insults even those who had defended their country at the price of their blood. An immense crowd—agitated, pale, and bewildered, filled all the streets of the city. They met, questioned each other, and replied; they questioned again, and the answer could not be heard, for the shouts of the people interrupted or drowned the voices of the speakers. The councillors who had remained in Zurich repaired in haste to the town-hall. The people, who had already assembled there in crowds, looked on with threatening eyes. Accusations of treason burst from every mouth, and the patricians were pointed out to the general indignation. They must have victims. "Before going to fight against the enemy on the frontiers," said the mob, "we should defend ourselves against those who are within our walls." Sorrow and fear excited the minds of all. That savage instinct of the populace, which in great calamities leads them, like a wild beast, to thirst for blood, was violently aroused. A hand from the midst of the crowd pointed out the council-hall, and a harsh and piercing voice exclaimed: "Let us chop off the heads of some of the men who sit in these halls, and let their blood ascend to heaven, to beg for mercy in behalf of those whom they have slain."

But this fury was nothing in comparison with that which broke out against the ministers, against Zwingle, and all those Christians who were the cause (as they said) of the ruin of the country. Fortunately the sword of the Waldstettes had withdrawn them from the rage of their fellow-citizens; nevertheless, there still remained some who could pay for the others. Leo Juda, whom Zwingle's death was about to raise to the head of religious affairs, had scarcely recovered from a serious illness; it was on him they rushed. They threatened, they pursued him; a few worthy citizens carried him off and hid him in their houses. The rage of these madmen was not appeased: they continued shouting that atonement must be made for the slaughter at Cappel, by a still more frightful slaughter within the very walls of the city. But God placed a curb in the mouths of these infuriate beasts of prey, and subdued them.

On a sudden, grief succeeded to rage, and mobs choked the utterance of the most furious. All those whose relatives had marched to Cappel, imagined that they were among the number of the victims. Old men, women, and children, went forth in the darkness by the glimmering light of torches, with haggard eyes and hurried steps; and as soon as some wounded man arrived, they questioned him with trembling voices about those whom they were seeking. Some replied: "I saw him fall close by my side." "He was surrounded by so many enemies," said others, "that there was no chance of

safety for him."¹ At these words the tracted family dropt their torches, and the air with shrieks and groans.

Anna Zwingle had heard from her the repeated discharges of artillery. A and mother, she had passed in expect many long hours of anguish, offering her prayers to heaven. At length the terrible accounts, one after another, burst her.

In the midst of those whose cries of despair re-echoed along the road to Cappel Oswald Myconius, who inquired with an what had become of his friend. So heard one of the unfortunate wretches had escaped from the massacre, relating those around him that Zwingle had fall "Zwingle is no more! Zwingle dead!" The cry was repeated: it ran thr Zurich with the rapidity of lightning, at length reached the unhappy widow. A fell on her knees. But the loss of her band was not enough: God had infli other blows. Messengers following, other at short intervals announced to her death of her son Gerold of Knonau, of brother the bailiff of Reinhard, of her son law Antony Wirz, of John Lutschke the band of her dear sister, as well as of all most intimate friends. This woman remained alone—alone with her God; alone with young children, who, as they saw her wept also, and threw themselves disconsolate into their mother's arms.

On a sudden the alarm-bell rang, council, distracted by the most contrary opinions, had at last resolved to sum all the citizens towards the Albis. But sound of the tocsin re-echoing through darkness, the lamentable stories of wounded, and the distressful groans of reaved families, still further increased tumult. A numerous and disorderly throng of citizens rushed along the road to Cappel. Among them was the Valaisan, The Plater. Here he met with a man that but one hand,²—there with others who reported their wounded and bleeding hands with both hands;—further still was a soldier whose bowels protruded from his body. In front of these unhappy creatures peasants were walking with lighted torches, for night was very dark. Plater wished to turn; but he could not, for sentinels placed on the bridge over the Sihl allowed people to quit Zurich, but permitted no one to enter.

On the morrow the news of the disgraceful treatment of Zwingle's corpse aroused the anger of Zurich; and his friends, opening their tear-bodimmed eyes, exclaimed

¹ Dermassen umgeben mit Freynden, dass kein raum der rettung ubrig. Bull. iii. 162.

² Ut igitur mane videram exantem, ita sub eo audio nuntium, pugnatum quidem acriter, tamen scilicet, et Zwingium nobis perisse. M. c. Vit. Zw.

³ Ethlich kamen, hatten nur eine hand. Lebensbeschreibung Platerei, p. 227.

These men may fall upon his body; they may kindle their piles, and brand his innocent life.....but he lives—the invincible hero lives in eternity, and leaves behind him an immortal monument of glory that no flames can destroy.¹ God, for whose honour he has laboured, even at the price of his blood, will make his memory eternal.”—And I,” adds Leo Juda, “I, upon whom he has heaped so many blessings, will endeavour, after so many others, to defend his renown and to extol his virtues.” Thus Ulrich consecrated to Zwingli a funeral oration of tears and sighs, of gratitude and cries of anguish. Never was funeral speech more eloquent!

Zurich rallied her forces. John Steiner had collected on the Albis some scattered fragments of the army for the defence of the pass: they bivouacked around their fires on the summit of the mountain, and all were in disorder. Plater, benumbed with cold (it is himself who gives us the account), had drawn off his boots to warm his feet at the watchfire. On a sudden an alarm was given, the troop was hastily drawn up, and, while Plater was getting ready, a trumpeter, who had escaped from the battle, seized his halberd. Plater took it back, and stationed himself in the ranks; before him stood the trumpeter, without hat or shoes, and armed with a long pole. Such was the army of Zurich.

The chief captain Lavater rejoined the army at daybreak. Gradually the allies came up; 1500 Grisons, under the orders of the captain-general Frey of Zurich, 1500 Hurgovians, 600 Tockenburgers, and other auxiliaries besides, soon formed an army of 2,000 men. All, even children, ran to arms. The council gave orders that these young folks² should be sent back to share in the domestic duties with the women.

Another reverse ere long augmented the isolation of the Reformed party. While the troops of Berne, Zurich, Basle, and Neuchâtel, amounting to 24,000 men, were assembling at Bremgarten, the Five Cantons stretched themselves at Baar, near Zug. But Zwingli was wanting to the Reformed army, and he would have been the only man capable of inspiring them with courage. A gust of wind having thrown down a few fir-needles in the forests where the Zurichers were encamped, and caused the death of some of their soldiers, they failed not to see in this the signal of fresh reverses.

Nevertheless, Frey called loudly for battle; but the Bernese commandant Diesbach refused. Upon this the Zurich captain set off in the night of the 23d October at the head of 4000 men of Zurich, Schaffhausen, Basle, and St. Gall; and, while the Bernese

were sleeping quietly, he turned the Waldstettes, drove their outposts beyond the Sihl, and took his station on the heights that overlook the Goubel. His imprudent soldiers, believing victory to be certain, proudly waved their banners, and then sunk into a heavy sleep. The Waldstettes had observed all. On the 24th October, at two in the morning, by a bright moonlight, they quitted their camp in profound silence, leaving their fires burning, and wearing white shirts over their dresses that they might recognise one another in the obscurity. Their watchword was “Mary, the mother of God.” They glided stealthily into a pine forest, near which the Reformed troops were encamped. The men stationed at the advanced guard of the Zurichers having perceived the enemy, ran up to the fires to arouse their friends, but they had scarcely reached the third fire before the Waldstettes appeared, uttering frightful shouts.¹ “Har...Har...Har...Har! ...Where are these impious heretics?..... Har...Har...Har...Har!” The army of the cities at first made a vigorous resistance, and many of the white shirts fell covered with blood; but this did not continue long. The bravest, with the valiant Frey at their head, having bitten the dust, the rout became general, and 800 men were left on the field of battle.

In the midst of these afflictions the Bernese remained stubborn and motionless. Francis Kolb, who, notwithstanding his advanced age, had accompanied the Bernese contingent as chaplain, reproached in a sermon the negligence and cowardice of his party. “Your ancestors,” said he, “would have swum across the Rhine, and you—this little stream stops you! They went to battle for a word, and you, even the Gospel cannot move. For us it only remains to commit our cause to God.” Many voices were raised against the imprudent old man, but others took up his defence; and the captain, James May, being as indignant as the aged chaplain at the delays of his fellow-citizens, drew his sword, and thrusting it into the folds of the Bernese banner, pricked the bear that was represented on it, and cried out in the presence of the whole army, “You knave, will you not show your claws?”² But the bear remained motionless.

The whole of the Reformation was compromised. Scarcely had Ferdinand received intelligence of the death of the arch-heretic Zwingli, and of the defeat at Cappel, than with an exclamation of joy, he forwarded these good news to his brother the Emperor Charles the Fifth, saying, “this is the first of the victories destined to restore the faith.” After the defeat at the Goubel, he wrote again, saying that if the emperor were not so near at hand, he would not hesitate, how-

¹ Viri adhuc, et æternum viri fortissimus heros. Leo Juda exhort. ad Chr. Sect. Enchiridion Psalm. Zwinglii pœnitus.

² Jungen fasselt, young brood. Bull. Chr. III. 176.

¹ Mit einem grossen geräuschen geschrey. Bull. III. 201.

² Hehr, 1442, w. l. dan nicht kretzen! Ibid. 215.

ever weak he might be, to rush forward in person, sword in hand, to terminate so righteous an enterprise. "Remember," said he, that you are the first prince in Christendom, and that you will never have a better opportunity of covering yourself with glory. Assist the cantons with your troops; the German sects will perish, when they are no longer supported by heretical Switzerland."¹—"The more I reflect," replied Charles, "the more I am pleased with your advice. The imperial dignity with which I am invested, the protection that I owe to Christendom and to public order, in a word, the safety of the house of Austria,—every thing appeals to me!"

Already about two thousand Italian soldiers, sent by the pope and commanded by the Genoese De l'isola, had unfolded their seven standards, and united near Zug with the army of the Five Cantons. Auxiliary troops, diplomatic negotiations, and even missionaries to convert the heretics, were not spared. The Bishop of Veroli arrived in Switzerland in order to bring back the Lutherans to the Roman faith by means of his friends and of his money.² The Roman politicians hailed the victory at Cappel as the signal of the restoration of the papal authority, not only in Switzerland, but throughout the whole of Christendom.³ At last this presumptuous Reformation was about to be repressed. Instead of the great deliverance of which Zwingli had dreamt, the imperial eagle let loose by the Papacy was about to pounce on all Europe, and strangle it in its talons. The cause of liberty had perished on the Albis.

But the hopes of the Papists were vain: the cause of the Gospel, although humbled at this moment, was destined finally to gain a glorious victory. A cloud may hide the sun for a time; but the cloud passes and the sun reappears. Jesus Christ is always the same, and the gates of hell may triumph on the battle-field, but cannot prevail against his Church.

Nevertheless every thing seemed advancing towards a grand catastrophe. The Tocken-burgers made peace and retired. The Thurgovians followed them; and next the people of Gaster. The evangelical army was thus gradually disbanded. The severity of the season combined with these dissensions; continual storms of wind and rain drove the soldiers to their homes.

Upon this the Five Cantons with the un-

disciplined bands of the Italian general led a threw themselves on the left bank of the Lake of Zurich. The alarm-bell was rung on every side; the peasants retired in crowds into the city, with their weeping wives, their frightened children, and their cattle that filled the air with sullen lowings. A report too was circulated that the enemy intended laying siege to Zurich. The country-people in alarm declared that if the city refused to make terms, they would treat on their own account.

The peace party prevailed in the council; deputies were elected to negotiate. "Above all things, preserve the Gospel, and then our honour, as far as may be possible!" Such were their instructions. On the 16th November, the deputies from Zurich arrived in a meadow situated near the frontier, on the banks of the Sihl, in which the representatives of the Five Cantons awaited them. They proceeded to the deliberations. "In the name of the most honourable, holy, and divine Trinity," began the treaty. "Firstly, we the people of Zurich bind ourselves and agree to leave our trusty and well-beloved confederates of the Five Cantons, their well-beloved co-burgers of the Valais, and all their adherents lay and ecclesiastic, in their true and indubitable christian faith,⁴ renouncing all evil intention, wiles, and stratagems. And, on our side, we of the Five Cantons agree to leave our confederates of Zurich and their allies in possession of their faith."⁵ At the same time, Rapperschwyl, Gaster, Wesen, Breimgarten, Mellingen, and the common bailiwicks, were abandoned to the Five Cantons.

Zurich had preserved its faith; and that was all. The treaty having been read and approved of, the plenipotentiaries got off their horses, fell upon their knees, and called upon the name of God.⁶ Then the new captain-general of the Zurichers, Escher, a hasty and eloquent old man, rising up, said as he turned towards the Waldstetters: "God be praised that I can again call you my well-beloved confederates!" and approaching them, he shook hands successively with Golder, Hug, Troguer, Rychmuth, Marquart, Zellger, and Thoss, the terrible victors at Cappel. All eyes were filled with tears.⁷ Each took with trembling hand the bottle suspended at his side, and offered it draught to one of the chiefs of the opposite party. Shortly after a similar treaty was concluded with Berne.

¹ Que se perdo dejar i camino para remediar las quebras de nuestra fé y ser Va. Md. Senor de Allemans. Ferdinand to Charles V. 11th November 1531.

² Con proposito di rimover i lutherani dalla loro mala opinione, con mezzo di alcuni suoi amici e con denari. Report of Basadonna, Archbishop of Venice.

³ Hanka, Deutsche Geschichte, iii. 567.

¹ By ihren wahren ungezwungen christlichen gottes-Tschudi, p. 247.

² By ihren Glauben. Ibid.

³ Kaumet menschlich wider und bisset. Bull. iii. 33.

⁴ Und lufften ihnen allen die Augen über. Tschudi, p. 244.

CHAPTER X.

of Popery at Bremgarten and Rapperschwyll and Mofke every where—Sorrow of Ecclampadius Bullinger at Zurich—Contrition and Exhortation—Conclusion.

oration of Popery immediately common in Switzerland, and Rome showed every where proud, exacting, and am-

the battle of Cappel, the Romish at Glaris had resumed the upper; marched with Schwytz against the district of the Gaster. On the invasion, at midnight, twelve came and threw themselves at the Schwytzer chiefs, who were satisficing the national banners of the districts, with suppressing their annulling their ancient liberties, enjoining some to banishment, and pay a heavy fine. Next the mass, and images were every where shed, and they are maintained until this day.¹ Such was the pardon of

especially on Bremgarten, Mellin the free bailiwicks that the cantons inflicting a terrible vengeance. veng recalled its army, Mutschli, of Bremgarten, followed Diebach Arau. In vain did the former re-Bernese that it was only according to the Berne and Zurich that Bremgarten blockaded the Five Cantons. circumstances," replied the general. the wretched Mutschli, turning away pitiless Bernese, exclaimed, "The Jeremiah has well said,—*Cursed be rusteth in man!*" The Swiss and and entered furiously into these districts, brandishing their weapons heavy fines on all the inhabitants the Gospel ministers to flee, ring every where at the point of the mass, idols, and altars.

other side of the lake the misfortune still greater. On the 18th November the Reformed of Rapperschwyll pinging peacefully in reliance on the an army from Schwytz silently the wooden bridge nearly 2000 feet across the lake, and was admitted the city by the Romish party. On the Reformed awoke at the loud of the bells, and the tumultuous the Catholics: the greater part he city. One of them, however, by chael Wohlgenuth, barricaded his aged arquebuses at every window, lled the attack. The exasperated ought up some heavy pieces of artillery this extemporaneous citadel in form, and Wohlgenuth was soon

ent mass, altar und gotzen wieder uff gericht.

taken and put to death in the midst of horrible tortures.

Nowhere had the struggle been more violent than at Soleure; the two parties were drawn up in battle-array on each side of the Aar, and the Romanists had already discharged one ball against the opposite bank; another was about to follow, when the avoyer Wenge, throwing himself on the mouth of the cannon, cried out earnestly: "Fellow-citizens, let there be no bloodshed, or else let me be your first victim!" The astonished multitude dropped their arms, but seventy evangelical families were obliged to emigrate, and Soleure returned under the papal yoke.

The deserted cells of St. Gall, Muri, Einsiden, Wettingen, Rheinau, St. Catherine, Hermetschwyll, and Guadenthall witnessed the triumphant return of Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, and all the Romish militia; priests and monks, intoxicated with their victory, overran country and town, and prepared for new conquests.

The wind of adversity was furiously raging: the evangelical churches fell one after another, like the pines in the forest whose fall before the battle of the Goubel had raised such gloomy presentiments. The Five Cantons, full of gratitude to the Virgin, made a solemn pilgrimage to her temple at Einsiden. In this desolated sanctuary the chaplains celebrated their mysteries anew; the abbot, who had no monks, sent a number of youths into Swabia to be trained up in the rules of the order; and this famous chapel, which Zwingle's voice had converted into a sanctuary for the Word, became for Switzerland, what it has remained until this day, the centre of the power and of the intrigues of the Papacy.

But this was not enough. At the very time that these flourishing churches were falling to the ground, the Reform witnessed the extinction of its brightest lights. A blow from a stone had slain the energetic Zwingle on the field of battle, and the rebound reached the pacific Ecclampadius at Basle, in the midst of a life that was wholly evangelical. The death of his friend, the severe judgments with which his memory was persecuted, the terror that had suddenly taken the place of the hopes he had entertained of the future—all these sorrows rent the heart of Ecclampadius, and his head and his life soon inclined sadly to the tomb. "Alas!" cried he, "that Zwingle, whom I have so long regarded as my right arm, has fallen under the blows of cruel enemies!"¹ He recovered, however, sufficient energy to defend the memory of his brother. "It was not," said he, "on the heads of the most guilty that the wrath of Pilate and the tower of Siloam fell. The judgment began in the house of God; our presumption has been

¹ Zwinglium nostrum, quem pro manu altera nunc male tempore habui. Zurich MS.

punished; let our trust now be placed on the Lord alone, and this will be an inestimable gain. Ecolampadius declined the call of Zurich to take Zwingle's place. "My post is here," said he, as he looked upon Basle.

He was not destined to hold it long. Illness fell upon him in addition to so many afflictions; the plague was in the city; a violent inflammation attacked him, and ere long a tranquil scene succeeded the tumult of Cappel. A peaceful death calmed the agitated hearts of the faithful, and replaced by sweet and heavenly emotions the terror and distress with which a horrible disaster had filled them.

On hearing of the danger of Ecolampadius, all the city was plunged into mourning; a crowd of men of every age and of every rank rushed to his house. "Rejoice," said the reformer with a meek look; "I am going to a place of everlasting joy." He then commemorated the death of our Lord with his wife, his relations, and domestics, who shed floods of tears. "This supper," said the dying man, "is a sign of my real faith in Jesus Christ my Redeemer."

On the morrow he sent for his colleagues: "My brethren," said he, "the Lord is there; he calls me away. Oh! my brethren, what a black cloud is appearing on the horizon—what a tempest is approaching! Be steadfast: the Lord will preserve his own." He then held out his hand, which all these faithful ministers clasped with veneration.

On the 23d November he called his children around him, the eldest of whom was barely three years old. "Eusebius, Irene, Alethea," said he to them, as he took their little hands, "love God who is your Father." Their mother having promised for them, the children retired with the blessing of the dying servant of the Lord. The night that followed this scene was his last. All the pastors were around his bed: "What is the news?" asked Ecolampadius of a friend who came in. "Nothing," was the reply. "Well," said the faithful disciple of Jesus, "I will tell you something new." His friends awaited in astonishment. "In a short time I shall be with the Lord Jesus." One of his friends now asking him if he was incommoded by the light he replied, putting his hand on his heart: "There is light enough here." As the day began to break, he repeated in a feeble voice the 51st Psalm: *Have mercy upon me, O Lord, according to thy loving-kindness.* Then remaining silent, as if he wished to recover strength, he said, "Lord Jesus, help me!" The ten pastors with uplifted hands fell on their knees around his bed; at this moment the sun rose, and darted his earliest rays on a scene of sorrow so great and so afflicting with which the Church of God was again stricken.²

The death of this servant of the Lord was like his life, full of light and peace. Ecolampadius was in an especial degree the christian spiritualist and biblical divine. The importance he attached to the study of the books of the Old Testament imprinted one of its most essential characters on the reformed theology.¹ Considered as a man of action, his moderation and meekness placed him in the second rank. Had he been able to exert more of this peaceful spirit over Zwingle, great misfortunes might perhaps have been avoided. But like all men of meek disposition, his peaceful character yielded too much to the energetic will of the minister of Zurich; and he thus renounced, in part at least, the legitimate influence that he might have exercised over the Reformer of Switzerland and of the Church.

Zwingle and Ecolampadius had fallen. There was a great void and a great sorrow in the Church of Christ. Dissensions vanished before these two graves, and nothing could be seen but tears. Luther himself was moved. On receiving the news of these two deaths, he called to mind the days he had passed with Zwingle and Ecolampadius at Marburg; and the blow inflicted on him by their sudden decease was such, that many years after he said to Bullinger: "Their death filled me with such intense sorrow, that I was near dying myself."³

The youthful Henry Bullinger, threatened with the scaffold, had been compelled to flee from Brémgarten, his native town, with his aged father, his colleagues, and sixty of the principal inhabitants, who abandoned their houses to be pillaged by the Waldstettes.⁴ Three days after this, he was preaching in the cathedral of Zurich: "No! Zwingle is not dead!" exclaimed Myconius; "or, like the phoenix, he has risen again from his ashes." Bullinger was unanimously chosen to succeed the great Reformer. He adopted Zwingle's orphan children, Wilhelm, Regula, and Ulrich, and endeavoured to supply the place of their father. This young man, scarcely twenty-eight years of age, and who presided forty years with wisdom and blessing over this church, was every where greeted as the apostle of Switzerland.⁵

Yet as the sea roars long after the violent tempest has subsided, so the people of Zurich were still in commotion. Many were agitated from on high. They came to themselves; they acknowledged their error; the weapons of their warfare had been carnal; they were now of a contrite and humble

¹ Ater carbunculus quovis carbunculo in domo Dei splendidiorem perdidit. J. J. Hottinger, iii. 634.

² De Joannis Ecolampadii obitu, per Simonem Grymone. App. Ecol. et Zwinglii, libri iv.

³ See his Commentaries on Isaiah (1525), 1st chapter; on Ezekiel (1527); Haggaï, Zachariah, Malachi (1527); Daniel (1530); and the commentaries published after his death, with interpretations on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, and the 1st and 2d chapters of Micah.

⁴ De ejus morte dolorem concepimus, ita ut eorum casum me pene exanimaverit. L. Epp. v. 112.

⁵ Ne a quinque pagis aut obruturarer aut comburerer Bull. ad Myc. November 1531.

⁶ Haller ad Bulling. 1596.

spirit; they arose and went to their Father and confessed their sin. In those days there was great mourning in Zurich. Some, however, stood up with pride, protested by the mouth of their ministers against the work of the diplomatists, and boldly stigmatized the shameful compact. "If the shepherds sleep, the dogs must bark," exclaimed Leo Juda in the cathedral of Zurich. "My duty is to give warning of the evil they are about to do to my Master's house."¹

Nothing could equal the sorrow of this city, except the exultation of the Waldstettes. The noise of drums and fifes, the firing of guns, the ringing of bells, had long resounded on the banks of their lakes, and even to their highest valleys. Now the noise was less, but the effect greater. The Five Cantons, in close alliance with Friburg and Soleure, formed a perpetual league for the defence of the ancient christian faith with the Bishop of Sion and the tithings of the Valais; and henceforward carried their measures in the federal affairs with boldness. But a deep conviction was formed at that period in the hearts of the Swiss Reformed. "Faith comes from God," said they; "its success does not depend on the life or death of one man. Let our adversaries boast of our ruin, we will boast only in the Cross."²—"God reigns," wrote Berne to Zurich, "and he will not permit the bark to founder." This conviction was of more avail than the victory of Cappel.

Thus the Reformation, that had deviated from the right path, was driven back by the very violence of the assault into its primitive course, having no other power than the Word of God. An inconceivable infatuation had taken possession of the friends of the Bible. They had forgotten that our warfare is not carnal; and had appealed to arms and to battle. But God reigns; he punishes the churches and the people who turn aside from his ways. We have taken a few stones, and piled them as a monument on the battle field of Cappel, in order to remind the Church of the great lesson which this terrible catastrophe teaches. As we bid farewell to this sad scene, we inscribe on these monumental stones, on the one side, these words from

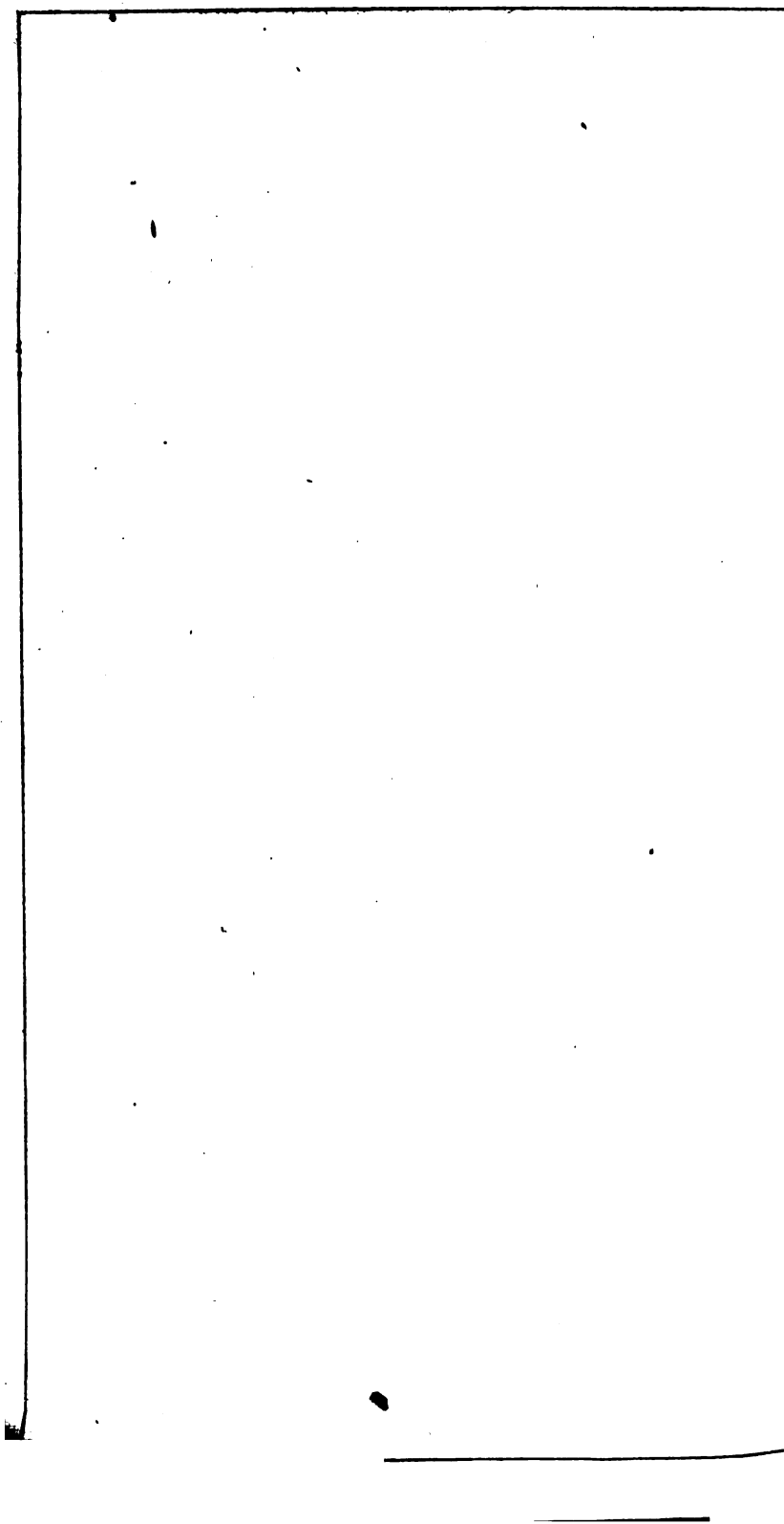
God's Book: "*Some trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the Lord our God. They are brought down and fallen: but we are risen and stand upright*" And on the other, this declaration of the Head of the Church: "*My kingdom is not of this world.*" If, from the ashes of the martyrs at Cappel, a voice could be heard, it would be in these very words of the Bible that these noble confessors would, after three centuries, address the Christians of our days. That the Church has no other king than Jesus Christ; that she ought not to meddle with the policy of the world, derive from it her inspiration, and call for its swords, its prisons, or its treasures; that she will conquer by the spiritual powers which God has deposited in her bosom, and, above all, by the reign of her adorable Head; that she must not expect upon earth thrones and mortal triumphs; but that her march resembles that of her King, from the manger to the cross, and from the cross to the crown;—such is the lesson to be read on the blood-stained page that has crept into our simple and evangelical narrative.³

But if God teaches his people great lessons, he also gives them great deliverances. The bolt had fallen from heaven. The Reformation seemed to be little better than a lifeless body cumbering the ground, and whose dismembered limbs were about to be reduced to ashes. But God raises up the dead. New and more glorious destinies were awaiting the Gospel of Jesus Christ at the foot of the Alps. At the south-western extremity of Switzerland, in a great valley which the white giant of the mountains points out from afar; on the banks of the Lemman lake, at the spot where the Rhone, clear and blue as the sky above it, rolls its majestic waters; on a small hill that the foot of Caesar had once trod, and on which the steps of another conqueror, of a Gaul, of a Picardine,⁴ were destined ere long to leave their ineffaceable and glorious traces, stood an ancient city, as yet covered with the dense shadows of Popery but which God was about to raise to be a beacon, to the Church, and a bulwark to Christendom.

¹ Zwingli's *Pear Tree* having perished, a rock has been placed over the spot where this illustrious reformer died; and on it are engraved suitable inscriptions, different, however, from those in the text.

² John Calvin of Noyon.

¹ Ich mus bellen. Bull. iii. 321.
² Gloriantibus adversariis in ruinam, nos in cruce gloriatur. Ad Cœcolamp. 29th November 1531. Zurich MS.



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PREFACE TO VOLUME FIFTH.

previous volumes the author has a origin and essential development of the Sixteenth Century in the Reformation in England. will direct the reader to the principle whence the author has derived them. Most of them are well known, however, had not been prepared, among which are the later State Papers published by order of the late Sir Robert Peel was the first. Three successive Home Secretaries, Mr. Graham, Sir George Grey, and the venerable Mr S. H. Walpole, have been the author with copies of the several instances of this great and important collection which they were committed to him as soon as printed, which in particular with the seventh which he has made much use. He has the opportunity of expressing his sincere thanks to these noble friends of literature

of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century was received with cordiality, but it has had a far greater readers in the British dominions and the United States. The author looks with satisfaction which this work has effected between him and many distant as a precious reward for his labors in the present volume be received as favorably as the others? relating to the Anglo-Saxon race of their reformation is at a certain stage; and although the author has never referred his readers to her of old or recent date, by name, all of them more competent than to accomplish this task, he did not mean to shrink from the un-

and is it possible to omit the history of the Reformation in England from a history of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century; at the present crisis it is more than ever. In this place, the English Reformation

has been, and still is, calumniated by writers of different parties, who look upon it as nothing more than an external political transformation, and who thus ignore its spiritual nature. History has taught the author that it was essentially a religious transformation, and that we must seek for it in men of faith, and not, as is usually done, solely in the caprices of the prince, the ambition of the nobility, and the servility of the prelates. A faithful recital of this great renovation will perhaps show us that beyond and without the measures of Henry VIII. there was something—everything, so to speak—for therein was the essence of the Reformation, that which makes it a divine and imperishable work.

A second motive forced the author to acknowledge the necessity of a true History of the English Reformation. An active party in the Episcopal Church is reviving with zeal, perseverance, and talent, the principles of Roman-catholicism, and striving to impose them on the Reformed Church of England, and incessantly attacking the foundations of evangelical Christianity. A number of young men in the universities, seduced by that deceitful *mirage* which some of their teachers have placed before their eyes, are launching out into clerical and superstitious theories, and running the risk of falling, sooner or later, as so many have done already, into the ever yawning gulf of Popery. We must therefore call to mind the reforming principles which were proclaimed from the very commencement of this great transformation.

The new position which the Romish court is taking in England, and its insolent aggressions, are a third consideration which seems to demonstrate to us the present importance of this history. It is good to call to mind that the primitive Christianity of Great Britain perseveringly repelled the invasion of the popedom, and that after the definitive victory of this foreign power, the noblest voices among kings, lords, priests, and people, boldly protested against it. It is good to show that, while the word of God recovered its inalienable rights in Britain, in the sixteenth century, the popedom, agitated

by wholly political interests, broke of itself the chain with which it had so long bound England.—We shall see in this volume the English government fortifying itself, for instance under Edward III., against the invasions of Rome. It has been pretended in our days, and by others besides ultramontanists, that the papacy is a purely spiritual power, and ought to be opposed by spiritual arms only. If the first part of this argument were true, no one would be readier than ourselves to adopt the conclusion. God forbid that any protestant state should ever refuse the completest liberty to the Roman-catholic doctrines. We certainly wish for reciprocity; we desire that ultramontaniam should no longer throw into prison the humble believers who seek consolation for themselves, and for their friends, in holy Scripture. But though a deplorable fanaticism should still continue to transplant into the nineteenth century the mournful tragedies of the Middle Ages, we should persist in demanding the fullest liberty, not only of conscience, but of worship, for Roman-catholics in protestant states. We should ask it in the name of justice, whose immutable laws the injustice of our adversaries can never make us forget; we should ask it on behalf of the final triumph of truth; for if our demands proved unavailing, perhaps with God's help it might be otherwise with our example. When two worlds meet face to face, in one of which light abounds, and in the other darkness, it is the darkness that should disappear before the light, and not the light fly from before the darkness. We might go farther than this: far from constraining the English catholics in anything, we would rather desire to help them to be freer than they are, and to aid them in recovering the rights of which the Roman bishop robbed them in times posterior to the establishment of the papacy; for instance, the election of bishops and pastors, which belongs to the clergy and the people. Indeed, Cyprian, writing to a bishop of Rome (Cornelius) demanded three elements to secure the legitimacy of episcopal election: "The call of God, the voice of the people, and the consent of the co-bishops."¹ And the council of Rome, in 1080, said: "Let the clergy and the people, with the consent of the apostolic see or of their metropolitan, elect their bishop."² In our days,—days distinguished by great liberty,—shall the church be less free than it was in the Middle Ages?

But if we do not fear to claim for Roman-catholics the rights of the church of the first ages, and a greater liberty than what they now possess, even in the very seat of the popedom, are we therefore to say that the

state, whether under Edward III. or in later times, should oppose no barrier against Romish aggressions? If it is the very life and soul of popery to pass beyond the boundaries of religion, and enter into the field of policy, why should it be thought strange for the state to defend itself, when attacked upon its own ground? Can the state have no need of precautions against a power which has pretended to be paramount over England, which gave its crown to a French monarch, which obtained an oath of vassalage from an English king, and which lays down as its first dogma its infallibility and immutability?

And it was not only under Edward III. and throughout the Middle Ages that Rome encroached on royalty; it has happened in modern times also. M. Mignet has recently brought to light some remarkable facts. On the 28th of June 1570 a letter from Saint Pius V. was presented to the catholic king Philip II. by an agent just arrived from Rome. "Our dear son, Robert Ridolfi," says the writer, "will explain (God willing) to your majesty certain matters which concern not a little the honour of Almighty God..... We conjure your majesty to take into your serious consideration the matter which he will lay before you, and to furnish him with all the means your majesty may judge most proper for its execution." The pope's "dear son," accordingly, explained to the duke of Feria, who was commissioned by Philip to receive his communication, "that it was proposed to kill queen Elizabeth; that the attempt would not be made in London, because it was the seat of heresy, but during one of her journeys; and that a certain James G—— would undertake it." The same day the council met and deliberated on Elizabeth's assassination. Philip declared his willingness to undertake the foul deed recommended by his holiness; but as it would be an expensive business, his ministers hinted to the nuncio that the pope ought to furnish the money. This horrible but instructive recital will be found with all its details in the *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, by M. Mignet, vol. ii. p. 159, etc. It is true that these things took place in the sixteenth century; but the Romish church has canonized this priestly murderer, an honour conferred on a very small number of popes, and the canonization took place in the eighteenth century.³ This is not a very distant date.

And these theories, so calculated to trouble nations, are still to be met with in the nineteenth century. At this very moment there are writers asserting principles under cover of which the pope may interfere in affairs of state. The kings of Europe, terrified by the deplorable outbreaks of 1848, appear almost everywhere ready to support the court of Rome by arms; and ultra-montaniam takes advantage of this to proclaim once more,

¹ Divinum iudicium, populi suffragium, co-episcoporum consensus. Epist. 34.

² Clerus et populus, apostolicæ sedis, vel metropolitani sui consensu, pastorem sibi eligat. *Epistolæ*, xx. p. 638.

³ *Acta canonisationis S. Phil. V. Romæ, 1764, &c.*

at the popedom is above the monarchy: it is the duty of the inferior (the king) to obey the superior; that it is the duty of the superior (the pope) to depose the sovereigns who abuse their power, and to constrain the subjects who resist it; and, finally, that this public law of Christian Europe, established by the ambition of sovereigns or insubordination of peoples, should be reformed. Such are the theories now professed only by priests but by influential laymen, this opinion belongs, at the present hour, the zeal and enthusiasm of Romanism, and this alone we are bound to acknowledge consistent with the principles of popery. Accordingly it is to be feared that this theory will triumph, unless we oppose it with the forces of the human understanding, of religious and political liberty, and above all, the word of God. The most distinguished man of public opinion in France, alarmed at the progress of these ultramontane doctrines, said not long ago of this party: "In eyes there exists but one real authority the world, that of the pope. All questions, not only religious but moral and political, are amenable to one tribunal, supreme and infallible, the pope's. The pope has the right to absolve subjects of their oath of fidelity; subjects have the right to take up arms against their prince when he rebels against the decisions of the holy see. This is the social and political theory of the Middle Ages."¹²

Since the popedom asserts claims both ritual and temporal, the church and the state ought to resist it, each in its own sphere, with its peculiar arms: the church (by which I mean the believers), solely with holy scripture; the state with such institutions as are calculated to secure its independence. But! the church is bound to defend what belongs to the church, and the state is not bound to defend what belongs to the state? If robbers should endeavour to plunder two houses, would it be just and charitable for one neighbour to say to the other, "I must defend my house, but you must let yours be stripped?" The pope desires to have the immaculate conception of the Virgin, or any other religious doctrine, preached, let the fullest liberty be granted him, and let him build as many churches as he pleases to do it in: we claim the same in the plainest language. But if the pope, like Saint Pius, desires to kill the Queen of England, or at least (for no pope in our days were he even saint enough to be canonical) would conceive such an idea, if the pope desires to infringe in any way on the rights of the state, then let the state resist with tried wisdom and unshaken firmness. Let us beware of an ultra-spiritualism which forgets the lessons of history, and over-

looks the rights of kings and peoples. When it is found among theologians, it is an error in statesmen, it is a danger.

Finally, and this consideration revives our hopes, there is a fourth motive which gives at this time a particular importance to the history we are about to relate. The Reformation is now entering upon a new phase. The movement of the sixteenth century had died away during the seventeenth and eighteenth, and it was often to churches which had lost every spark of life that the historian had then to recount the narrative of this great revival. This is the case no longer. After three centuries a new and a greater movement is succeeding that which we describe in these volumes. The principles of the religious regeneration, which God accomplished three hundred years ago, are now carried to the end of the world with the greatest energy. The task of the sixteenth century lives again in the nineteenth, but more emancipated from the temporal power, more spiritual, more general; and it is the Anglo-Saxon race that God chiefly employs for the accomplishment of this universal work. The English Reformation acquires therefore, in our days, a special importance. If the Reformation of Germany was the foundation of the building, that of England was its crowning stone.

The work begun in the age of the apostles, renewed in the times of the reformers, should be resumed in our days with a holy enthusiasm; and this work is very simple and very beautiful, for it consists in establishing the throne of Jesus Christ both in the church and on earth.

Evangelical faith does not place on the throne of the church either human reason or religious conscientiousness, as some would have it; but it sets thereon Jesus Christ, who is both the knowledge taught and the doctor who teaches it; who explains his word by the word, and by the light of his Holy Spirit; who by it bears witness to the truth, that is to say, to his redemption, and teaches the essential laws which should regulate the inner life of his disciples. Evangelical faith appeals to the understanding, to the heart, and to the will of every Christian, only to impose on them the duty to submit to the divine authority of Christ, to listen, believe, love, comprehend, and act, as God requires.

Evangelical faith does not place on the throne of the church the civil power, or the secular magistrate; but it sets thereon Jesus Christ, who has said, *I am King*; who imparts to his subjects the principle of life, who establishes his kingdom here on earth, and preserves and develops it; and who, directing all mortal events, is now making the progressive conquest of the world, until he shall exercise in person his divine authority in the kingdom of his glory.

Finally, evangelical faith does not place

¹² See in particular *Le Catholicisme, le Libéralisme et le Socialisme*, and other writings of Donoso Cortés, marquis of Camarasa, one of the most distinguished members of the liberal party in Spain. *Journal des Débats*, 18th January 1852.

on the throne of the church priests, councils, doctors, or their traditions,—or that vice-God (*veri Dei vicem gerit in terris*, as the Romish gloss has it), that *infallible* pontiff, who, reviving the errors of the pagans, ascribes salvation to the forms of worship and to the meritorious works of men. It sets thereon Jesus Christ, the great High-priest of his people, the God-man, who, by an act of his free love, bore in our stead, in his atoning sacrifice, the penalty of sin;—who has taken away the curse from our heads, and thus become the creator of a new race.

Such is the essential work of that Christianity, which the apostolic age transmitted to the reformers, and which it now transmits to the Christians of the nineteenth century.

While the thoughts of great numbers are led astray in the midst of ceremonies, human lucubrations, pontifical fables, philosophic reveries, and are driven to in the dust of this world, evangelicalism rises even to heaven, and falls prostrate before Him who sitteth on the throne.

The Reformation is Jesus Christ.

“Lord, to whom shall we go, if not to thee?” Let others follow the devils of their imaginations, or prostrate themselves before traditional superstitions, or kneel to the feet of a sinful man.....O King of glory, desire but Thee alone!

NAVAL-VIENNA, GENEVA March 1852.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

VOLUME FIFTH.

BOOK XVII.

ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

CHAPTER I.

ction—Work of the Sixteenth Century—Unity and
sity—Necessity of considering the entire Religious
ry of England—Establishment of Christianity in
Britain—Formation of Ecclesiastical Catholicism
e Roman Empire—Spiritual Christianity received
tain—Slavery and Conversion of Suceat—His Mis-
o Ireland—Anglo-Saxons re-establish Paganism in
nd—Columba at Iona—Evangelical Teaching—
ytery and Episcopacy in Great Britain—Continu-
issions of the Britons—An Omission.

e heavenly powers which had lain dor-
in the church since the first ages of
tianity, awoke from their slumber in
ixteenth century, and this awakening
l the modern times into existence.
church was created anew, and from
regeneration have flowed the great de-
ments of literature and science, of
lity, liberty, and industry, which at
nt characterize the nations of Chris-
m. None of these things would have
d without the Reformation. When
society enters upon a new era, it re-
s the baptism of faith. In the six-
h century God gave to man this con-
tion from on high by leading him back
mere outward profession and the me-
ism of works to an inward and lively

is transformation was not effected with-
truggles—struggles which presented at
a remarkable unity. On the day of
one and the same feeling animated
bosom: after the victory they became
ed. Unity of faith indeed remained,
he difference of nationalities brought
the church a diversity of forms. Of
ve are about to witness a striking ex-
e. The Reformation, which had begun
umphant march in Germany, Switzer-
France, and several other parts of the
cent, was destined to receive new

strength by the conversion of a celebrated
country, long known as the *Isle of Saints*.
This island was to add its banner to the
trophy of Protestantism, but that banner
preserved its distinctive colours. When
England became reformed, a puissant in-
dividualism joined its might to the great
unity.

If we search for the characteristics of the
British Reformation, we shall find that, be-
yond any other, they were social, national,
and truly human. There is no people
among whom the Reformation has produced
to the same degree that morality and order,
that liberty, public spirit, and activity,
which are the very essence of a nation's
greatness. Just as the papacy has degraded
the Spanish peninsula, has the gospel ex-
alted the British islands. Hence the study
upon which we are entering possesses an
interest peculiar to itself.

In order that this study may be useful,
it should have a character of universality.
To confine the history of a people within
the space of a few years, or even of a cen-
tury, would deprive that history of both
truth and life. We might indeed have
traditions, chronicles, and legends, but there
would be no history. History is a wonder-
ful organization, no part of which can be
retrenched. To understand the present, we
must know the past. Society, like man
himself, has its infancy, youth, maturity,
and old age. Ancient or Pagan society,
which had spent its infancy in the East in
the midst of the antihellenic races, had its
youth in the animated epoch of the Greeks,
its manhood in the stern period of Roman
greatness, and its old age under the decline
of the empire. Modern society has passed
through analogous stages: at the time of

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the Reformation it attained that of the full-grown man. We shall now proceed to trace the destinies of the church in England, from the earliest times of Christianity. These long and distant preparations are one of the distinctive characteristics of its reformation.

Before the sixteenth century this church had passed through two great phases.

The first was that of its formation—the second that of its corruption.

In its formation it was oriento-apostolical.

In its corruption it was successively national-papistical and royal-papistical.

After these two degrees of decline came the last and great phasis of the Reformation.

In the second century of the Christian era vessels were frequently sailing to the savage shores of Britain from the ports of Asia Minor, Greece, Alexandria, or the Greek colonies in Gaul. Among the merchants busied in calculating the profits they could make upon the produce of the East with which their ships were laden, would occasionally be found a few pious men from the banks of the Meander or the Hermus, conversing peacefully with one another about the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, and rejoicing at the prospect of saving by these glad tidings the pagans towards whom they were steering. It would appear that some British prisoners of war, having learnt to know Christ during their captivity, bore also to their fellow-countrymen the knowledge of this Saviour. It may be, too, that some Christian soldiers, the Corneliiuses of those imperial armies whose advanced posts reached the southern parts of Scotland, desirous of more lasting conquests, may have read to the people whom they had subdued, the writings of Matthew, John, and Paul. It is of little consequence to know whether one of these first converts was, according to tradition, a prince named Lucius. It is certain that the tidings of the Son of man, crucified and raised again, under Tiberius, spread through these islands more rapidly than the dominion of the emperors, and that before the end of the second century many churches worshipped Christ beyond the walls of Adrian; in those mountains, forests, and western isles, which for centuries past the Druids had filled with their mysteries and their sacrifices, and on which even the Roman eagles had never stooped.¹ These churches were formed after the eastern type: the Britons would have refused to receive the type of that Rome whose yoke they detested.

The first thing which the British Christians received from the capital of the empire was persecution. But Diocletian, by striking the disciples of Jesus Christ in Britain only increased their number.¹ Many Christians from the southern part of the island took refuge in Scotland, where they raised their humble roofs, and under the name of *Culdees* prayed for the salvation of their protectors. When the surrounding pagans saw the holiness of these men of God, they abandoned in great numbers their sacred oaks, their mysterious caverns, and their blood-stained altars, and obeyed the gentle voice of the Gospel. After the death of these pious refugees, their cells were transformed into houses of prayer.² In 305, Constantius Chlorus succeeded to the throne of the Cæsars, and put an end to the persecution.

The Christianity which was brought to these people by merchants, soldiers, or missionaries, although not the ecclesiastical catholicism already creeping into life in the Roman empire, was not the primitive evangelism of the apostles. The East and the South could only give to the North of what they possessed. The mere human period had succeeded to the creative and miraculous period of the church. After the extraordinary manifestations of the Holy Ghost, which had produced the apostolic age, the church had been left to the inward power of the word and of the Comforter. But Christians did not generally comprehend the spiritual life to which they were called. God had been pleased to give them a divine religion; and this they gradually assimilated more and more to the religions of human origin. Instead of saying, in the spirit of the gospel, the word of God first, and through it the doctrine and the life—the doctrine and the life, and through them the forms; they said, forms first, and salvation by these forms. They ascribed to bishops a power which belongs only to Holy Scripture. Instead of ministers of the word, they desired to have priests; instead of an inward sacrifice, a sacrifice offered on the altar; and costly temples instead of a living church. They began to seek in men, in ceremonies, and in holy places, what they could find only in the Word and in the lively faith of the children of God. In this manner evangelical religion gave place to catholicism and by gradual degeneration in after-years catholicism gave birth to popery.

This grievous transformation took place more particularly in the East, in Africa, and in Italy. Britain was at first comparatively exempt. At the very time that the savage Picts and Scots, rushing from their heathen homes, were devastating the country, spreading terror on all sides, and reducing the

¹ *Britannorum inaccessas Romanis loca Christo vero sub-*
stia. (Tertullian contra Judæos, lib. vii.) This work, from
its bearing no traces of Montanism, seems to belong to the
first part of Tertullian's life. See also Origen in *Lection.*
cap. i. locum. &c.

¹ Lactantius, de moribus persecutorum, cap. xli.

² Multi ex Britannibus Christiani caritatem Diocletiani
timentes ad eos confluxerunt, . . . ut vita sanctorum cellis in
templis committeretur. Buchanan, iv. c. xxxv.

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people to slavery, we discover here and there some humble Christian receiving salvation not by a clerical sentimentalism, but by the work of the Holy Ghost in the heart. At the end of the fourth century we meet with an illustrious example of such conversions.

On the picturesque banks of the Clyde, not far from Glasgow, in the Christian village of Bonavern, now Kilpatrick, a little boy, of tender heart, lively temperament, and indefatigable activity, passed the earlier days of his life. He was born about the year 372 A.D., of a British family, and was named Succat.¹ His father, Calpornius, deacon of the church of Bonavern, a simple-hearted pious man, and his mother, Conchessa, sister to the celebrated Martin, archbishop of Tours,² and a woman superior to the majority of her sex, had endeavoured to instil into his heart the doctrines of Christianity; but Succat did not understand them. He was fond of pleasure, and delighted to be the leader of his youthful companions. In the midst of his frivolities, he committed a serious fault.

Some few years later, his parents having quitted Scotland and settled in Armorica (Britagne), a terrible calamity befell them. One day as Succat was playing near the seashore with two of his sisters, some Irish pirates, commanded by O'Neal, carried them all three off to their boats, and sold them in Ireland to the petty chieftain of some pagan clan. Succat was sent into the fields to keep swine.³ It was while alone in these solitary pastures, without priest and without temple, that the young slave called to mind the divine lessons which his pious mother had so often read to him. The fault which he had committed pressed heavily on his heart, and day upon his soul: he groaned in heart, and wept. He turned repenting towards that meek Saviour of whom Conchessa had so often spoken; he fell at His knees in that heathen land, and imagined he felt the arms of a father uplifting the prodigal son. Succat was then born from on high, but by an agent so spiritual, so internal, that he knew not "whence it cometh or whither it goeth." The gospel was written with the finger of God on the tablets of his heart. "I was sixteen years old," said he, "and knew not the true God; but in that strange land the Lord opened my unbelieving eyes, and, although late, I called my sins to mind, and was converted with my whole heart to the Lord my God, who regarded my low estate, had pity on my youth and ignorance, and consoled me as a father consoles his children."⁴

Such words as these from the lips of a swineherd in the green pastures of Ireland set clearly before us the Christianity which in the fourth and fifth centuries converted many souls in the British isles. In after-years, Rome established the dominion of the priest and salvation by forms, independently of the dispositions of the heart; but the primitive religion of these celebrated islands was that living Christianity whose substance is the grace of Jesus Christ, and whose power is the grace of the Holy Ghost. The herdsman from the banks of the Clyde was then undergoing these experiences which so many evangelical Christians in those countries have subsequently undergone. "The love of God increased more and more in me," said he, "with faith and the fear of His name. The Spirit urged me to such a degree that I poured forth as many as a hundred prayers in one day. And even during the night, in the forests and on the mountains where I kept my flock, the rain, and snow, and frost, and sufferings which I endured, excited me to seek after God. At that time, I felt not the indifference which now I feel: The Spirit fermented in my heart."¹ Evangelical faith even then existed in the British islands in the person of this slave, and of some few Christians born again, like him, from on high.

Twice a captive and twice rescued, Succat, after returning to his family, felt an irresistible appeal in his heart. It was his duty to carry the gospel to those Irish pagans among whom he had found Jesus Christ. His parents and his friends endeavoured in vain to detain him; the same ardent desire pursued him in his dreams. During the silent watches of the night he fancied he heard voices calling to him from the dark forests of Erin: "Come, holy child, and walk once more among us." He awoke in tears, his breast filled with the keenest emotion.² He tore himself from the arms of his parents, and rushed forth—not as heretofore with his playfellows, when he would climb the summit of some lofty hill—but with a heart full of charity in Christ. He departed: "It was not done of my own strength" said he; "it was God who overcame all."³

Succat, afterwards known as Saint Patrick, and to which name, as to that of St Peter and other servants of God, many superstitions have been attached, returned to Ireland, but without visiting Rome, as an historian of the twelfth century has asserted.³ Ever active, prompt, and ingenious, he collected the pagan tribes in the fields

¹ In baptismo hanc Patricium sed Succat a parentibus fuisse dictum. *Usur. Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* p. 438.

² Martini Turonensis archiepiscopi consanguineum. *Ibid.*

³ Cum porcorum pastor erat. *Ibid.* p. 431.

⁴ Et ibi Dominus aperuit sensum increduli, ut mecum, ut vellem remanere delictis meis, et ut converterer ex toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum. *Patr. Confess. Us. vr.* 431.

¹ Ut etiam in sylvis et monte manebam, et ante lucem excitabar ad orationem per nivem, per gelu, per pluviam... quia tu, Spiritus in me ferebat. *Patr. Confess. Usur.* 432.

² Valde compunctus sum corde et sic exasperatus. *Ibid.* p. 433.

³ Jocelinus, *Vita in Acta Sanctorum.*

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by beat of drum, and then narrated to them in their own tongue the history of the Son of God. Erelong his simple recitals exercised a divine power over their rude hearts, and many souls were converted, not by external sacraments or by the worship of images, but by the preaching of the word of God. The son of a chieftain, whom Patrick calls Benignus, learnt from him to proclaim the Gospel, and was destined to succeed him. The court bard, Dubrach Mac Valubair, no longer sang druidical hymns, but canticles addressed to Jesus Christ. Patrick was not entirely free from the errors of the time; perhaps he believed in pious miracles; but generally speaking we meet with nothing but the gospel in the earlier days of the British church. The time no doubt will come when Ireland will again feel the power of the Holy Ghost, which had once converted it by the ministrations of a Scotchman.

Shortly before the evangelization of Patrick in Ireland, a Briton named Pelagius, having visited Italy, Africa, and Palestine, began to teach a strange doctrine. Desirous of making head against the moral indifference into which most of the Christians in those countries had fallen, and which would appear to have been in strong contrast with the British austerity, he denied the doctrine of original sin, extolled free-will, and maintained that, if man made use of all the powers of his nature, he would attain perfection. We do not find that he taught these opinions in his own country; but from the continent, where he disseminated them, they soon reached Britain. The British churches refused to receive this "perverse doctrine," their historian tells us, "and to blaspheme the grace of Jesus Christ."¹ They do not appear to have held the strict doctrine of Saint Augustine: they believed indeed that man has need of an inward change, and that this the divine power alone can effect; but like the churches of Asia, from which they had sprung, they seem to have conceded something to our natural strength in the work of conversion; and Pelagius, with a good intention it would appear, went still further. However that may be, these churches, strangers to the controversy, were unacquainted with all its subtleties. Two Gaulish bishops, Germanus and Lupus, came to their aid, and those who had been perverted returned into the way of truth.²

Shortly after this, events of great importance took place in Great Britain, and the light of faith disappeared in profound night. In 449, Hengist and Horsa, with their Saxon followers, being invited by the wretched inhabitants to aid them against

the cruel ravages of the Picts and Scots, soon turned their swords against the people they had come to assist. Christianity was driven back with the Britons into the mountains of Wales and the wild moors of Northumberland and Cornwall. Many British families remained in the midst of the conquerors, but without exercising any religious influence over them. While the conquering races, settled at Paris, Ravenna, or Toledo, gradually laid aside their paganism and savage manners, the barbarous customs of the Saxons prevailed unmoderated throughout the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and in every quarter temples to Thor rose above the churches in which Jesus Christ had been worshipped. Gaul and the south of Europe, which still exhibited to the eyes of the barbarians the last vestiges of Roman grandeur, alone had the power of inspiring some degree of respect in the formidable Germans, and of transforming their faith. From this period, the Greeks and Latins, and even the converted Goths, looked at this island with unutterable dread. The soil, said they, is covered with serpents; the air is thick with deadly exhalations; the souls of the departed are transported thither at midnight from the shores of Gaul. Ferry-men, sons of Erebus and Night, admit these invisible shades into their boats, and listen, with a shudder, to their mysterious whisperings. England, whence light was one day to be shed over the habitable globe, was then the trysting-place of the dead. And yet the Christianity of the British isles was not to be annihilated by these barbarian invasions; it possessed a strength which rendered it capable of energetic resistance.

In one of the churches formed by Succat's preaching, there arose about two centuries after him a pious man named Columba, son of Feildimyd, the son of Fergus. Valuing the cross of Christ more highly than the royal blood that flowed in his veins, he resolved to devote himself to the King of heaven. Shall he not repay to the country of Succat what Succat had imparted to him? "I will go," said he, "and preach the word of God in Scotland;"³ for the word of God and not an ecclesiastical hierarchy was then the converting agency. The grandson of Fergus communicated the zeal which animated him to the hearts of several fellow-Christians. They repaired to the seashore, and cutting down the pliant branches of the osier, constructed a frail bark, which they covered with the skins of beasts. In this rude boat they embarked in the year 565, and after being driven to and fro on the ocean, the little missionary band reached the waters of the Hebrides. Columba landed near the barren rocks of Mull, to the south of the basaltic caverns of Staffa,

¹ Verum Britannicum neque suscipere dogma perversum, gratulam Christi blasphemando nullatenus vellent. Bedæ, Hist. Angl. lib. i. cap. xvii. et xxi.

² Depravatam viam correctionis agnoscerent. Ibid.

³ Predica verbum Dei. Usser. Antiq. p. 328.

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and fixed his abode in a small island, afterwards known as Iona or Icolmkill, "the island of Columba's cell." Some Christian Culdees, driven out by the dissensions of the Picts and Scots, had already found a refuge in the same retired spot. Here the missionaries erected a chapel, whose walls, it is said, still exist among the stately ruins of a later age.¹ Some authors have placed Columba in the first rank after the apostles.² True, we do not find in him the faith of a Paul or a John; but he lived as in the sight of God; he mortified the flesh, and slept on the ground with a stone for his pillow. Amid this solemn scenery, and among customs so rude, the form of the missionary, illumined by a light from heaven, shone with love, and manifested the joy and serenity of his heart.³ Although subject to the same passions as ourselves, he wrestled against his weakness, and would not have one moment lost for the glory of God. He prayed and read, he wrote and taught, he preached and redeemed the time. With indefatigable activity he went from house to house, and from kingdom to kingdom. The king of the Picts was converted, as were also many of his people; precious manuscripts were conveyed to Iona; a school of theology was founded there, in which the Word was studied; and many received through faith the salvation which is in Christ Jesus. Ere long a missionary spirit breathed over this ocean rock, so justly named "the light of the western world."

The Judaical sacerdotalism which was beginning to extend in the Christian church found no support in Iona. They had forms, but not to them did they look for life. It was the Holy Ghost, Columba maintained, that made a servant of God. When the youth of Caledonia assembled around the elders on these savage shores, or in their humble chapel, these ministers of the Lord would say to them: "The Holy Scriptures are the only rule of faith." Throw aside all merit of works, and look for salvation to the grace of God alone.⁴ Beware of a religion which consists of outward observances: it is better to keep your heart pure before God than to abstain from meats.⁵ One alone is your head, Jesus Christ. Bishops and presbyters are equal;⁶ they should be the husbands of one wife, and have their children in subjection.⁷

The sages of Iona knew nothing of transubstantiation or of the withdrawal of the cup in the Lord's Supper, or of auricular confession, or of prayers to the dead, or tapers, or incense; they celebrated Easter on a different day from Rome;¹ synodal assemblies regulated the affairs of the church, and the papal supremacy was unknown.² The sun of the gospel shone upon these wild and distant shores. In after-years, it was the privilege of Great Britain to recover with a purer lustre the same sun and the same gospel.

Iona, governed by a simple elder,³ had become a missionary college. It has been sometimes called a monastery, but the dwelling of the grandson of Fergus in nowise resembled the popish convents. When its youthful inmates desired to spread the knowledge of Jesus Christ, they thought not of going elsewhere in quest of episcopal ordination. Kneeling in the chapel of Icolmkill, they were set apart by the laying on of the hands of the elders: they were called *bishops*, but remained obedient to the *elder* or presbyter of Iona. They even consecrated other bishops: thus Finan laid hands upon Diuma, bishop of Middlesex. These British Christians attached great importance to the ministry; but not to one form in preference to another. Presbytery and episcopacy were with them, as with the primitive church, almost identical.⁴ Somewhat later we find that neither the venerable Bede, nor Lanfranc, nor Anselm—the two last were archbishops of Canterbury—made any objection to the ordination of British bishops by plain presbyters.⁵ The religious and moral element that belongs to Christianity still predominated; the sacerdotal element, which characterizes human religions, whether among the Brahmins or elsewhere, was beginning to show itself, but in Great Britain at least it held a very subordinate station. Christianity was still a religion and not a caste. They did not require of the servant of God, as a warrant of his capacity, a long list of names succeeding one another like the beads of a rosary; they entertained serious, noble, and holy ideas of the ministry; its

Potius Presbyteri. Patricii Confessio. Even as late as the twelfth century we meet with married Irish bishops. Bernard, Vita Malachie, cap. x.

¹ In die quidem dominica alia tamen quam dicebat hebdomade celebrabant. Bede, lib. iii. cap. iv.

² Augustinus versus religionem docuit.....dum ad unius episcopi romani dominatum omnia revocat. Buchan. lib. v. cap. xxvii.

³ Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum cuius iuri et omnis provincia et ipsi etiam episcopi, ordine iussuati, debent esse subjecti, iuxta exemplum primi doctoris illius qui non episcopus sed presbyter exstitit et monachus. Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. cap. iv.

⁴ Item est ergo presbyter qui episcopus, et antequam diaboli iusticia studia in religione farent....communi presbyterorum concilio Ecclesie gubernabantur. Indifferenter de episcopo quasi de presbytero est loquutus (Paulus)....sciunt episcopi se, magis consuetudine quam dispositionis dominice veritate, presbyteris esse majores. Hieronymus ad Titum, l. i.

⁵ Bishop Munter takes this remark in his dissertation On the Ancient British Church, about the primitive identity of bishops and priests, and episcopal consecration. See, and Hist. Ant. 1853.

¹ I visited Iona in 1845 with Dr Patrick M'Farlan, and saw these ruins. One portion of the building seems to be of primitive architecture.

² Nulli post apostolos secundus. Nether.

³ Qui de prosapia regali claruit. Bed morum gratia magis emicuit.

⁴ Usser. Antiq. p. 360.

⁵ Prolatis Sancte Scripturæ testimoniis. Admon. l. i. c. 22.

⁶ Bishop Munter, Altbritische Kirche. Stud. und Krit. vi. 745.

⁷ Meliores sunt ergo qui non magno opere jejunant, cor laetius, oculi nitidius, coram Deo solliciti servantes. Quidam in ejusd. Nynod. Append.

⁸ In Hibernia episcopi et presbyteri unum sunt. Ekkehardi liber. Arz. Geschichte von S. Gall. i. 287.

⁹ Patrem habet Calpurnium diaconum illum quondam

authority proceeded wholly from Jesus Christ its head.

The missionary fire, which the grandson of Fergus had kindled in a solitary island, soon spread over Great Britain. Not in Iona alone, but at Bangor and other places, the spirit of evangelization burst out. A fondness for travelling had already become a second nature in this people.¹ Men of God, burning with zeal, resolved to carry the evangelical torch to the continent—to the vast wildernesses sprinkled here and there with barbarous and heathen tribes. They did not set forth as antagonists of Rome, for at that epoch there was no place for such antagonism; but Iona and Bangor, less illustrious than Rome in the history of nations, possessed a more lively faith than the city of the Cæsars; and that faith,—unerring sign of the presence of Jesus Christ,—gave those whom it inspired a right to evangelize the world, which Rome could not gainsay.

The missionary bishops² of Britain accordingly set forth and traversed the I. Countries, Gaul, Switzerland, Germany, and even Italy.³ The free church of the Scots and Britons did more for the conversion of central Europe than the half-enslaved church of the Romans. These missionaries were not haughty and insolent like the priests of Italy; but supported themselves by the work of their hands. Columbanus (whom we must not confound with Columba),⁴ “feeling in his heart the burning of the fire which the Lord had kindled upon earth,”⁵ quitted Bangor in 590 with twelve other missionaries, and carried the gospel to the Burgundians, Franks, and Swiss. He continued to preach it amidst frequent persecutions, left his disciple Gall in Helvetia, and retired to Bobbio, where he died, honouring Christian Rome, but placing the church of Jerusalem above it,⁶—exhorting it to beware of corruption, and declaring that the power would remain with it so long only as it retained the true doctrine (*recta ratio*). Thus was Britain faithful in planting the standard of Christ in the heart of Europe. We might almost imagine this unknown people to be a new Israel, and Icolmkill and Bangor to have inherited the virtues of Zion.

Yet they should have done more: they should have preached—not only to the continental heathens, to those in the north of

Scotland and the distant Ireland, but also to the still pagan Saxons of England. It is true that they made several attempts; but while the Britons considered their conquerors as the enemies of God and man, and shuddered while they pronounced their name,⁷ the Saxons refused to be converted by the voice of their slaves. By neglecting this field, the Britons left room for other workmen, and thus it was that England yielded to a foreign power, beneath whose heavy yoke it long groaned in vain.

CHAPTER II.

Pope Gregory the Great—Desires to reduce British—Pelly of Gregory and Augustine—Arrival of the Mission—Prediction—Britain superior to Rome—Death of Augustine—First and Second Roman Aggressions—Angels of the Britons—Fride of Rome—Rome has recourse to the Sword—Massacre—Saint Peter scourges an Archbishop—Oswald—His Victory—Cormac—Mission of Oswald and Aidan—Death of Oswald.

It is matter of fact that the spiritual life had waned in Italian catholicism; and in proportion as the heavenly spirit had become weak, the lust of dominion had grown strong. The Roman metropolitans and their delegates soon became impatient to mould all Christendom to their peculiar forms.

About the end of the sixth century an eminent man filled the see of Rome. Gregory was born of senatorial family, and already on the high road to honour, when he suddenly renounced the world, and transformed the palace of his fathers into a convent. But his ambition had only changed its object. In his views, the whole church should submit to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome. True, he rejected the title of *universal bishop* assumed by the patriarch of Constantinople; but if he desired not the name, he was not the less eager for the substance.⁸ On the borders of the West, in the island of Great Britain, was a Christian church independent of Rome: this must be conquered, and a favourable opportunity soon occurred.

Before his elevation to the primacy, and while he was as yet only the monk Gregory, he chanced one day to cross a market in Rome where certain foreign dealers were exposing their wares for sale. Among them he perceived some fair-haired youthful slaves, whose noble bearing attracted his attention. On drawing near them, he learned that the Anglo-Saxon nation to which they belonged had refused to receive the gospel from the Britons. When he afterwards became bishop of Rome, this crafty and energetic pontiff, “the last of the good and the

¹ Natio Scottorum quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam pene in naturam conversa est. Vita S. Galli, s. 47.

² They were called *episcopi regionarii*, because they had no settled diocese.

³ Antiquo tempore doctissimi solebant magistri de Britannia Britanniam, Galliam, Italiam venire, et multos per ecclesias Christi fecisse profectos. Aletin, *Ép. cexxi*.

⁴ Thierry, in his *Hist. de la Conquête de l'Angleterre*, makes Columba and Columbanus one personage. Columba preached the Gospel in Scotland about 563, and died in 567; Columbanus preached among the Burgundians in 590, and died in 615.

⁵ Ignitum igne Domini desiderium. Mahillon, *Acta*, p. 9.

⁶ Salva loci dominice resurrectionis singulari prerogativa. Columb. Vita, s. 19.

⁷ Nefandi nominis Saxoni Deo hominibusque invidi. Odo, *De excidio Britannia*.

⁸ He says (*Ép. lib. ix. ep. xli.*): De Constantinopolitana ecclesia quis eam dubitet apostolorum oculi esse subditam?

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first of the bad," as he has been called, determined to convert these proud conquerors, and make use of them in subduing the British church to the papacy, as he had already made use of the Frank monarchs to reduce the Gauls. Rome has often shown herself more eager to bring Christians rather than idolaters to the pope.¹ Was it thus with Gregory? We must leave the question unanswered.

Ethelbert, king of Kent, having married a Christian princess of Frank descent, the Roman bishop thought the conjuncture favourable for his design, and despatched a mission under the direction of one of his friends named Augustine, A.D. 596. At first the missionaries recoiled from the task appointed them; but Gregory was firm. Desirous of gaining the assistance of the Frank kings, Theodoric and Theodebert, he affected to consider them as the lords paramount of England, and commended to them the conversion of *their subjects*.² Nor was this all. He claimed also the support of the powerful Brunehilda, grandmother of these two kings, and equally notorious for her treachery, her irregularities, and her crimes; and did not scruple to extol the *good works* and *godly fear* of this modern Jezebel.³ Under such auspices the Romish mission arrived in England. The pope had made a skillful choice of his delegate. Augustine possessed even to a greater extent than Gregory himself a mixture of ambition and devotedness, of superstition and piety, of cunning and zeal. He thought that faith and holiness were less essential to the church than authority and power; and that its prerogative was not so much to save souls as to collect all the human race under the sceptre of Rome.⁴ Gregory himself was distressed at Augustine's spiritual pride, and often exhorted him to humility.

Success of that kind which popery desires soon crowned the labours of its servants. The forty-one missionaries having landed in the isle of Thanet, in the year 597, the king of Kent consented to receive them, but in the open air, for fear of magic. They drew up in such a manner as to produce an effect on the rude islanders. The procession was opened by a monk bearing a huge cross on which the figure of Christ was represented: his colleagues followed chanting their Latin hymns, and thus they approached the oak appointed for the place of conference. They inspired sufficient confidence in Ethelbert to gain permission to celebrate their worship in an old ruinous chapel at Durover (Canterbury), where British Christians had in former times

adored the Saviour Christ. The king and thousands of his subjects received not long after, with certain forms, and certain Christian doctrines, the errors of the Roman pontiffs—as purgatory, for instance, which Gregory was advocating with the aid of the most absurd fables.¹ Augustine baptized ten thousand pagans in one day. As yet Rome had only set her foot in Great Britain, she did not fail ere long to establish her kingdom there.

We should be unwilling to undervalue the religious element now placed before the Anglo-Saxons, and we can readily believe that many of the missionaries sent from Italy desired to work a Christian work. We think, too, that the Middle Ages ought to be appreciated with more equitable sentiments than have always been found in the persons who have written on that period. Man's conscience lived, spoke, and groaned during the long dominion of popery; and like a plant growing among thorns, it often succeeded in forcing a passage through the obstacles of traditionalism and hierarchy, to blossom in the quickening sun of God's grace. The Christian element is even strongly marked in some of the most eminent men of the theocracy—in Anselm for instance.

Yet as it is our task to relate the history of the struggles which took place between primitive Christianity and Roman-catholicism, we cannot forbear pointing out the superiority of the former in a religious light, while we acknowledge the superiority of the latter in a political point of view. We believe (and we shall presently have a proof of it)² that a visit to Iona would have taught the Anglo-Saxons much more than their frequent pilgrimages to the banks of the Tiber. Doubtless, as has been remarked, these pilgrims contemplated at Rome "the noble monuments of antiquity," but there existed at that time in the British islands—and it has been too often overlooked—a Christianity which, if not perfectly pure, was at least better than that of popery. The British church, which at the beginning of the seventh century carried faith and civilisation into Burgundy, the Vosges mountains, and Switzerland, might well have spread them both over Britain. The influence of the arts, whose civilizing influence we are far from depreciating, would have come later.

But so far was the Christianity of the Britons from converting the Saxon heptarchy, that it was, alas! the Romanism of the heptarchy which was destined to conquer Britain. These struggles between the Roman and British churches, which fill all the seventh century, are of the highest importance to the English church, for they

¹ We know the history of Tahiti and of other modern missions of the Romish church.

² Subjectus vestros. Opp. Gregorii, tom. iv. p. 334.

³ Prons in bonis operibus....in omnipotentis Dei timore. Ibid. tom. ii. p. 533.

⁴ We find the same idea in Wiseman, Lect. ix., On the principal doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church, Lond. 1834.

¹ Hoepfner, De origine dogmatis de purgatorio. Halle. 1772.

² In the history of Oswald, king of Northumberland.

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establish clearly its primitive liberty. They possess also great interest for the other churches of the West, as showing in the most striking characters the usurping acts by which the papacy eventually reduced them beneath its yoke.

Augustine, appointed archbishop not only of the Saxons, but of the free Britons, was settled by papal ordinance, first at London and afterwards at Canterbury. Being at the head of a hierarchy composed of twelve bishops, he soon attempted to bring all the Christians of Britain under the Roman jurisdiction. At that time there existed at Bangor,¹ in North Wales, a large Christian society, amounting to nearly three thousand individuals, collected together to work with their own hands,² to study, and to pray, and from whose bosom numerous missionaries (Columbanus was among the number) had from time to time gone forth. The president of this church was Dionoth, a faithful teacher, ready to serve all men in charity, yet firmly convinced that no one should have supremacy in the Lord's vineyard. Although one of the most influential men in the British church, he was somewhat timid and hesitating; he would yield to a certain point for the love of peace; but would never flinch from his duty. He was another apostle John, full of mildness, and yet condemning the Diotrefes, *who love to have pre-eminence among the brethren*. Augustine thus addressed him: "Acknowledge the authority of the Bishop of Rome." These are the first words of the papacy to the ancient Christians of Britain. "We desire to love all men," meekly replied the venerable Briton; "and what we do for you, we will do for him also whom you call the pope. But he is not entitled to call himself the *father of fathers*, and the only submission we can render him is that which we owe to every Christian."³ This was not what Augustine asked.

He was not discouraged by this first check. Proud of the pallium which Rome had sent him, and relying on the swords of the Anglo-Saxons, he convoked in 601 a general assembly of British and Saxon bishops. The meeting took place in the open air, beneath a venerable oak, near Wigornia (Worcester or Hereford), and here occurred the second Romish aggression. Dionoth resisted with firmness the extravagant pretensions of Augustine, who again summoned him to recognise the authority of Rome.⁴ Another Briton protested against the presumption of the Romans, who ascribed to their consecration a virtue

which they refused to that of Iona or of the Asiatic churches.⁵ The Britons, exclaimed a third, "cannot submit either to the haughtiness of the Romans or the tyranny of the Saxons."⁶ To no purpose did the archbishop lavish his arguments, prayers, censures, and miracles even; the Britons were firm. Some of them who had eaten with the Saxons while they were as yet heathens, refused to do so now that they had submitted to the pope.⁷ The Scotch were particularly inflexible; for one of their number, by name Dagam, would not only take no food at the same table with the Romans, but not even under the same roof.⁸ Thus did Augustine fail a second time, and the independence of Britain appeared secure.

And yet the formidable power of the popes, aided by the sword of the conquerors, alarmed the Britons. They imagined they saw a mysterious decree once more yoking the nations of the earth to the triumphal car of Rome, and many left Wigornia uneasy and sad at heart. How is it possible to save a cause, when even its defenders begin to despair? It was not long before they were summoned to a new council. "What is to be done?" they exclaimed with sorrowful forebodings. Popery was not yet thoroughly known: it was hardly formed. The half-enlightened consciences of these believers were a prey to the most violent agitation. They asked themselves whether, in rejecting this new power, they might not be rejecting God himself. A pious Christian, who led a solitary life, had acquired a great reputation in the surrounding district. Some of the Britons visited him, and inquired whether they should resist Augustine or follow him.⁹ "If he is a man of God, follow him," replied the hermit.—"And how shall we know that?"—"If he is meek and humble of heart, he bears Christ's yoke; but if he is violent and proud, he is not of God."—"What sign shall we have of his humility?"—"If he rises from his seat when you enter the room." Thus spoke the oracle of Britain: it would have been better to have consulted the Holy Scriptures.

But humility is not a virtue that flourishes among Romish pontiffs and legates: they love to remain seated while others court and worship them. The British bishops entered the council-hall, and the archbishop, desirous of indicating his superiority, proudly kept his seat.¹⁰ Astonished

¹ Bangor, the choir on the steep hill. Carlisle, Top. Dict. Wales.

² *Are unicuique dabitur, ut ex opere manuum quotidianæ se possent in viâ necessariâ continere. Preuves de l'hist. de Bretagne, li. 20.*

³ *Istam obedientiam nos sumus parati dare et solvere et ad omnes Christianos continere. Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. i. 26.*

⁴ *Dionothus de non approbando apud eos Romanorum auctoritate disputabat. Ibid. 24.*

⁵ *Ordinationesque more asiatico eisdem contulisse. Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. i. 24.*

⁶ *In communione admittere vel Romanorum fasces vel Saxonum tyrannidem. Ibid. 25.*

⁷ *According to the apostolic precept, 1 Cor. v. 9-11.*

⁸ *Dagamus ad nos veniens, non solum cibum solentem, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vesebatur, sumere solit.*

⁹ *Ad quendam virum sanctum et prodentem qui apud eos anachoreticam ducere vitam solebat, consensum in traditionem Augustini suas docerere berent. Ibid. li. ii. cap. ii.*

¹⁰ *Factumque est ut venientibus illis sedens Augustinus in sella. Ibid.*

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light, the Britons would hear no the authority of Rome. For the they said No—they knew no ster but Christ. Augustine, who to see these bishops prostrate their at his feet, was surprised and in-

He had reckoned on the immission of Britain, and the pope to learn that his missionary had him.....Animated by that insot which is found too often in the of the Romish Church, Augustine l: "If you will not receive breo bring you peace, you shall remies who will bring you war. If not unite with us in showing the he way of life, you shall receive n the stroke of death."¹ Having cen, the haughty archbishop withl occupied his last days in prepar-accomplishment of his ill-omened ² Argument had failed: now for l!

after the death of Augustine, one of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and still a heathen, collected a numey, and advanced towards Bangor, e of British Christianity. Alarm ough those feeble churches. They prayed. The sword of Edelfrid rer. To whom can they apply, or all they find help? The magni-he danger seemed to recall the o their pristine piety: not to men, e Lord himself will they turn their

Twelve hundred and fifty ser- the living God, calling to mind : the arms of Christian warfare, paring themselves by fasting, met in a retired spot to send up their to God.³ A British chief, named , moved by tender compassion, himself near them with a few but the cruel Edelfrid, observing istance this band of kneeling Chris- nanded: "Who are these people, t are they doing?" On being in- e added: "They are fighting then us, although unarmed;" and im- r he ordered his soldiers to fall : prostrate crowd. Twelve hun- them were slain.⁴ They prayed died. The Saxons forthwith pro- > Bangor, the chief seat of Chris- ning, and razed it to the ground. m was triumphant in England. vs of these massacres filled the with weeping and great mourning; riests of Romish consecration (and

the venerable Bede shared their sentiments) beheld in this cruel slaughter the accom- plishment of the prophecy of the *holy pontiff* Augustine;¹ and a national tradition among the Welsh for many ages pointed to him as the instigator of this cowardly butchery. Thus did Rome loose the savage Pagan against the primitive church of Britain, and fastened it all dripping with blood to her triumphal car. A great mystery of iniquity was accomplishing.

But while the Saxon sword appeared to have swept everything from before the papacy, the ground trembled under its feet, and seemed about to swallow it up. The hierarchical rather than Christian conver- sions effected by the priests of Rome were so unreal that a vast number of neophytes suddenly returned to the worship of their idols. Eadbald, king of Kent, was himself among the number of apostates. Such re- versions to paganism are not unfrequent in the history of the Romish missions. The bishops fled into Gaul: Mellitus and Justus had already reached the continent in safety, and Lawrence, Augustine's successor, was about to follow them. While lying in the church where he had desired to pass the night before leaving England, he groaned in spirit as he saw the work founded by Augustine perishing in his hands. He saved it by a miracle. The next morning he presented himself before the king with his clothes all disordered and his body covered with wounds. "Saint Peter," he said, "appeared to me during the night and scourged me severely because I was about to forsake his flock."² The *scourge* was a means of moral persuasion which Peter had forgotten in his epistles. Did Lawrence cause these blows to be inflicted by others—or did he inflict them himself—or is the whole account an idle dream? We should prefer adopting the latter hypothesis. The superstitious prince, excited at the news of this supernatural intervention, eagerly acknowledged the authority of the pope, the vicar of an apostle who so mercilessly scourged those who had the misfortune to displease him. If the dominion of Rome had then disappeared from England, it is probable, that the Britons, regaining their courage, and favoured in other respects by the wants which would have been felt by the Saxons, would have recovered from their defeat, and would have imparted their free Christianity to their conquerors. But now the Roman bishop seemed to remain master of England, and the faith of the Britons to be crushed for ever. But it was not so. A young man, sprung from the energetic race of the conquerors, was about

m cum fructibus accipere nollent, bellum ab- ent accepturi.... Bede, Hist. Ecc. ii. cap. ii. (Augustinum huius belli non modo conscium sed exstitisse. Wilkins adds, that the expression de, concerning the death of Augustine, is a pa- disted in by Romanist writers, and not found in manuscripts. Conc. Brit. p. 26. nortam aalem, peracto jejuniio triduo, cum causa conveniant. Bede, lib. ii. cap. ii. us in ea pugna ferunt de his qui ad orandum ros circiter mille ducentos. Ibid.

¹ Sic completum est presagium sancti pontificis Augusti- ni. Bede, lib. ii. cap. ii.

² Apparuit ei beatissimus apostolorum princeps, et mul- to illum tempore secretis noctis flagellis ascoribus ad- cense. Ibid. vi.

to become the champion of truth and liberty, and almost the whole island to be freed from the Roman yoke.

Oswald, an Anglo-Saxon Prince, son of the heathen and cruel Edelfrid, had been compelled by family reverses to take refuge in Scotland, when very young, accompanied by his brother Oswy and several other youthful chiefs. He had acquired the language of the country, been instructed in the truths of Holy Writ, converted by the grace of God, and baptized into the Scottish church.¹ He loved to sit at the feet of the elders of Iona and listen to their words. They showed him Jesus Christ going from place to place doing good, and he desired to do so likewise; they told him that Christ was the only head of the church, and he promised never to acknowledge any other. Being a single-hearted generous man, he was especially animated with tender compassion towards the poor, and would take off his own cloak to cover the nakedness of one of his brethren. Often, while mingling in the quiet assemblies of the Scottish Christians, he had desired to go as a missionary to the Anglo-Saxons. It was not long before he conceived the bold design of leading the people of Northumberland to the Saviour; but being a prince as well as a Christian, he determined to begin by reconquering the throne of his fathers. There was in this young Englishman the love of a disciple and the courage of a hero. At the head of an army, small indeed, but strong by faith in Christ,² he entered Northumberland, knelt with his troops in prayer on the field of battle, and gained a signal victory over a powerful enemy, 634 A. D.

To recover the kingdom of his ancestors was only a part of his task. Oswald desired to give his people the benefits of the true faith.³ The Christianity taught in 625 to King Edwin and the Northumbrians by Penda of York had disappeared amidst the ravages of the pagan armies. Oswald requested a missionary from the Scots who had given him an asylum, and they accordingly sent one of the brethren named Cormac, a pious but uncultivated and austere man. He soon returned dispirited to Iona: "The people to whom you sent me," he told the elders of that island, "are so obstinate that we must renounce all idea of changing their manners." As Aidan, one of their number, listened to this report, he said to himself: "If thy love had been offered to this people, oh, my Saviour, many hearts would have been touched!.....I will go and make Thee known—Thee who breaketh not the bruised reed!" Then, turning to the

missionary with a look of mild rep added: "Brother, you have been too towards hearers so dull of heart. You have given them spiritual milk to drink till they were able to receive more so. All eyes were fixed on the man who so wisely. "Aidan is worthy of the post," exclaimed the brethren of Iona like Timothy, he was consecrated laying on of the hands of the co-elders.⁴

Oswald received Aidan as an ar heaven, and as the missionary was of the Saxon language, the king panied him everywhere, standing side, and interpreting his gentle dis The people crowded joyfully around wald, Aidan, and other missionar Scotland and Ireland, listening ea the *Word of God*.⁵ The king pre his works still more than by his One day during Easter, as he was take his seat at table, he was infor a crowd of his subjects, driven by had collected before his palace ga stantly he ordered the food prep himself to be carried out and di among them; and taking the silve which stood before him, he broke pieces and commanded his ser divide them among the poor. introduced the knowledge of the S the people of Wessex, whither he to marry the king's daughter; and reign of nine years, he died at the his army while repelling an invasi idolatrous Mercians, headed by t Penda (5th August 642 A.D.) A he exclaimed: "Lord, have merc souls of my people!" This youthf has left a name dear to the chu Great Britain.

His death did not interrupt the of the missionaries. Their meek the recollection of Oswald endear to all. As soon as the villagers sight of one on the high-road, the throng round him, begging him them the *Word of life*.⁶ The fait the terrible Edelfrid thought he ha away in the blood of the worshi God, was re-appearing in every d and Rome, which once already in of Honorius had been forced t Britain, might be perhaps a seco compelled to flee to its ships from the face of a people who assert liberty.

¹ Cum magna nobilitate juventute apud Scotos sive Pictos exulabat, ibique ad doctrinam Scottorum catholicam et baptismatis gratia sunt recreati. Bede, lib. iii. cap. i.

² Superveniente cum parvo exercitu, sed fide Christi multo. Ibid.

³ Desiderans totam cui precesse cepit gentem fidelis Christiane gratia imbuti. Ibid. cap. iii.

⁴ Aidanus accepto gradu episcopatus, quo tempore monasterio Regulus abbas et presbyter prefuit. Ibid. cap. v. When Bede tells us that a plain priest, he excludes the idea that there were any assembly. See Timothy, iv. 14.

⁵ Evangelisante antistite, ipse Rex suis duce nistris interpretes verbi existeret coelestis. Bede, cap. iii.

⁶ Confluebant ad audiendum verbum Dei populi. Ibid.

⁷ Mox congregati in unum vicani, verbum vite petere curabant. Ibid. cap. xiv.

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CHAPTER III.

Character of Oswy—Death of Aidan—Wilfrid at Rome—At Oswald's Court—Finan and Colman—Independence of the Church attacked—Oswy's Conquests and Troubles—*Synodus Pharensis*—Cedda—Degeneration—The Disputation—Peter, the Gatekeeper—Triumph of Rome—Grief of the Britons—Popedom organized in England—Papal Exaltation—Archbishop Theodore—Cedda re-ordained—Discord in the Church—Disgrace and Treachery of Wilfrid—His end—Scotland attacked—Adarnan—Iona resists—A King converted by Architects—The Monk Egbert at Iona—His History—Monkish Visions—Fall of Iona.

THEN uprose the papacy. If victory remained with the Britons, their church, becoming entirely free, might even in these early times head a strong opposition against the papal monarchy. If, on the contrary, the last champions of liberty are defeated, centuries of slavery awaited the Christian church. We shall have to witness the struggle that took place ere long in the very palace of the Northumbrian kings.

Oswald was succeeded by his brother Oswy, a prince instructed in the free doctrine of the Britons, but whose religion was all external. His heart overflowed with ambition, and he shrank from no crime that might increase his power. The throne of Deira was filled by his relative Oswin, an amiable king, much beloved by his people. Oswy, conceiving a deadly jealousy towards him, marched against him at the head of an army, and Oswin, desirous of avoiding bloodshed, took shelter with a thief whom he had loaded with favours. But the latter offered to lead Oswy's soldiers to his hiding-place; and at dead of night the fugitive king was basely assassinated, the only of his servants fighting in his defence. The gentle Aidan died of sorrow at his cruel fate.¹ Such was the first exploit of that monarch who surrendered England to the papacy. Various circumstances tended to draw Oswy nearer Rome. He looked upon the Christian religion as a means of combining the Christian princes against the heathen Penda, and such a religion, in which expediency predominated, was not very unlike popery. And further, Oswy's wife, the proud Eanfled, was of the Roman communion. The private chaplain of this bigoted princess was a priest named Romanus, a man worthy of the name. He zealously maintained the rites of the Latin church, and accordingly the festival of Easter was celebrated at court twice in the year; for while the king, following the eastern rule, was joyfully commemorating the resurrection of our Lord, the queen, who adopted the Roman ritual, was keeping Palm Sunday with fasting and humiliation.² Eanfled and Romanus would often converse together on the means of winning over

Northumberland to the papacy. But the first step was to increase the number of its partisans, and the opportunity soon occurred.

A young Northumbrian, named Wilfrid, was one day admitted to an audience of the queen. He was a comely man, of extensive knowledge, keen wit, and enterprising character, of indefatigable activity, and insatiable ambition.³ In this interview he remarked to Eanfled: "The way which the Scotch teach us is not perfect; I will go to Rome and learn in the very temples of the apostles." She approved of his project, and with her assistance and directions he set out for Italy. Alas! he was destined at no very distant day to chain the whole British church to the Roman see. After a short stay at Lyons, where the bishop, delighted at his talents, would have desired to keep him, he arrived at Rome, and immediately became on the most friendly footing with archdeacon Boniface, the pope's favourite councillor. He soon discovered that the priests of France and Italy possessed more power both in ecclesiastical and secular matters than the humble missionaries of Iona; and his thirst for honours was inflamed at the court of the pontiffs. If he should succeed in making England submit to the papacy, there was no dignity to which he might not aspire. Henceforward this was his only thought, and he had hardly returned to Northumberland before Eanfled eagerly summoned him to court. A fanatical queen, from whom he might hope everything—a king with no religious convictions, and enslaved by political interests—a pious and zealous prince, Alfred, the king's son, who was desirous of imitating his noble uncle Oswald, and converting the pagans, but who had neither the discernment nor the piety of the illustrious disciple of Iona: such were the materials Wilfrid had to work upon. He saw clearly that if Rome had gained her first victory by the sword of Edelfrid, she could only expect to gain a second by craft and management. He came to an understanding on the subject with the queen and Romanus, and having been placed about the person of the young prince, by adroit flattery he soon gained over Alfred's mind. Then finding himself secure of two members of the royal family, he turned all his attention to Oswy.

The elders of Iona could not shut their eyes to the dangers which threatened Northumberland. They had sent Finan to supply Aidan's place, and this bishop, consecrated by the presbyters of Iona, had witnessed the progress of popery at the court; at first humble and inoffensive, and then increasing year by year in ambition and audacity. He had openly opposed the pon

¹ *Ardanus duodecimo post occisionem regis quem amara die de secundo ablatum. Beda, lib. III. cap. xiv.*
² *Cum rex pascha dominicum solutis jejuniis faceret, tunc prima cum suis persistens adhuc in jejuniu diem Palmam celebraret. Ibid. cap. xxv.*

³ *Acris erat ingenii...gratia venosti vultus, sinceritate actionis. Beda, lib. v. p. 135.*

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tiff's agents, and his frequent contests had confirmed him in the truth.¹ He was dead, and the presbyters of the Western Isles, seeing more clearly than ever the wants of Northumbria, had sent thither bishop Colman, a simple-minded but stout-hearted man,—one determined to oppose a front of adamant to the wiles of the seducers.

Yet Eanfled, Wilfrid, and Romanus were skilfully digging the mine that was to destroy the apostolic church of Britain. At first Wilfrid prepared his attack by adroit insinuations; and next declared himself openly in the king's presence. If Oswy withdrew into his domestic circle, he there found the bigoted Eanfled, who zealously continued the work of the Roman missionary. No opportunities were neglected; in the midst of the diversions of the court, at table, and even during the chase, discussions were perpetually raised on the controverted doctrines. Men's minds became excited: the Romanists already assumed the air of conquerors; and the Britons often withdrew full of anxiety and fear. The king, placed between his wife and his faith, and wearied by these disputes, inclined first to one side, and then to the other, as if he would soon fall altogether.

The papacy had more powerful motives than ever for coveting Northumberland. Oswy had not only usurped the throne of Deira, but after the death of the cruel Penda, who fell in battle in 654, he had conquered his states with the exception of a portion governed by his son-in-law Peada, the son of Penda. But Peada himself having fallen in a conspiracy said to have been got up by his wife, the daughter of Oswy, the latter completed the conquest of Mercia, and thus united the greatest part of England under his sceptre. Kent alone at that time acknowledged the jurisdiction of Rome: in every other province, free ministers, protected by the kings of Northumberland, preached the gospel. This wonderfully simplified the question. If Rome gained over Oswy, she would gain England: if she failed, she must sooner or later leave that island altogether.

This was not all. The blood of Oswyn, the premature death of Aidan, and other things besides, troubled the king's breast. He desired to appease the Deity he had offended, and not knowing that *Christ is the door*, as holy scripture tells us, he sought among men for a *doorkeeper* who would open to him the kingdom of heaven. He was far from being the last of those kings whom the necessity of expiating their crimes impelled towards Romish practices. The crafty Wilfrid, keeping alive both the hopes and fears of the prince, often spoke to him of Rome, and of the grace to be found

there. He thought that the fruit and that now he had only to shake. "We must have a public dispute, which the question may be settled all," said the queen and her advisers. Rome must take her part in it with pomp as her adversaries. Let the bishop to bishop." A Saxon bishop Agilbert, a friend of Wilfrid's, who the affection of the young prince Agilbert invited by Eanfled to the conference arrived in Northumberland after priest named Agathon. Alas! for church, the earthen vessel is dashed against the vase of iron must yield before the invading Rome.

On the coast of Yorkshire, at the extremity of a quiet bay, was the monastery of Stremseshalh, or W which Hilda, the pious daughter Edwin, was abbess. She, too, was of seeing a termination of the disputes which had agitated the church Wilfrid's return. On the shore North Sea¹ the struggle was to be between Britain and Rome, between East and the West, or, as they called it, between Saint John and Saint Peter. It was not a mere question about certain rules of discipline, but of doctrine of the freedom of the church Jesus Christ, or its enslavement to papacy. Rome, ever domineering for the second time to hold England in grasp, not by means of the sword, but her dogmas. With her usual concealment her enormous pretensions, secondary questions, and many thinkers were deceived by this mas-

The meeting took place in the town of Whitby. The king and his sons first; then, on the one side, Colman the bishops and elders of the Britons; on the other bishop Agilbert, Wilfrid, Romanus, a deacon named and several other priests of the Anglo-Saxon confession. Last of all came Hilda and her attendants, among whom was a bishop named Cadda, one of the Roman missionaries of the age.² He had preached the Gospel in the midland whence he turned his footsteps to the Anglo-Saxons of the East, and returning a great number of these had returned to Finan, and, an Englishman, had received Episcopal consecration from a bishop, who had self ordained by the elders of the preceding westwards, the evangelist founded churches, and

¹ This conference is generally known as *Pharæsis* (from *Stremseshalh*, sinus Phariæ, the diolter (White bay), et est villa in Eboracensis nota." Wilkins, *Concili*, p. 37, note.

² Presbyteri Cadda et Adda et Berit et D ultimis natione Scotice, ceteri fere Angli. cap. xxi.

¹ Apertum veritatis adversarium reddidit, says the Romanist Bede, lib. v. p. 126.

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ra and deacons wherever he went.¹ birth an Englishman, by ordination a chman, everywhere treated with respect consideration, he appeared to be set t as mediator in this solemn conference. intervention could not, however, retard victory of Rome. Alas! the primitive igelism had gradually given way to an asiasticism, coarse and rude in one e, subtle and insinuating in another. enever the priests were called upon to ify certain doctrines or ceremonies, ind of referring solely to the word of God, fountain of all light, they maintained : thus St James did at Jerusalem, St k at Alexandria, St John at Ephesus, t Peter at Rome. They gave the name *apostolical canons* to rules which the itles had never known. They even t further than this: at Rome and in the t, ecclesiasticism represented itself to be w of God, and from a state of weakness, us became a state of sin. Some marks his error were already beginning to ap- in the Christianity of the Britons.

ing Oswy was the first to speak: "As ants of one and the same God, we hope o enjoy the same inheritance in heaven; r then should we not have the same of life here below? Let us inquire ch is the true one, and follow it." "Those who sent me hither as bishop,"

Colman, "and who gave me the rule ch I observe, are the beloved of God. us beware how we despise their teach- for it is the teaching of Columba, of blessed evangelist John,² and of the rches over which that apostle presided."

As for us," boldly rejoined Wilfrid, for im as to the most skilful had bishop lbert intrusted the defence of their se, "our custom is that of Rome, where holy apostles Peter and Paul taught; found it in Italy and Gaul, nay, it is ad over every nation. Shall the Picts

Britons, cast on these two islands, on very confines of the ocean, dare to con- against the whole world?³ However y your Columba may have been, will prefer him to the prince of the apostles, rhom Christ said, *Thou art Peter, and I give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of en?*"

Wilfrid spoke with animation, and his ds being skilfully adapted to his au- ce, began to make them waver. He had ully substituted Columba for the apostle n, from whom the British church claim- descent, and opposed to Saint Peter a n elder of Iona. Oswy, whose idol was er, could not hesitate between paltry

bishops, and that pope of Rome who com- manded the whole world. Already imagin- ing he saw Peter at the gates of paradise, with the keys in his hand, he exclaimed with emotion: "Is it true, Colman, that these words were addressed by our Lord to Saint Peter?"—"It is true." "Can you prove that similar powers were given to your Columba?"—The bishop replied, "We can- not;" but he might have told the king: "John, whose doctrine we follow, and indeed every disciple, has received in the same sense as St Peter the power to remit sins, to bind and to loose on earth and in hea- ven."¹ But the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures was fading away in Iona, and the unsuspecting Colman had not observed Wilfrid's stratagem in substituting Co- lumba for Saint John. Upon this Oswy, delighted to yield to the continual solici- tations of the queen, and above all, to find some one who would admit him into the kingdom of heaven, exclaimed: "Peter is the doorkeeper, I will obey him, lest when I appear at the gate there should be no one to open it to me."² The spectators, car- ried away by this royal confession, hastened to give in their submission to the vicar of St Peter.

Thus did Rome triumph at the Whitby conference. Oswy forgot that the Lord had said: *I am he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth.*³ It was by ascribing to Peter the servant, what belongs to Jesus Christ the master, that the papacy reduced Britain. Oswy stretched out his hands, Rome riveted the chains, and the liberty which Oswald had given his church seemed at the last gasp.

Colman saw with grief and consternation Oswy and his subjects bending their knees before the foreign priests. He did not, how- ever, despair of the ultimate triumph of the truth. The apostolic faith could still find shelter in the old sanctuaries of the British church in Scotland and Ireland. Immoveable in the doctrine he had received, and resolute to uphold Christian liberty, Colman with- drew with those who would not bend be- neath the yoke of Rome, and returned to Scotland. Thirty Anglo-Saxons, and a great number of Britons, shook off the dust of their feet against the tents of the Romish priests. The hatred of popery became more intense day by day among the remainder of the Britons. Determined to repel its erroneous dogmas and its illegitimate do- minion, they maintained their communion with the Eastern Church, which was more ancient than that of Rome. They shuddered as they saw the red dragon of the Celts gradually retiring towards the western sea from before the white dragon of the Saxons.

hui accepto gradu episcopatus et majore auctoritate
m opus explens, fecit per loca ecclesiarum, presbyteros
aconos ordinavit. Beda, lib. iii. cap. xxii.
psunt aut quod beatus evangelista Johannes, discipu-
specialiter Domino directus. Ibid. cap. xxv.
fatos dico ac Britones, cum quibus de duabus ultimis
si insula, contra totum orbem stulto labore pagant.

¹ John xx. 23; Matth. xviii. 18.

² Ne forte me adjuvante ad fores regni caelorum, non
sit qui reserat. Beda, lib. iii. cap. xxv.

³ John x. 9; Matth. c.

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They ascribed their misfortunes to a horrible conspiracy planned by the iniquitous ambition of the foreign monks, and the bards in their chants cursed the negligent ministers who defended not the flock of the Lord against the wolves of Rome.¹ But vain were their lamentations!

The Romish priests, aided by the queen, lost no time. Wilfrid, whom Oswy desired to reward for his triumph, was named bishop of Northumberland, and he immediately visited Paris to receive episcopal consecration in due form. He soon returned, and proceeded with singular activity to establish the Romish doctrine in all the churches.² Bishop of a diocese extending from Edinburgh to Northampton, enriched with the goods which had belonged to divers monasteries, surrounded by a numerous train, served upon gold and silver plate, Wilfrid congratulated himself on having espoused the cause of the papacy; he offended every one who approached him by his insolence, and taught England how wide was the difference between the humble ministers of Iona and a Romish priest. At the same time Oswy, coming to an understanding with the king of Kent, sent another priest named Wighard to Rome to learn the pope's intentions respecting the church in England, and to receive consecration as archbishop of Canterbury. There was no episcopal ordination in England worthy of a priest! In the meanwhile Oswy, with all the zeal of a new convert, ceased not to repeat that "the Roman Church was the catholic and apostolic church," and thought night and day on the means of converting his subjects, hoping thus (says a pope) to redeem his own soul!³

The arrival of this news at Rome created a great sensation. Vitalian, who then filled the episcopal chair, and was as insolent to his bishops as he was fawning and servile to the emperor, exclaimed with transport: "Who would not be overjoyed!⁴ a king converted to the true apostolic faith, a people that believes at last in Christ the Almighty God!" For many long years this people had believed in Christ, but they were now beginning to believe in the pope, and the pope will soon make them forget Jesus the Saviour. Vitalian wrote to Oswy, and sent him—not copies of the Holy Scriptures (which were already becoming scarce at Rome), but—relics of the Saints, Peter, John, Lawrence, Gregory, and Pancratius; and being in an especial manner desirous of rewarding Queen Eanfled, to whom with Wilfrid belonged the glory of this work, he offered her a cross, made, as he assured her,

out of the chains of St Peter and St Paul! "Delay not," said the pope in conclusion, "to reduce all your island under Jesus Christ"—or, in other words, under the bishop of Rome.

The essential thing, however, was to send an archbishop from Rome to Britain; but Wighard was dead, and no one seemed willing to undertake so long a journey.⁵

There was not much zeal in the city of the pontiffs; and the pope was compelled to look out for a stranger. There happened at that time to be in Rome a man of great reputation for learning, who had come from the east, and adopted the rites and doctrines of the Latins in exchange for the knowledge he had brought them. He was pointed out to Vitalian as well qualified to be the metropolitan of England. Theodore, for such was his name, belonged by birth to the churches of Asia Minor, would be listened to by the Britons in preference to any other, when he solicited them to abandon their oriental customs. The Roman pontiff, however, fearful perhaps that he might yet entertain some leaven of his former Greek doctrines, gave him as companion, or rather as overseer, a zealous African monk named Adrian.⁶

Theodore began the great crusade against British Christianity, and endeavouring to show the sincerity of his conversion by his zeal, he traversed all England in company with Adrian,⁷ everywhere imposing on the people that ecclesiastical supremacy to which Rome is indebted for her political supremacy. The superiority of character which distinguished Saint Peter, Theodore transformed into a superiority of office. For the jurisdiction of Christ and his word, he substituted that of the bishop of Rome and of his decrees. He insisted on the necessity of ordination by bishops who, in an unbroken chain, could trace back their authority to the apostles themselves. The British still maintained the validity of their consecration; but the number was small of those who understood that pretended successors of the apostles, who sometimes carry Satan in their hearts, are not true ministers of Christ; that the one thing needful for the church is, that the apostles themselves (and not their successors only) should dwell in its bosom by their word, by their teaching, and by the Divine Comforter who shall be with it for ever and ever.

The grand defection now began: the best were sometimes the first to yield. When Theodore met Cedda, who had been conse-

¹ *Norm Britannicæ*, b. ii. p. 277.

² *Ipsæ per plura catholicæ observationis moderamina ecclesiis Anglorum sua doctrina contulit.* Cedda, lib. iii. cap. xxviii.

³ *Omnes subiectos suos meditantur die ac nocte ad fidem catholicam atque apostolicam per sui animæ redemptionem converteri.* Ibid. xxix.

⁴ *Quis enim audire hæc sceleris non intoret?* Ibid.

⁵ *Coniunct, nostræ spirituali filiæ, crucem....* Ibid. iii. cap. xxix.

⁶ *Minimo volumus nunc reperire pro longinquitate Iberiæ.* Ibid.

⁷ *Ut diligenter attenderet, ne quid ille contrarium esset, sed. Gregorium more, in ecclesiâ eum processit in troducitur.* Ibid. lib. iv. cap. i.

⁸ *Paragata facula tota, rectum vivendi ordinem illustrabat.* Ibid. cap. ii.

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bishop who had himself received from the elders of Iona, he said "You have not been regularly Ceddæ, instead of standing up a truth, gave way to a carnal reply: "I never thought of the episcopate, and am it down."—"No," said Theobald remain a bishop, but I will anew according to the catho-

The British minister sube triumphant felt herself strong ny the imposition of hands of Iona, which she had hitherto

The most steadfast believers Scotland.

ner a church in some respects still a church in which the nent held the foremost place, l by another in which the clepredominated. This was soon estions of authority and preerto unknown among the Brias, were now of daily occurid, who had fixed his residence ght that no one deserved beto be primate of all England; s on his part was irritated at one assumed by this bishop. ife of Oswy, peace was mainilfrid was his favourite; but prince fell ill; and, terrified approach of death, he vowed covered he would make a pillome and there end his days.² be my guide to the city of the said to Wilfrid, "I will give sum of money." But his vow ail: Oswy died in the spring '0 A.D.

set aside Prince Alfred, and youngest brother Egfrid to the new monarch, who had often d by Wilfrid's insolence, dehaughty prelate to the archbishing could be more agreeable

He assembled a council at ore which the chief of his conrst summoned, and presenting : the holy scripture but the e *Romish church*.³ he received oaths: such was the religion n England. But this was not cense of our brother Wilfrid is "said the primate, "that there for four bishops." They were ordingly. Wilfrid indignantly i the primate and the king to Who converted England, who, and it is thus I am rewardallowing himself to be checked

by the difficulties of the journey, he set out for Rome, attended by a few monks, and Pope Agathon assembling a council (679), the Englishman presented his complaint, and the pontiff declared the destitution to be illegal. Wilfrid immediately returned to England, and haughtily presented the pope's decree to the king. But Egfrid, who was not of a disposition to tolerate these transalpine manners, far from restoring the see, cast the prelate into prison, and did not release him until the end of the year, and then only on condition that he would immediately quit Northumbria.

Wilfrid—for we must follow even to the end of his life that remarkable man, who exercised so great an influence over the destinies of the English church—Wilfrid was determined to be a bishop at any cost. The kingdom of Sussex was still pagan; and the deposed prelate, whose indefatigable activity we cannot but acknowledge, formed the resolution of winning a bishopric, as other men plan the conquest of a kingdom. He arrived in Sussex during a period of famine, and having brought with him a number of nets, he taught the people the art of fishing, and thus gained their affections. Their king Edilwalch had been baptized, his subjects now followed his example, and Wilfrid was placed at the head of the church. But he soon manifested the disposition by which he was animated: he furnished supplies of men and money to Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, and this cruel chieftain made a fierce inroad into Sussex, laying it waste, and putting to death Edilwalch, the prelate's benefactor. The career of the turbulent bishop was not ended. King Egfrid died, and was succeeded by his brother Alfred, whom Wilfrid had brought up, a prince fond of learning and religion, and emulous of the glory of his uncle Oswald. The ambitious Wilfrid hastened to claim his see of York, by acquiescing in the partition; it was restored to him, and he forthwith began to plunder others to enrich himself. A council begged him to submit to the decrees of the church of England: he refused, and having lost the esteem of the king, his former pupil, he undertook, notwithstanding his advanced years, a third journey to Rome. Knowing how popes are won, he threw himself at the pontiff's feet, exclaiming that "the suppliant bishop Wilfrid, the humble slave of the servant of God, implored the favour of our most blessed lord, the pope universal." The bishop could not restore his creature to his see, and the short remainder of Wilfrid's life was spent in the midst of the riches his cupidity had so unworthily accumulated.

Yet he had accomplished the task of his life: all England was subservient to the papacy. The names of *Oswy* and of *Wilfrid* should be inscribed in letters of mourning in the annals of Great Britain. Posterity

¹Episcopum argueret non fuisse rite consecratus) ordinationem ejus denuo catholicavit. Bedæ, lib. iv. cap. ii. mitate salvetur, etiam Romam venire, nota vitam finire. Ibid.
²a prelati cunctos Romanos concitavit. Ibid.

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has erred in permitting them to sink into oblivion; for they were two of the most influential and energetic men that ever flourished in England. Still this very forgetfulness is not wanting in generosity. The grave in which the liberty of the church lay buried for nine centuries is the only monument—a mournful one indeed—that should perpetuate their memory.

But Scotland was still free, and to secure the definitive triumph of Rome, it was necessary to invade that virgin soil, over which the standard of the faith had floated for so many years.

Adamnan was then at the head of the church of Iona, the first elder of that religious house. He was virtuous and learned, but weak and somewhat vain, and his religion had little spirituality. To gain him was in the eyes of Rome to gain Scotland. A singular circumstance favoured the plans of those who desired to draw him into the papal communion. One day during a violent tempest, a ship coming from the Holy Land, and on board of which was a Gaulish bishop named Arculf, was wrecked in the neighbourhood of Iona.¹ Arculf eagerly sought an asylum among the pious inhabitants of that island. Adamnan never grew tired of hearing the stranger's descriptions of Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and Golgotha, of the sun-burnt plains over which our Lord had wandered, and the cleft stone which still lay before the door of the sepulchre.² The elder of Iona, who prided himself on his learning, noted down Arculf's conversation, and from it composed a description of the Holy Land. As soon as his book was completed, the desire of making these wondrous things more widely known, combined with a little vanity, and perhaps other motives, urged him to visit the court of Northumberland, where he presented his work to the pious King Alfred,³ who, being fond of learning and of the Christian traditions, caused a number of copies of it to be made.

Nor was this all: the Romish clergy perceived the advantage they might derive from this imprudent journey. They crowded round the elder; they showed him all the pomp of their worship, and said to him: "Will you and your friends, who live at the very extremity of the world, set yourselves in opposition to the observances of the universal church?"⁴ The nobles of the court flattered the author's self-love, and invited him to their festivities, while the king loaded him with presents. The free presbyter of Britain became a priest of Rome,

and Adamnan returned to Iona to betray his church to his new masters. But it was all to no purpose: Iona would not give way.⁵ He then went to hide his shame in Ireland, where having brought a few individuals to the Romish uniformity, he took courage and revisited Scotland. But that country, still inflexible, repelled him with indignation.⁶

When Rome found herself unable to conquer by the priest, she had recourse to the prince, and her eyes were turned to Naitam, king of the Piets. "How much more glorious it would be for you," urged the Latin priests, "to belong to the powerful church of the universal pontiff of Rome, than to a congregation superintended by miserable elders! The Romish church is a monarchy, and ought to be the church of every monarch. The Roman ceremonial accords with the pomp of royalty, and its temples are palaces." The prince was convinced by the last argument. He despatched messengers to Ceolfrid, the abbot of an English convent, begging him to send him *architects* capable of building a church after the *Roman pattern*⁷—of stone and not of wood. Architects, majestic porches, lofty columns, vaulted roofs, gilded altars, have often proved the most influential of Rome's missionaries. The builder's art, though in its earliest and simplest days, was more powerful than the Bible. Naitam, who, by submitting to the pope, thought himself the equal of Clovis and Clotaire, assembled the nobles of his court and the pastors of his church, and thus addressed them: "I recommend all the clergy of my kingdom to receive the tonsure of Saint Peter."⁸ Then without delay (as Bede informs us) this important revolution was accomplished by royal authority.⁹ He sent agents and letters into every province, and caused all the ministers and monks to receive the circular tonsure according to the Roman fashion.¹⁰ It was the mark that popery stamped, not on the forehead, but on the crown. A royal proclamation and a few clips of the scissors placed the Scotch, like a flock of sheep, beneath the crook of the shepherd of the Tiber.

Iona still held out. The orders of the Pictish king, the example of his subjects, the sight of that Italian power which was devouring the earth, had shaken some few minds; but the Church still resisted the innovation. Iona was the last citadel of liberty in the western world, and popery was filled with anger at that miserable

¹ Vi tempestatis in occidentalis Britannie littora delatatus est. Bede, lib. v. cap. xvi.

² Lapide qui ad ostium monumenti positus erat, fissus est. Ibid. cap. xvii.

³ Porrexit autem librum tunc Adamnanus Alfrido regi. Ibid. cap. xvi.

⁴ Ne contra universalem ecclesiam morem, cum suis paucissimis et in extremo mundi angulo positis, vivere presumeret. Ibid.

⁵ Curavit suos ad eum veritatis calcem producers, ne voluit. Bede, lib. v. cap. xvi.

⁶ Nec tamen perficere quod conabatur potest. Ibid. The conversions of which abbot Ceolfrid speaks in chap. xlii. are probably those effected in Ireland, the word Scotia being at this period frequently applied to that country.

⁷ Architectos sibi mitti petiit qui iuxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam facerent. Ibid. lib. v. cap. xlii.

⁸ Et hanc accipere tonsuram, omnes qui in meo regno sunt clericos decerno. Ibid.

⁹ Nec mora, quam dixerat regia auctoritate perfecit. Ibid.

¹⁰ Per universas Pictorum provincias....tondebantur omnes in coronam ministri altaris ac monachi. Ibid.

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which in its remote corner refused to before it. Human means appeared feebly to conquer this rock: something was needed, visions and miracles for the people; and these Rome always finds when she wants them. One day towards the end of the seventh century, an Englishman, named Egbert, arriving from Ireland, appeared before the elders of Iona, received him with their accustomed hospitality. He was a man in whom enthusiastic devotion was combined with greatness of heart, and he soon won upon the minds of these simple believers. He spoke to them of an external unity, urging a universality manifested under different forms was unsuited to the church of that time. He advocated the special form of Christianity, and for the truly catholic element among the Christians of Iona had thus far secured, substituted a sectarian element. He attacked the traditions of the British Church,¹ and lavishly distributing the riches confided to him by the lords of Ireland and of England,² he soon had ready to acknowledge the truth of the saying of a wise man: *A gift is as a precious stone in the eyes of him that hath it: whither it turneth it prospereth.* The precious souls, however, still held out against him. The enthusiast Egbert—for such he appears to have been rather than an impostor—had recourse to other means. He identified himself to be a messenger from heaven: the saints themselves, said he, have commissioned me to convert Iona; and then he told the following history to the elders who stood round him. "About thirty years before I entered the monastery of Rathmelfrig, Ireland, when a terrible pestilence fell upon it, and of all the brethren the monk and myself were left alone. Attacked by the plague, and fearing my last hour was come, I rose from my bed and went into the chapel.³ There my whole mind remem- bered at the recollection of my sins, my face was bathed with tears. 'O Lord,' I exclaimed, 'suffer me not to die until thou have redeemed my debt to thee by an abundance of good works.'⁴ I returned from going to the infirmary, got into bed, and fell asleep. When I awoke, I saw upon my wall his eyes fixed on mine. 'Brother Egbert,' said he, 'it has been revealed to me in a vision that thou shalt reward what thou hast asked.' On the following night Edelhun died and I recovered. Many years passed away: my repentance and my vigils did not satisfy me, and

wishing to pay my debt, I resolved to go with a company of monks and preach the blessings of the gospel to the heathens of Germany. But during the night a blessed saint from heaven appeared to one of the brethren and said: 'Tell Egbert that he must go to the monasteries of Columba, for their ploughs do not plough straight, and he must put them into the right furrow.'⁵ I forbade this brother to speak of his vision, and went on board a ship bound for Germany. We were waiting for a favourable wind, when, of a sudden, in the middle of the night, a frightful tempest burst upon the vessel, and drove us on the shoals. 'For my sake this tempest is upon us,' I exclaimed in terror; 'God speaks to me as He did to Jonah;' and I ran to take refuge in my cell. At last I determined to obey the command which the holy man had brought me. I left Ireland, and came among you, in order to pay my debt by converting you. And now," continued Egbert, "make answer to the voice of heaven, and submit to Rome."

A ship thrown on shore by a storm was a frequent occurrence on those coasts, and the dream of a monk, absorbed in the plans of his brother, was nothing very unnatural. But in those times of darkness, everything appeared miraculous; phantoms and apparitions had more weight than the word of God. Instead of detecting the emptiness of these visions by the falseness of the religion they were brought to support, the elders of Iona listened seriously to Egbert's narrative. The primitive faith planted on the rock of Icolmkill was now like a pine-tree tossed by the winds: but one gust, and it would be uprooted and blown into the sea. Egbert, perceiving the elders to be shaken, redoubled his prayers, and even had recourse to threats. "All the west," said he, "bends the knee to Rome: alone against all, what can you do?" The Scotch still resisted: obscure and unknown, the last British Christians contended in behalf of expiring liberty. At length bewildered—they stumbled and fell. The scissors were brought; they received the Latin tonsure⁶—they were the pope's.

Thus fell Scotland. Yet there still remained some sparks of grace, and the mountains of Caledonia long concealed the hidden fire which after many ages burst forth with such power and might. Here and there a few independent spirits were to be found who testified against the tyranny of Rome. In the time of Bede they might be seen "halting in their paths," (to use the words of the Romish historian,) refusing to join in the holidays of the pontifical adherents, and pushing away the hands that

¹ In exhortationibus inveteratam illam traditionem corripuit. Bedæ, lib. v. cap. xliii.

² De largiendi de his que a divitibus acceperat, multavit. Ibid. cap. xxvii.

³ Ne existimaret esse moriturum, egressus est templum de cubiculo, et residens solus.... Ibid. lib. xxvii.

⁴ Abatur ne adhuc mori deberet priusquam vel pre-
cipientias perfectionis ex tempore castigaret, vel
se operibus abundantius exercebat. Ibid.

⁵ Quia anxia eorum non recte incedunt; oportet autem eum ad rectam hanc tramitem revocare. Bedæ, lib. iii. cap. xxvii.

⁶ Ad istum tonsum convalidum, qui tunc in usum venit. Ibid. lib. v. cap. xliii.

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were eager to shave their crowns.¹ But the leaders of the state and of the church had laid down their arms. The contest was over, after lasting more than a century. British Christianity had in some degree prepared its own fall, by substituting too often the form for the faith. The foreign superstition took advantage of this weakness, and triumphed in these islands by means of royal decrees, church ornaments, monkish phantoms, and conventual apparitions. At the beginning of the eighth century the British Church became the serf of Rome; but an internal struggle was commencing, which did not cease until the period of the Reformation.

CHAPTER IV.

Clement—Struggle between a Scotchman and an Englishman—Word of God only—Clement's Success—His Condemnation—Virgil and the Antipodes—John Scotus and Philosophical Religion—Alfred and the Bible—Darkness and Poverty—William the Conqueror—Wulston at Edward's Tomb—Struggle between William and Hildebrand—The Pope yields—Cesaropapia.

THE independent Christians of Scotland, who subordinated the authority of man to that of God, were filled with sorrow as they beheld these backslidings: and it was this no doubt which induced many to leave their homes and fight in the very heart of Europe in behalf of that Christian liberty which had just expired among themselves.

At the commencement of the eighth century a great idea took possession of a pious doctor of the Scottish church named Clement.² The *work of God* is the very essence of Christianity, thought he, and this work must be defended against all the encroachments of man. To human traditionalism he opposed the sole authority of the word of God; to clerical materialism, a church which is the assembly of the saints; and to Pelagianism, the sovereignty of grace. He was a man of decided character and firm faith, but without fanaticism; his heart was open to the holiest emotions of our nature; he was a husband and a father. He quitted Scotland and travelled among the Franks, everywhere scattering the seeds of the faith. It happened unfortunately that a man of kindred energy, Winifrid or Boniface of Wessex, was planting the pontifical Christianity in the same regions. This great missionary, who possessed in an essential degree the faculty of organization, aimed at external unity above all things, and when he had taken the oath of fidelity to Gregory II., he had received

from that pope a collection of the Roman laws. Boniface, henceforth a docile disciple or rather a fanatical champion of Rome, supported on the one hand by the pontiff, and on the other by Charles Martel, had preached to the people of Germany, among some undoubted Christian truths,—the doctrine of tithes and of papal supremacy. The Englishman and the Scotchman, representatives of two great systems, were about to engage in deadly combat in the heart of Europe—in a combat whose consequences might be incalculable.

Alarmed at the progress made by Clement's evangelical doctrines, Boniface, archbishop of the German churches, undertook to oppose them. At first he confronted the Scotchman with the laws of the Roman church; but the latter denied the authority of these ecclesiastical canons, and refuted their contents.³ Boniface then put forward the decisions of various councils; but Clement replied that if the decisions of the councils are contrary to holy Scripture, they have no authority over Christians.⁴ The archbishop, astonished at such audacity, next had recourse to the writings of the most illustrious fathers of the Latin church, quoting Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory; but the Scotchman told him, that instead of submitting to the word of men, he would obey the word of God alone.⁵ Boniface with indignation now introduced the Catholic church which, by its priests and bishops, all united to the pope, forms an invincible unity; but to his great surprise his opponent maintained that there only, where the Holy Spirit dwells, can be found the spouse of Jesus Christ.⁶ Vainly did the archbishop express his horror; Clement was not to be turned aside from his great idea, either by the clamours of the followers of Rome, or by the imprudent attacks made on the papacy by other Christian ministers.

Rome had, indeed, other adversaries. A Gallic bishop named Adalbert, with whom Boniface affected to associate Clement, one day saw the archbishop complacently exhibiting to the people some relics of St Peter which he had brought from Rome; and being desirous of showing the ridiculous character of these Romish practices, he distributed among the bystanders his own hair and nails, praying them to pay these the same honours as Boniface claimed for the relics of the papacy. Clement smiled, like many others, at Adalbert's singular argument; but it was not with such arms that he was wont to fight. Gifted with profound discernment, he had remarked that the authority of man substituted

¹ *Sicut e contra Britones, inveterati et claudicantes a pemitis suis, et capita ferre sine corona pretendunt.* Beda, lib. v, cap. xliii.

² *Alter qui dicitur Clement, genere Scotus est.* Bonifacii epistola ad Papam, Labbei concilia ad. 949, 746.

³ *Canones ecclesiarum Christi abnegat et refutat.* Bonifacii epistola ad Papam, Labbei concilia ad. 949, 746.

⁴ *Synodalia jura spernens.* Ibid.

⁵ *Tractatus et sermones sanctorum patrum, Hieronymi, Augustini, Gregorii recensat.* Ibid.

⁶ *Clemente sanctis catholicis pontificis coactionem.* Ibid.

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for the authority of God was the source of all the errors of Romanism. At the same time he maintained on predestination what the archbishop called "horrible doctrines, contrary to the Catholic faith."¹ Clement's character inclines us to believe that he was favourable to the doctrine of predestination. A century later the pious Gottschalk was persecuted by one of Boniface's successors for holding this very doctrine of Augustine's. Thus then did a Scotchman, the representative of the ancient faith of his country, withstand almost unaided in the centre of Europe the invasion of the Romans. But he was not long alone: the great especially, more enlightened than the common people, thronged around him. If Clement had succeeded, a Christian church would have been founded on the continent independent of the papacy.

Boniface was confounded. He wished to do in central Europe what his fellow-countryman Wilfrid had done in England; and at the very moment he fancied he was advancing from triumph to triumph, victory escaped from his hands. He turned against this new enemy, and applying to Charles Martel's sons, Pepin and Carloman, he obtained their consent to the assembling of a council before which he summoned Clement to appear.

The bishops, counts, and other notabilities having met at Soissons on the 2d March 744, Boniface accused the Scotchman of despising the laws of Rome, the councils, and the fathers; attacked his marriage, which he called an adulterous union, and called in question some secondary points of doctrine. Clement was accordingly excommunicated by Boniface, at once his adversary, accuser, and judge, and thrown into prison, with the approbation of the pope and the king of the Franks.²

The Scotchman's cause was everywhere taken up; accusations were brought against the German primate, his persecuting spirit was severely condemned, and his exertions for the triumph of the papacy were resisted.³ Carloman yielded to this unanimous movement. The prison doors were opened, and Clement had hardly crossed the threshold before he began to protest boldly against human authority in matters of faith: the word of God is the only rule. Upon this Boniface applied to Rome for the heretic's condemnation, and accompanied his request by a silver cup and a garment of delicate texture.⁴ The pope decided in synod that if Clement did not retract his errors, he

should be delivered up to everlasting damnation, and then requested Boniface to send him to Rome under a sure guard. We here lose all traces of the Scotchman, but it is easy to conjecture what must have been his fate.

Clement was not the only Briton who became distinguished in this contest. Two fellow-countrymen, Sampson and Virgil, who preached in central Europe, were in like manner persecuted by the Church of Rome. Virgil, anticipating Galileo, dared maintain that there were other men and another world beneath our feet.⁵ He was denounced by Boniface for this *heresy*, and condemned by the pope, as were other Britons, for the apostolical simplicity of their lives. In 813, certain Scotchmen who called themselves bishops, says a canon, having appeared before a council of the Roman church at Châlons, were rejected by the French prelates, because, like St Paul, *they worked with their own hands*. Those enlightened and faithful men were superior to their time: Boniface and his ecclesiastical materialism were better fitted for an age in which clerical forms were regarded as the substance of religion.

Even Great Britain, although its light was not so pure, was not altogether plunged in darkness. The Anglo-Saxons imprinted on their church certain characteristics which distinguished it from that of Rome; several books of the Bible were translated into their tongue, and daring spirits on the one hand, with some pious souls on the other, laboured in a direction hostile to popery.

At first we see the dawning of that philosophic rationalism, which gives out a certain degree of brightness, but which can neither conquer error nor still less establish truth. In the ninth century there was a learned scholar in Ireland, who afterwards settled at the court of Charles the Bald. He was a strange mysterious man, of profound thought, and as much raised above the doctors of his age by the boldness of his ideas, as Charlemagne above the princes of his day by the force of his will. John Scot Erigena—that is, a native of Ireland and not of Ayr, as some have supposed—was a meteor in the theological heavens. With a great philosophic genius he combined a cheerful jesting disposition. One day, while seated at table opposite to Charles the Bald, the latter archly inquired of him: "What is the distance between a *Scot* and a *so?*?" "The width of the table," was his ready answer, which drew a smile from the king. While the doctrine of Bede, Boniface, and even Alcuin was traditional, servile, and, in one word, Romanist, that of Scot was mystical, philosophic, free, and daring. He sought for the truth not in the word or in

¹ *Multa alia horribilia de predestinatione Del. contraria sed catholicis affirmata. Bonifacii epistolæ ad Papam, Labbei concilia ad ann. 745.*

² *Sacerdotio privata, reclusus facit in custodiam. Concilium Romanum. Ibid.*

³ *Propter istas enim, persecutiones et inimicitias et maleditiones multorum populorum pascior. Ibid.*

⁴ *Poculum argenteum et studeam unam. Gemelli Ep. lib. vi. p. 102.*

⁵ *Perverra doctrina... quod alius mundus et alii homines sub terra sint. Eucharis papa Ep. ad Bonif. Labbei conc. lib. vi. p. 102.*

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the Church, but in himself:—"The knowledge of ourselves is the true source of religious wisdom. Every creature is a theophany—a manifestation of God; since revelation presupposes the existence of truth, it is this truth, which is above revelation, with which man must set himself in immediate relation, leaving him at liberty to show afterwards its harmony with scripture, and the other theophanies. We must first employ reason, and then authority. Authority proceeds from reason, and not reason from authority."¹ Yet this bold thinker, when on his knees, could give way to aspirations full of piety: "O Lord Jesus," exclaimed he, "I ask no other happiness of Thee, but to understand, unmixed with deceitful theories, the word that Thou hast inspired by thy Holy Spirit! Show thyself to those who ask for Thee alone!" But while Scot rejected on the one hand certain traditional errors, and in particular the doctrine of transubstantiation which was creeping into the church, he was near falling as regards God and the world into other errors savouring of pantheism.² The philosophic rationalism of the contemporary of Charles the Bald—the strange product of one of the obscurest periods of history (850)—was destined after the lapse of many centuries to be taught once more in Great Britain as a modern invention of the most enlightened age.

While Scot was thus plumbing the depths of philosophy, others were examining their Bibles; and if thick darkness had not spread over these first glimpses of the dawn, perhaps the Church of Great Britain might even then have begun to labour for the regeneration of Christendom. A youthful prince, thirsting for intellectual enjoyments, for domestic happiness, and for the word of God, and who sought, by frequent prayer, for deliverance from the bondage of sin, had ascended the throne of Wessex,³ in the year 871. Alfred being convinced that Christianity alone could rightly mould a nation, assembled round him the most learned men from all parts of Europe, and was anxious that the English, like the Hebrews, Greeks, and Latins, should possess the holy scripture in their own language. He is the real patron of the biblical work,—a title far more glorious than that of founder of the university of Oxford. After having fought more than fifty battles by land and sea, he died while translating the Psalms of David for his subjects.⁴

After this gleam of light thick darkness once more settled upon Great Britain. Nine Anglo-Saxon kings ended their days in monasteries; there was a seminary in Rome

from which every year fresh scholars bore to England the new forms of popery; the celibacy of priests, that cement of the Romish hierarchy, was established by a bull about the close of the tenth century; convents were multiplied, considerable possessions were bestowed on the Church, and the tax of *Peter's pence*, laid at the pontiff's feet, proclaimed the triumph of the papal system. But a reaction soon took place: England collected her forces for a war against the papacy—a war at one time secular and at another spiritual. William of Normandy, Edward III., Wickliffe, and the Reformation, are the four ascending steps of protestantism in England.

A proud, enterprising, and far-sighted prince, the illegitimate son of a peasant girl of Falaise and Robert the Devil, duke of Normandy, began a contest with the papacy which lasted until the Reformation. William the Conqueror, having defeated the Saxons at Hastings in 1066 A.D., took possession of England, under the benediction of the Roman pontiff. But the conquered country was destined to conquer its master. William, who had invaded England in the pope's name, had no sooner touched the soil of his new kingdom, than he learned to resist Rome, as if the ancient liberty of the British Church had revived in him. Being firmly resolved to allow no foreign prince or prelate to possess in his dominions a jurisdiction independent of his own, he made preparations for a conquest far more difficult than that of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. The papacy itself furnished him with weapons. The Roman legates prevailed on the king to dispossess the English episcopacy in a mass, and this was exactly what he wished. To resist the papacy, William desired to be sure of the submission of the priests of England. Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was removed, and Lanfranc of Pavia, who had been summoned from Bec in Normandy to fill his place, was commissioned by the Conqueror to bend the clergy to obedience. This prelate, who was regular in his life, abundant in almsgiving, a learned disputant, a prudent politician, and a skilful mediator, finding that he had to choose between his master King William and his friend the pontiff Hildebrand, gave the prince the preference. He refused to go to Rome, notwithstanding the threats of the pope, and applied himself resolutely to the work the king had intrusted to him. The Saxons sometimes resisted the Normans, as the Britons had resisted the Saxons; but the second struggle was less glorious than the first. A synod at which the king was present having met in the abbey of Westminster, William commanded Wulston, bishop of Worcester, to give up his crosier to him. The old man rose, animated with holy fervour: "O king," he said, "from a better man than you I re-

¹ *Præ ratione utendum ac deinde auctoritate. Auctoritas ex vera ratione procedit, ratio vero nequaquam ex auctoritate. De div. prædestin.*

² *Deum in omnibus esse. De divisione naturæ, b. 24.*

³ A portion of the law of God translated by Alfred may be found in *Wicliffe, Concilia*, l. p. 100 et seq.

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ceived it, and to him only will I return it."¹ Unhappily this "better man" was not Jesus Christ. Then approaching the tomb of Edward the Confessor, he continued: "O my master, it was you who compelled me to assume this office; but now behold a new king and a new primate who promulgate new laws. Not unto them, O master, but unto you, do I resign my crosier and the care of my flock." With these words Wulston laid his pastoral staff on Edward's tomb. On the sepulchre of the confessor perished the liberty of the Anglo-Saxon hierarchy. The deprived Saxon bishops were consigned to fortresses or shut up in convents.

The Conqueror being thus assured of the obedience of the bishops, put forward the supremacy of the sword in opposition to that of the pope. He nominated directly to all vacant ecclesiastical offices, filled his treasury with the riches of the churches, required that all priests should make oath to him, forbade them to excommunicate his officers without his consent, not even for incest, and declared that all synodal decisions must be countersigned by him. "I claim," said he to the archbishop one day, raising his arms towards heaven, "I claim to hold in this hand all the pastoral staffs in my kingdom."² Lanfranc was astonished at this daring speech, but prudently kept silent,³ for a time at least. Episcopacy con-
nived at the royal pretensions.

Will Hildebrand, the most inflexible of popes, bend before William? The king was earnest in his desire to enslave the Church to the state; the pope to enslave the State to the Church: the collision of these two mighty champions threatened to be terrible. But the haughtiest of pontiffs was seen to yield as soon as he felt the mail-clad hand of the Conqueror, and to shrink unresistingly before it. The pope filled all Christendom with confusion, that he might deprive princes of the right of investiture to ecclesiastical dignities: William would not permit him to interfere with that question in England, and Hildebrand submitted. The king went even farther: the pope, wishing to enslave the clergy, deprived the priests of their lawful wives; William got a decree passed by the council of Winchester in 1076 to the effect that the married priests living in castles and towns should not be compelled to put away their wives.⁴ This was too much: Hildebrand summoned Lanfranc to Rome, but William forbade him to go. "Never did king, not even a pagan," ex-

claimed Gregory, "attempt against the holy see what this man does not fear to carry out!"¹.....To console himself, he demanded payment of the *Peter's pence*, and an oath of fidelity. William sent the money, but refused the homage; and when Hildebrand saw the tribute which the king had paid, he said bitterly: "What value can I set on money which is contributed with so little honour!"² William forbade his clergy to recognise the pope, or to publish a bull without the royal approbation, which did not prevent Hildebrand from styling him the "pearl of princes."³ "It is true," said he to his legate, "that the English king does not behave in certain matters so religiously as we could desire.....Yet beware of exasperating him.....We shall win him over to God and St Peter more surely by mildness and reason than by strictness or severity."⁴ In this manner the pope acted like the archbishop—*siluit*: he was silent. It is for feeble governments that Rome reserves her energies.

The Norman kings, desirous of strengthening their work, constructed Gothic cathedrals in the room of wooden churches, in which they installed their soldier-bishops, as if they were strong fortresses. Instead of the moral power and the humble crook of the shepherd, they gave them secular power and a staff. The religious episcopate was succeeded by a political one. William Rufus went even to greater lengths than his father. Taking advantage of the schism which divided the papacy, he did without a pope for ten years, leaving abbeys, bishoprics, and even Canterbury vacant, and scandalously squandering their revenues. Cæsaropapia (which transforms a king into a pope) having thus attained its greatest excess, a sacerdotal reaction could not fail to take place.

The papacy is about to rise up again in England, and royalty to decline—two movements which are always found combined in Great Britain.

CHAPTER V.

Anselm's Firmness—Becket's Austerity—The King scourged—John becomes the Pope's Vassal—Collision between Popery and Liberty—The Vassal King ravages his Kingdom—Religion of the Senses and Superstition.

WE are now entering upon a new phase of history. Romanism is on the point of triumphing by the exertions of learned men.

¹ *Divino animi ardore repente inflammatus, regi inquit: Vellor te his me ornavit cui et reddam.* Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 367.

² *Respondit rex et dixit se velle omnes baculos pastorales Anglie in manu sua tenere.* Script. Anglie, Lond. 1652, fol. 137.

³ *Lanfranc ad hæc miratus est, sed propter majores ecclesie Christi utilitates, quas sine rege perficere non potuit, ad tempus siluit.* Ibid.

⁴ *Sacerdotes vero in castellis vel in vicis habitantes habentes uxores, non cogantur ut dimittant.* Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. p. 367.

¹ *Nemo enim omnium regum, etiam paganorum.... Greg. lib. vii. Ep. i. ad Hubert.*

² *Pecunias sine honore tributas, quanti pretii habeam.* Ibid.

³ *Gemma principum esse meruisti.* Ibid. Ep. xxiii. ad Guillelm.

⁴ *Facilis lenitatis dulcedine ac rationis ostensione, quam austeritate vel rigore justitia.* Ibid. Ep. v. ad Hugonem.

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energetic prelates, and princes in whom extreme imprudence was joined with extreme servility. This is the era of the dominion of popery, and we shall see it unscrupulously employing the despotism by which it is characterized.

A malady having occasioned some degree of remorse in the king, he consented to fill up the vacancy in the archiepiscopal see. And now Anselm first appears in England. He was born in an Alpine valley, at the town of Aosta in Piedmont. Imbibing the instructions of his pious mother Ermenberga, and believing that God's throne was placed on the summit of the gigantic mountains he saw rising around him, the child Anselm climbed them in his dreams, and received the bread of heaven from the hands of the Lord. Unhappily in after-years he recognised another throne in the church of Christ, and bowed his head before the chair of St Peter. This was the man whom William II. summoned in 1093 to fill the primacy of Canterbury. Anselm, who was then sixty years old, and engaged in teaching at Bec, refused at first: the character of Rufus terrified him. "The Church of England," said he, "is a plough that ought to be drawn by two oxen of equal strength. How can you yoke together an old and timid sheep like me and that wild bull?" At length he accepted, and concealing a mind of great power under an appearance of humility, he had hardly arrived in England before he recognised Pope Urban II., demanded the estates of his see which the treasury had seized upon, refused to pay the king the sums he demanded, contested the right of investiture against Henry I., forbade all ecclesiastics to take the feudal oath, and determined that the priests should forthwith put away their wives. Scholasticism, of which Anselm was the first representative, freed the church from the yoke of royalty, but only to chain it to the papal chair. The fetters were about to be riveted by a still more energetic hand; and what this great theologian had begun, a great worldling was to carry on.

At the hunting-parties of Henry II. a man attracted the attention of his sovereign by his air of frankness, agreeable manners, witty conversation, and exuberant vivacity. This was Thomas Becket, the son of an Anglo-Saxon and a Syrian woman. Being both priest and soldier, he was appointed at the same time by the king prebend of Hastings and governor of the Tower. When nominated chancellor of England, he shewed himself no less expert than Wilfrid in misappropriating the wealth of the minors in his charge, and of the abbeys and bishoprics, and indulged in the most extravagant luxury. Henry, the first of the Plantagenets, a man of undecided character, having noticed Becket's zeal in upholding the prerogatives of the crown, appointed him archbishop of

Canterbury. "Now, sire," remarked the primate, with a smile, "when I shall have to choose between God's favour and yours, remember it is yours that I shall sacrifice."

Becket, who, as keeper of the seals, had been the most magnificent of courtiers, affected as archbishop to be the most venerable of saints. He sent back the seals to the king, assumed the robe of a monk, wore sackcloth filled with vermin, lived on the plainest food, every day knelt down to wash the feet of the poor, paced the cloisters of his cathedral with tearful eyes, and spent hours in prayer before the altar. As champion of the priests, even in their crimes, he took under his protection one who to the crime of seduction had added the murder of his victim's father.

The judges having represented to Henry that during the first eight years of his reign a hundred murders had been committed by ecclesiastics, the king in 1164 summoned a council at Clarendon, in which certain regulations or *constitutions* were drawn up, with the object of preventing the encroachments of the hierarchy. Becket at first refused to sign them, but at length consented, and then withdrew into solitary retirement to mourn over his fault. Pope Alexander III. released him from his oath; and then began a fierce and long struggle between the king and the primate. Four knights of the court, catching up a hasty expression of their master's, barbarously murdered the archbishop at the foot of the altar in his own cathedral church (A.D. 1170). The people looked upon Becket as a saint: immense crowds came to pray at his tomb, at which many miracles were worked.¹ "Even from his grave," said Becket's partisans, "he rendered his testimony in behalf of the papacy."

Henry now passed from one extreme to the other. He entered Canterbury barefooted, and prostrated himself before the martyr's tomb: the bishops, priests, and monks, to the number of eighty, passed before him, each bearing a scourge, and struck three or five blows according to their rank on the naked shoulders of the king. In former ages, so the priestly fable ran, Saint Peter had scourged an archbishop of Canterbury: now Rome in sober reality scourges the back of royalty, and nothing can henceforward check her victorious career. A Plantagenet surrendered England to the pope, and the pope gave him authority to subdue Ireland.²

Rome, who had set her foot on the neck of a king, was destined under one of the sons of Henry II. to set it on the neck of

¹ In loco passionis et ubi sepultus est, paralytici cecati, cæci vident, surdi audiunt. Joh. Salic. Eccl. Hist.

² Significasti si quidem nobis, fili carissime, te Niverni insulam ad subdendum illum populum velle intrare, nos itaque gratum et acceptum habemus ut pro christianis ecclesiis terminis Angliam ingresses. Adrian IV., bulla ad Ricardum, Acta Pontificum.

England. John being unwilling to acknowledge an archbishop of Canterbury illegally nominated by Pope Innocent III., the latter, more daring than Hildebrand, laid the kingdom under an interdict. Upon this John ordered all the prelates and abbots to leave England, and sent a monk to Spain as ambassador to Mahomet-el-Nasir, offering to turn Mahometan and to become his vassal. But as Philip Augustus was preparing to dethrone him, John made up his mind to become a vassal of Innocent, and not of Mahomet—which was about the same thing to him. On the 15th May 1213, he laid his crown at the legate's feet, declared that he surrendered his kingdom of England to the pope, and made oath to him as to his lord paramount.¹

A national protest then boldly claimed the ancient liberties of the people. Forty-five barons armed in complete mail, and mounted on their noble war-horses, surrounded by their knights and servants and about two thousand soldiers, met at Brackley during the festival of Easter in 1215, and sent a deputation to Oxford, where the court then resided. "Here," said they to the king, "is the charter which consecrates the liberties confirmed by Henry II., and which you also have solemnly sworn to observe." "Why do they not demand my crown also?" said the king in a furious passion, and then with an oath,² he added: "I will not grant them liberties which will make me a slave." This is the usual language of weak and absolute kings. Neither would the nation submit to be enslaved. The barons occupied London, and on the 15th June 1215, the king signed the famous *Magna Charta* at Runnymede. The political protestantism of the thirteenth century would have done but little, however, for the greatness of the nation, without the religious protestantism of the sixteenth.

This was the first time that the papacy came into collision with modern liberty. It shuddered in alarm, and the shock was violent. Innocent swore (as was his custom), and then declared the Great Charter null and void, forbade the king under pain of anathema to respect the liberties which he had confirmed,³ ascribed the conduct of the barons to the instigation of Satan, and ordered them to make apology to the king, and to send a deputation to Rome to learn from the mouth of the pope himself what should be the government of England. This was the way in which the papacy welcomed the first manifestations of liberty among the nations, and made known the model system under which it claimed to govern the whole world.

The priests of England supported the ana-

themas pronounced by their chief. They indulged in a thousand jeers and sarcasms against John about the charter he had accepted:—"This is the twenty-fifth king of England—not a king, not even a kingling—but the disgrace of kings—a king without a kingdom—the fifth wheel of a waggon—the last of kings, and the disgrace of his people!—I would not give a straw for him *Fuisti rex, nunc fex* (once a king, but now a clown)." John, unable to support his disgrace, groaned and gnashed his teeth and rolled his eyes, tore sticks from the hedges and gnawed them like a maniac, or dashed them into fragments on the ground.⁴

The barons, unmoved alike by the insolence of the pope and the despair of the king, replied that they would maintain the charter. Innocent excommunicated them. "Is it the pope's business to regulate temporal matters?" asked they. "By what right do vile usurers and foul simoniacs domineer over our country and excommunicate the whole world?"

The pope soon triumphed throughout England. His vassal John having hired some bands of adventurers from the continent, traversed at their head the whole country from the Channel to the Forth. These mercenaries carried desolation in their track: they extorted money, made prisoners, burnt the barons' castles, laid waste their parks, and dishonoured their wives and daughters.⁵ The king would sleep in a house, and the next morning set fire to it. Blood-stained assassins scoured the country during the night, the sword in one hand and the torch in the other, marking their progress by murder and conflagration.⁶ Such was the enthronization of popery in England. At this sight the barons, overcome by emotion, denounced both the king and the pope: "Alas! poor country!" they exclaimed. "Wretched England! And thou, O pope, a curse light upon thee!"⁷

The curse was not long delayed. As the king was returning from some more than usually successful foray, and as the royal waggons were crossing the sands of the Wash, the tide rose and all sank in the abyss.⁸ This accident filled John with terror: it seemed to him that the earth was about to open and swallow him up; he fled to a convent, where he drank copiously of cider, and died of drunkenness and fright.⁹

Such was the end of the pope's vassal—of his armed missionary in Great Britain. Never had so vile a prince been the inve-

¹ *Arreptos baculos et stipites more furiosi nunc corrodere, nunc corrosos confringere.* Matth. Paris. 222.

² *Uxores et filias suas ludibrio expositas.* Ibid. 231.

³ *Discurrebant sicarii cede homina cruentati, noctivagi, incendarii, striculis ensibus.* Ibid.

⁴ *Sic barones lacrymantes et lamentantes regem et papam maledixerunt.* Ibid. 234.

⁵ *Ape'ra est in mediis ductibus terra et voraginis abyssus, que absorberunt universa cum hominibus et equis.* Ibid. 242.

⁶ *Novi clericis potatione nimis repletus.* Ibid. ad ann. 1216.

¹ *Resignavit coronam suam in manus domini pape.* Matth. Paris. 198 et 207.

² *Cum juramento firmandis.* Ibid. 213.

³ *Sub intimatione anathematis prohibentes ne dicta rex, nisi obsecrare presumat.* Ibid. 214.

luntary occasion to his people of such great benefits. From his reign England may date her enthusiasm for liberty and her dread of popery.

During this time a great transformation had been accomplished. Magnificent churches and the marvels of religious art, with ceremonies and a multitude of prayers and chantings dazzled the eyes, charmed the ears, and captivated the senses; but testified also to the absence of every strong moral and Christian disposition, and the predominance of worldliness in the church. At the same time the adoration of images and relics, saints, angels, and Mary the mother of God, the worship of *latria*, *doulia*, and *hyperdoulia*,¹ the real Mediator transported from the throne of mercy to the seat of vengeance, at once indicated and kept up among the people that ignorance of truth and absence of grace which characterize popery. All these errors tended to bring about a reaction: and in fact the march of the Reformation may now be said to begin.

England had been brought low by the papacy: it rose up again by resisting Rome. Grostête, Bradwardine, and Edward III. prepared the way for Wickliffe, and Wickliffe for the Reformation.

CHAPTER VI.

Reaction—Grostête—Principles of Reform—Contest with the Pope—Seval—Progress of the Nation—Opposition to the Papacy—Conversion of Bradwardine—Grace in Europe—Edward III.—Statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire*.

In the reign of Henry III. son of John, while the king was conniving at the usurpations of Rome, and the pope ridiculing the complaints of the barons, a pious and energetic man, of comprehensive understanding, was occupied in the study of the Holy Scriptures in their original languages, and bowing to their sovereign authority. Robert Grostête (Greathead or *Capito*) was born of poor parents in the county of Lincolnshire, and being raised to the see of Lincoln in 1235, when he was sixty years of age, he boldly undertook to reform his diocese, one of the largest in England. Nor was this all. At the very time when the Roman pontiff, who had hitherto been content to be called the vicar of St Peter, proclaimed himself the vicar of God,² and was ordering the English bishops to find benefices for three hundred Romans,³ Grostête was declaring that "to follow a pope who rebels against the will of

Christ, is to separate from Christ and his body and if ever the time should come when all men follow an erring pontiff, then will be the great apostasy. Then will true Christians refuse to obey, and Rome will be the cause of an unprecedented schism."⁴ Thus did he predict the Reformation. Disgusted at the avarice of the monks and priests, he visited Rome to demand a reform. "Brother," said Innocent IV. to him with some irritation, "*Is thine eye evil, because I am good?*" The English bishop exclaimed with a sigh: "O money, money! how great is thy power—especially in this court of Rome!"

A year had scarcely elapsed before Innocent commanded the bishop to give a canonry in Lincoln cathedral to his infant nephew. Grostête replied: "After the sin of Lucifer there is none more opposed to the gospel than that which ruins souls by giving them a faithless minister. Bad pastors are the cause of unbelief, heresy, and disorder. Those who introduce them into the church are little better than antichrists, and their culpability is in proportion to their dignity. Although the chief of the angels should order me to commit such a sin, I would refuse. My obedience forbids me to obey; and therefore I rebel."⁵

Thus spoke a bishop to his pontiff: his obedience to the word of God forbade him to obey the pope. This was the principle of the Reformation. "Who is this old driveller that in his dotage dares to judge of my conduct?" exclaimed Innocent, whose wrath was appeased by the intervention of certain cardinals. Grostête on his dying bed professed still more clearly the principles of the reformers; he declared that a heresy was "an opinion conceived by carnal motives, *contrary to Scripture*, openly taught and obstinately defended," thus asserting the authority of Scripture instead of the authority of the church. He died in peace, and the public voice proclaimed him "a searcher of the Scriptures, an adversary of the pope, and despiser of the Romans."⁶ Innocent, desiring to take vengeance on his bones, meditated the exhumation of his body, when one night (says Matthew of Paris) the bishop appeared before him. Drawing near the pontiff's bed, he struck him with his crozier, and thus addressed him with terrible voice and threatening look: "Wretch! the Lord doth not permit thee to have any power over me. Woe be to thee!" The vision disappeared, and the pope, uttering a cry as if he had been struck by some sharp weapon, lay senseless on his couch. Never after did he

¹ Abelt et quod....hæc sedes et in ea presidentes causa sint schismatis apparentis. Ortinus Gratius, ed. Brown, fol. 23.

² Obedienter non obedio sed contradico et rebello. Math. Paris, ad ann. 1232.

³ Scripturarum sedulis perscrutator diversarum Romanorum mallicus et contemptor. Math. Paris, vol. ii. p. 67. fol. 160. Sixteen of his writings (Sermons et epistolæ) will be found in Brown, *op. cit.* *Passionem*.

⁴ Nocte apparuit ei episcopus vultu severo, intente sententiæ ac voce terribili. Ibid. 682.

¹ The Romish church distinguishes three kinds of worship; *latria*, that paid to God; *doulia*, to saints; and *hyperdoulia*, to the Virgin Mary.

² Non puri hominis sed veri Dei vicem gerit in terra. Innocent III. Epp. lib. vi. l. 333.

³ Ut trecentis Romanis in primis beneficiis vacantebus providerent. Math. Paris, ann. 1260.

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was a quiet night, and pursued by the phantasms of his troubled imagination, he expired while the palace re-echoed with his lamentable groans.

Grostete was not single in his opposition to the pope. Sewal, archbishop of York, did the same, and "the more the pope cursed him, the more the people blessed him."¹—"Moderate your tyranny," said the archbishop to the pontiff, "for the Lord said to thee, *Feed my sheep, and not shear them, buy them, or devour them.*"² The pope smiled and let the bishop speak, because the king owed the pope to act. The power of England, which was constantly increasing, was not able to give more force to these protests. The nation was indeed growing in greatness. The madness of John, which had used the English people to lose their continental possessions, had given them more unity and power. The Norman kings, being compelled to renounce entirely the country which had been their cradle, had at length made up their minds to look upon England as their home. The two races, so long hostile, blended one into the other. Free institutions were formed; the laws were studied; and colleges were founded. The language began to assume a regular form, and the ships of England were already formidable at sea. For more than a century the most brilliant stories attended the British armies. A king of France was brought captive to London; an English king was crowned at Paris. Even Spain and Italy felt the valour of these proudlanders. The English people took their station in the foremost rank. Now the character of a nation is never raised by halves. When the mighty ones of the earth were seen to fall before her, England could no longer crawl at the feet of an Italian priest. At no period did her laws attack the papacy with so much energy. At the beginning of the fourteenth century an Englishman having brought to London one of the pope's bulls—a bull of an entirely spiritual character, it was an excommunication—was prosecuted as a traitor to the crown, and could have been hanged, had not the sentence, at the chancellor's intercession, been changed to perpetual banishment.³ The *monon law* was the weapon the government then opposed to the papal bulls. Shortly afterwards, in 1307, King Edward ordered the sheriffs to resist the arrogant pretensions of the Romish agents. But it is to two great men in the fourteenth century equally illustrious, the one in the state, and the other in the church, that England is indebted for the development of the protestant element in England.

In 1346, an English army, 34,000 strong, met face to face at Crecy a French army of

100,000 fighting men. Two individuals of very different characters were in the English host. One of them was King Edward III., a brave and ambitious prince, who, being resolved to recover for the royal authority all its power, and for England all her glory, had undertaken the conquest of France. The other was his chaplain Bradwardine, a man of so humble a character that his meekness was often taken for stupidity. And thus it was that on his receiving the pallium at Avignon from the hands of the pope on his elevation to the see of Canterbury, a jester mounted on an ass rode into the hall and petitioned the pontiff to make him *primate* instead of that imbecile priest.

Bradwardine was one of the most pious men of the age, and to his prayers his sovereign's victories were ascribed. He was also one of the greatest geniuses of his time, and occupied the first rank amongst astronomers, philosophers, and mathematicians.¹ The pride of science had at first alienated him from the doctrine of the cross. But one day while in the house of God and listening to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, these words struck his ear: *It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy.* His ungrateful heart, he tells us, at first rejected this humiliating doctrine with aversion. Yet the word of God had laid its powerful hold upon him; he was converted to the truths he had despised, and immediately began to set forth the doctrines of eternal grace at Merton College, Oxford. He had drunk so deep at the fountain of Scripture that the traditions of men concerned him but little, and he was so absorbed in adoration in spirit and in truth, that he remarked not outward superstitions. His lectures were eagerly listened to and circulated through all Europe. The grace of God was their very essence, as it was of the Reformation. With sorrow Bradwardine beheld Pelagianism everywhere substituting a mere religion of externals for inward Christianity, and on his knees he struggled for the salvation of the church. "As in the times of old four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal strove against a single prophet of God; so now, O Lord," he exclaimed, "the number of those who strive with Pelagius against thy free grace cannot be counted.² They pretend not to receive grace freely, but to buy it.³ The will of men (they say) should precede, and thine should follow: theirs is the mistress, and thine the servant.⁴.....Alas! nearly the whole world is walking in error in the steps of Pelagius.⁵ Arise, O Lord, and judge thy

¹ His Arithmetic and Geometry have been published; but I am not aware if that is the case with his Astronomical Tables.

² Quot, Domine, hodie cum Pelagio pro libero arbitrio contra gratulam gratiam tuam pugnant! De causa Dei adversus Pelagium, libri tres. Lond. 1618.

³ Nequaquam gratuita sed vendita. Ibid.

⁴ Sum voluntatem patris ut dominam, tuam subsequi ut ancillam. Ibid.

⁵ Totus pene mundus post Pelagium abiit in errorem. Ibid.

¹ Quanto magis a papa maledicebatur, tanto plus a populo medicabatur. Matth. Paris, ad ann. 1227.

² Pæce oves meas, non tondere, non excoire, non evincere, sed devorando concutere. Ibid. ad ann. 1268.

³ Fuller's Church History, cent. xiv. p. 84, fol. Lond. 1684.

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cause." And the Lord did arise, but not until after the death of this pious archbishop—in the days of Wickliffe, who, when a youth, listened to the lectures at Merton College—and especially in the days of Luther and of Calvin. His contemporaries gave him the name of the *profund doctor*.

If Bradwardine walked truthfully in the path of faith, his illustrious patron Edward advanced triumphantly in the field of policy. Pope Clement IV. having decreed that the first two vacancies in the Anglican church should be conferred on two of his cardinals: "France is becoming *English*," said the courtiers to the king; "and by way of compensation, England is becoming *Italian*." Edward, desirous of guaranteeing the religious liberties of England, passed with the consent of parliament in 1350 the statute of *provisors*, which made void every ecclesiastical appointment contrary to the rights of the king, the chapters, or the patrons. Thus the privileges of the chapters and the liberty of the English Catholics, as well as the independence of the crown, were protected against the invasion of foreigners; and imprisonment or banishment for life was denounced upon all offenders against the law.

This bold step alarmed the pontiff. Accordingly, three years after, the king having nominated one of his secretaries to the see of Durham—a man without any of the qualities becoming a bishop—the pope readily confirmed the appointment. When some one expressed his astonishment at this, the pope made answer: "If the king of England had nominated *an ass*, I would have accepted him." This may remind us of the *ass* of Avignon; and it would seem that this humble animal at that time played a significant part in the elections to the papacy. But be that as it may, the pope withdrew his pretensions. "Empires have their term," observes an historian at this place; "when once they have reached it, they halt, they retrograde, they fall."¹

The term seemed to be drawing nearer every day. In the reign of Edward III., between 1343 and 1353, again in 1364, and finally under Richard II. in 1393, those stringent laws were passed which interdicted all appeal to the court of Rome, all bulls from the Roman bishop, all excommunications, &c., in a word, every act infringing on the rights of the crown: and declared that whoever should bring such documents into England, or receive, publish, or execute them, should be put out of the king's protection, deprived of their property, attached in their persons, and brought before the king in council to undergo their trial according to the terms of the act. Such was the statute of *Præmunire*.²

Great was the indignation of the Romans at the news of this law: "If the statute of *mortmain* put the pope into a sweat," says Fuller, "this of *præmunire* gave him a fit of fever." One pope called it an "execrable statute,"—"a horrible crime."³ Such are the terms applied by the pontiffs to all that thwarts their ambition.

Of the two wars carried on by Edward—the one against the King of France, and the other against popery—the latter was the most righteous and important. The benefits which this prince had hoped to derive from his brilliant victories at Crecy and Poitiers dwindled away almost entirely before his death; while his struggles with the papacy, founded as they were on truth, have exerted even to our own days an indisputable influence on the destinies of Great Britain. Yet the prayers and the conquests of Bradwardine, who proclaimed in that fallen age the doctrine of grace, produced effects still greater, not only for the salvation of many souls, but for the liberty, moral force, and greatness of England.

CHAPTER VII.

The Mendicant Friars—Their Disorders and Popular Infatuation—Wickliffe—His Success—Speeches of the Peasants against the Papal Tribute—A Agreement of Bruges—Courtenay and Lancaster—Wickliffe before the Convention—Alteration between Lancaster and Courtenay—His Three Briefs against Wickliffe—Wickliffe at Lambeth—Mission of the Poor Priests—Their Preachings and Persecutions—Wickliffe and the Four Regents.

Thus in the first half of the fourteenth century, nearly two hundred years before the Reformation, England appeared weary of the yoke of Rome. Bradwardine was no more; but a man who had been his disciple was about to succeed him, and without attaining to the highest functions, to exhibit in his person the past and future tendencies of the church of Christ in Great Britain. The English Reformation did not begin with Henry VIII.: the revival of the sixteenth century is but a link in the chain commencing with the apostles and reaching to us.

The resistance of Edward III. to the papacy *without* had not suppressed the papacy *within*. The mendicant friars, and particularly the Franciscans, those fanatical soldiers of the pope, were endeavouring by pious frauds to monopolize the wealth of the country. "Every year," said they, "Saint Francis descends from heaven to purgatory, and delivers the souls of all those who were buried in the dress of his order." These friars used to kidnap children from their parents and shut them up in monasteries.

¹ *Incant imperia suos terminos; hinc cum venerint, obstant, retrocedunt, ruunt.* Fuller's Hist. cont. xiv. p. 118.
² The most natural meaning of the word *præmunire* (given more particularly to the act of 1353) seems to be that sug-

gested by Fuller, cont. xiv. p. 148): to fence and fortify the regal power from foreign assaults. See the whole bill, ibid. p. 145-147.

³ *Execrabile statutum, . . . fœdum et turpe statum.* Martin V. to the Duke of Bedford, Fuller, cont. xiv. p. 148.

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They affected to be poor, and with a wallet on their back, begged with a piteous air from both high and low; but at the same time they dwelt in palaces, heaped up treasures, dressed in costly garments, and wasted their time in luxurious entertainments.¹ The least of them looked upon themselves as lords, and those who wore the doctor's cap considered themselves kings. While they diverted themselves, eating and drinking at their well-spread tables, they used to send ignorant uneducated persons in their place to preach fables and legends to amuse and plunder the people.² If any rich man asked of giving alms to the poor and not to be monks, they exclaimed loudly against such impiety, and declared with threatening voice: "If you do so we will leave the country, and return accompanied by a legion of glittering helmets."³ Public indignation was at its height. "The monks and priests of Rome," was the cry, "are eating us away like a cancer. God must deliver us or the people will perish.....Woe be to them! the spirit of wrath will run over. Men of holy church shall be despised as carrion, as dogs shall they be cast out in open places."⁴

The arrogance of Rome made the cup run over. Pope Urban V., heedless of the laurels won by the conqueror at Crecy and Poitiers, summoned Edward III. to recognise him as legitimate sovereign of England, and to pay the feudal tribute the annual rent of one thousand marcs. In case of refusal the king was to appear before him at Rome. For thirty-three years the popes had never mentioned the tribute accorded by John to Innocent III., and which had always been paid very regularly. The conqueror of the Valois was irritated by this insolence on the part of an Italian bishop, and called on God to avenge England. From Oxford came forth the avenger.

John Wickliffe, born in 1324, in a little village in Yorkshire, was one of the students who attended the lectures of the pious Bradwardine at Merton College. He was in the power of his age, and produced a great sensation in the university. In 1348, a terrible pestilence, which is said to have carried off half the human race, appeared in England after successively devastating Asia and the continent of Europe. This visitation of the Almighty sounded like the trumpet of the judgment-day in the heart of Wickliffe. Inspired at the thoughts of eternity, the young man—for he was then only twenty-nine years old—passed days and nights in his cell groaning and sighing, and calling upon God to show him the path he ought to follow.⁵ He found it in the Holy Scriptures,

and resolved to make it known to others. He commenced with prudence; but being elected in 1361 warden of Balliol, and in 1365 warden of Canterbury College also, he began to set forth the doctrine of faith in a more energetic manner. His biblical and philosophical studies, his knowledge of theology, his penetrating mind, the purity of his manners, and his unbending courage, rendered him the object of general admiration. A profound teacher, like his master, and an eloquent preacher, he demonstrated to the learned during the course of the week what he intended to preach, and on Sunday he preached to the people what he had previously demonstrated. His disputations gave strength to his sermons, and his sermons shed light upon his disputations. He accused the clergy of having banished the Holy Scriptures, and required that the authority of the word of God should be re-established in the church. Loud acclamations crowned these discussions, and the crowd of vulgar minds trembled with indignation when they heard these shouts of applause.

Wickliffe was forty years old when the papal arrogance stirred England to its depths. Being at once an able politician and a fervent Christian, he vigorously defended the rights of the crown against the Romish aggression, and by his arguments not only enlightened his fellow-countrymen generally, but stirred up the zeal of several members of both houses of parliament.

The parliament assembled, and never perhaps had it been summoned on a question which excited to so high a degree the emotions of England, and indeed of Christendom. The debates in the House of Lords were especially remarkable: all the arguments of Wickliffe were reproduced. "Feudal tribute is due," said one, "only to him who can grant feudal protection in return. Now how can the pope wage war to protect his fiefs?"—"Is it as vassal of the crown or as feudal superior," asked another, "that the pope demands part of our property? Urban V. will not accept the first of these titles.Well and good! but the English people will not acknowledge the second."—"Why," said a third, "was this tribute originally granted? To pay the pope for absolving John.....His demand, then, is mere simony, a kind of clerical swindling, which the lords spiritual and temporal should indignantly oppose."—"No," said another speaker, "England belongs not to the pope. The pope is but a man subject to sin; but Christ is the Lord of lords, and this kingdom is held directly and solely of Christ alone."¹ Thus spoke the lords inspired by Wickliffe.

¹ When they have overmuch riches, both in great waste houses and precious clothes, in great feasts and many jewels and treasures. Wickliffe's *Treatise and Treatises*, edited by the Wickliffe Society, p. 221. ² Ibid. 244.
³ Come again with bright heads. Ibid.
⁴ Wickliffe, *The Last Age of the Church*.
⁵ Long debating and deliberating with himself, with many

secret sighs. Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, I. p. 486, fol. Lond. 1684.

¹ These opinions are reported by Wickliffe, in a treatise preserved in the *Selden MSS.* and printed by Mr J. Lewis, in his *History of Wickliffe*, App. No. 3, p. 248. He was present during the debate: *quoniam audire in quodam concilio admodum secularibus.*

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Parliament decided unanimously that no prince had the right to alienate the sovereignty of the kingdom without the consent of the other two estates, and that if the pontiff should attempt to proceed against the king of England as his vassal, the nation should rise in a body to maintain the independence of the crown.

To no purpose did this generous resolution excite the wrath of the partisans of Rome; to no purpose did they assert that, by the canon law, the king ought to be deprived of his fief, and that England now belonged to the pope: "No," replied Wickliffe, "the canon law has no force when it is opposed to the word of God." Edward III. made Wickliffe one of his chaplains, and the papacy has ceased from that hour to lay claim—in explicit terms at least—to the sovereignty of England.

When the pope gave up his temporal he was desirous, at the very least, of keeping up his ecclesiastical pretensions, and to procure the repeal of the statutes of *Præmunire* and *Provisors*. It was accordingly resolved to hold a conference at Bruges to treat of this question, and Wickliffe, who had been created doctor of theology two years before, proceeded thither with the other commissioners in April 1374. They came to an arrangement in 1375 that the king should bind himself to repeal the penalties denounced against the pontifical agents, and that the pope should confirm the king's ecclesiastical presentations.¹ But the nation was not pleased with this compromise. "The clerks sent from Rome," said the Commons, are more dangerous for the kingdom than Jews or Saracens: every papal agent resident in England, and every Englishman living at the court of Rome, should be punished with death." Such was the language of the *Good Parliament*. In the fourteenth century the English nation called a parliament *good* which did not yield to the papacy.

Wickliffe, after his return to England, was presented to the rectory of Lutterworth, and from that time a practical activity was added to his academic influence. At Oxford he spoke as a master to the young theologians; in his parish he addressed the people as a preacher and as a pastor. "The Gospel," said he, "is the only source of religion. The Roman pontiff is a mere cut-purse,"² and, far from having the right to reprimand the whole world, he may be lawfully reprov'd by his inferiors, and even by laymen."

The papacy grew alarmed. Courtenay, son of the Earl of Devonshire, an imperious but grave priest, and full of zeal for what he believed to be the truth, had recently been appointed to the see of London. In parliament he had resisted Wickliffe's patron, John

of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, third son of Edward III., and head of the house of that name. The bishop, observing that the doctrines of the reformer were spreading among the people, both high and low, charged him with heresy, and summoned him to appear before the convocation assembled in St Paul's Cathedral.

On the 19th February, 1377, an immense crowd, heated with fanaticism, thronged the approaches to the church and filled its aisles, while the citizens favourable to the reform remained concealed in their houses. Wickliffe moved forward, preceded by Lord Percy, marshal of England, and supported by the Duke of Lancaster, who defended him from purely political motives. He was followed by four bachelors of divinity, his counsel, and passed through the hostile multitude who looked upon Lancaster as the enemy of their liberties, and upon himself as the enemy of the church. "Let not the sight of these bishops make you shrink a hair's-breadth in your profession of faith," said the prince to the doctor. "They are unlearned; and as for this concourse of people, fear nothing, we are here to defend you."³ When the reformer had crossed the threshold of the cathedral, the crowd within appeared like a solid wall; and, notwithstanding the efforts of the earl-marshal, Wickliffe and Lancaster could not advance. The people swayed to and fro, hands were raised in violence, and loud hootings re-echoed through the building. At length Percy made an opening in the dense multitude, and Wickliffe passed on.

The haughty Courtenay, who had been commissioned by the archbishop to preside over the assembly, watched these strange movements with anxiety, and beheld with displeasure the learned doctor accompanied by the two most powerful men in England. He said nothing to the Duke of Lancaster, who at that time administered the kingdom, but turning towards Percy observed sharply: "If I had known, my lord, that you claimed to be master in this church, I would have taken measures to prevent your entrance." Lancaster coldly rejoined: "He shall keep such mastery here, though you say nay." Percy now turned to Wickliffe, who had remained standing and said: "Sit down and rest yourself." At this Courtenay gave way to his anger, and exclaimed in a loud tone: "He must not sit down; criminals stand before their judges." Lancaster, indignant that a learned doctor of England should be refused a favour to which his age alone entitled him (for he was between fifty and sixty) made answer to the bishop: "My lord, you are very arrogant; take care.....or I may bring down your pride, and not yours only, but that of all the prelacy in England."⁴ "Do me all the harm you can," was Cour-

¹ Rymer, vii. p. 33, 83-88.

² The proud worldly priest of Rome, and the most cursed of clippers and purse-pervers. Lewis, History of Wickliffe, p. 27. Oxford, 1820.

³ Fox, Acts, I. p. 427. fol. Lond. 1561.

⁴ Pollard, Church Hist. cont. 120. p. 120.

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haughty reply. The prince rejoined in some emotion: "You are insolent, my Lord. You think, no doubt, you can trust on me only.....but your relations will have enough to protect themselves." To the bishop nobly replied: "My confidence is not in my parents nor in any man; only in God, in whom I trust, and by His assistance I will be bold to speak the truth."

Lancaster, who saw hypocrisy only in the words, turned to one of his attendants and whispered in his ear, but so loud as heard by the bystanders: "I would pluck the bishop by the hair of his head out of his chair, than take this at his word."

Every impartial reader must contrast the prelate spoke with greater dignity than the prince. Lancaster had hardly uttered these imprudent words before the royal partisans fell upon him and Percy, and even upon Wickliffe, who alone had remained calm.¹ The two noblemen resisted, friends and servants defended them, the quarrel became extreme, and there was no chance of restoring tranquillity. The two escaped with difficulty, and the assembly broke up in great confusion.

The following day the earl-marshal called upon parliament to apprehend the disturbers of the public peace, the clerical uniting with the enemies of Lancaster, he filled the streets with their clamour; and the duke and the earl escaped by the aid of the mob collected before Percy's house. He broke down the doors, searched every room, and thrust their swords into every corner. When they found that he had killed the rioters, imagining that he was killed in Lancaster's palace, rushed to the spot at that time the most magnificent in the kingdom. They killed a man who endeavoured to stay them, tore the ducal arms, and hung them on the walls like those of a traitor. They would not even still farther if the bishop had not opportunely reminded them that they were *Lent*. As for Wickliffe, he was dismissed with an injunction against preaching heresies.

This decision of the priests was not shared by the people of England. Public opinion declared in favour of Wickliffe. "If guilty," said they, "why is he not punished?"

If he is innocent, why is he ordered silent? If he is the weakest in power, the strongest in truth! And so it was, and never had he spoken with more energy. He openly attacked the pre-apostolical chair, and declared that the popes who sat at Rome and Avignon were made one antichrist. Being now in opposition to the pope, Wickliffe was soon to see that Christ alone was king of the earth; and that it is not possible for a man

to be excommunicated, unless first and principally he be excommunicated by himself.²

Rome could not close her ears. Wickliffe's enemies sent thither nineteen propositions which they ascribed to him, and in the month of June 1377, just as Richard II., son of the Black Prince, a child eleven years old, was ascending the throne, three letters from Gregory XI., addressed to the king, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the university of Oxford, denounced Wickliffe as a heretic, and called upon them to proceed against him as against a common thief. The archbishop issued the citation: the crown and the university were silent.

On the appointed day, Wickliffe, unaccompanied by either Lancaster or Percy, proceeded to the archiepiscopal chapel at Lambeth. "Men expected he should be devoured," says an historian; "being brought into the lion's den."³ But the burgesses had taken the prince's place. The assault of Rome had aroused the friends of liberty and truth in England. "The pope's briefs," said they, "ought to have no effect in the realm without the king's consent. Every man is master in his own house."

The archbishop had scarcely opened the sitting, when Sir Louis Clifford entered the chapel, and forbade the court, on the part of the queen-mother, to proceed against the reformer. The bishops were struck with a panic-fear: "they bent their heads," says a Roman-catholic historian, "like a reed before the wind."⁴ Wickliffe retired after handing in a protest. "In the first place," said he, "I resolve with my whole heart, and by the grace of God, to be a sincere Christian; and, while my life shall last, to profess and defend the law of Christ so far as I have power."⁵ Wickliffe's enemies attacked this protest, and one of them eagerly maintained that whatever the pope ordered should be looked upon as right. "What!" answered the reformer; "the pope may then exclude from the canon of the scriptures any book that displeases him, and alter the Bible at pleasure?" Wickliffe thought that Rome, unsettling the grounds of infallibility, had transferred it from the Scriptures to the pope, and was desirous of restoring it to its true place, and re-establishing authority in the church on a truly divine foundation.

A great change was now taking place in the reformer. Bussing himself less about the kingdom of England, he occupied himself more about the kingdom of Christ. In him the political phasis was followed by the religious. To carry the glad tidings of the gospel into the remotest hamlets, was now the great idea which possessed Wickliffe. If begging friars (said he) stroll over the coun-

¹ Vaughan's Wickliffe. Appendix. vol. I. p. 684.

² Fuller's Church Hist. cent. xiv. p. 137.

³ Walsingham, Hist. Anglie Major. p. 303.

⁴ Propono et volo esse ex integro Christianum, et quamvis manerem in me halitus, profitemur verbo et opere legem Christi. Vaughan's Wickliffe, I. p. 684.

curiously on the words. Fuller, Church Hist. cent.

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try, preaching the legends of saints and the history of the Trojan war, we must do for God's glory what they do to fill their wallets, and form a vast itinerant evangelization to convert souls to Jesus Christ. Turning to the most pious of his disciples, he said to them: "Go and preach, it is the sublimest work; but imitate not the priests whom we see after the sermon sitting in the ale-houses, or at the gaming-table, or wasting their time in hunting. After your sermon is ended, do you visit the sick, the aged, the poor, the blind, and the lame, and succour them according to your ability." Such was the new practical theology which Wickliffe inaugurated—it was that of Christ himself.

The "poor priests," as they were called, set off barefoot, a staff in their hands, clothed in a coarse robe, living on alms, and satisfied with the plainest food. They stopped in the fields near some village, in the churchyards, in the market-places of the towns, and sometimes in the churches even.¹ The people, among whom they were favourites, thronged around them, as the men of Northumbria had done at Aidan's preaching. They spoke with a popular eloquence that entirely won over those who listened to them. Of these missionaries none was more beloved than John Ashton. He might be seen wandering over the country in every direction, or seated at some cottage hearth, or alone in some retired crossway, preaching to an attentive crowd. Missions of this kind have constantly revived in England at the great epochs of the church.

The "poor priests" were not content with mere polemics: they preached the great mystery of godliness. "An angel could have made no propitiation for man," one day exclaimed their master Wickliffe: "for the nature which has sinned is not that of the angels. The mediator must needs be a man; but every man being indebted to God for every thing that he is able to do, this man must needs have infinite merit, and be at the same time God."²

The clergy became alarmed, and a law was passed commanding every king's officer to commit the preachers and their followers to prison.³ In consequence of this, as soon as the humble missionary began to preach, the monks set themselves in motion. They watched him from the windows of their cells, at the street corners, or from behind a hedge, and then hastened off to procure assistance. But when the constables approached, a body of stout bold men stood forth, with arms in their hands, who surrounded the preacher, and zealously protected him against the attacks of the clergy. Carnal weapons were thus mingled with the preachings of the word of peace. The poor priests returned to their master: Wickliffe comforted them, advised with them, and then they departed

once more. Every day this evangelization reached some new spot, and the light was thus penetrating into every quarter of England, when the reformer was suddenly stopped in his work.

Wickliffe was at Oxford in the year 1379, busied in the discharge of his duties as professor of divinity, when he fell dangerously ill. His was not a strong constitution; and work, age, and above all persecution, had weakened him. Great was the joy in the monasteries; but for that joy to be complete, the heretic must recant. Every effort was made to bring this about in his last moments.

The four regents, who represented the four religious orders, accompanied by four aldermen, hastened to the bedside of the dying man, hoping to frighten him by threatening him with the vengeance of Heaven. They found him calm and serene. "You have death on your lips," said they; "be touched by your faults, and retract in our presence all that you have said to our injury." Wickliffe remained silent, and the monks flattered themselves with an easy victory. But the nearer the reformer approached eternity, the greater was his horror of monkery. The consolation he had found in Jesus Christ had given him fresh energy. He begged his servant to raise him on his couch. Then feeble and pale, and scarcely able to support himself, he turned towards the friars, who were waiting for his recantation, and opening his livid lips, and fixing on them a piercing look, he said with emphasis: "I shall not die but live; and again declared the evil deeds of the friars." We might almost picture to ourselves the spirit of Elijah threatening the priests of Baal. The regents and their companions looked at each other with astonishment. They left the room in confusion, and the reformer recovered to put the finishing touch to the most important of his works against the monks and against the pope.⁴

CHAPTER VIII.

The Bible—Wickliffe's Translation—Effects of its Publication—Opposition of the Clergy—Wickliffe's Fourth Psalm—Transubstantiation—Excommunication—Wickliffe's Firmness—Wat Tyler—The Synod—The Condemned Propositions—Wickliffe's Petition—Wickliffe before the Priests at Oxford—Wickliffe summoned to Rome—His Answer—The Trialogue—His Death—And Character—His Teaching—His Ecclesiastical Views—A Prophecy.

WICKLIFFE'S ministry had followed a progressive course. At first he had attacked the papacy; next he preached the gospel to the poor; he could take one more step and put the people in permanent possession of the word of God. This was the third phase of his activity.

¹ A private statute made by the clergy. Fox, Acts, i. 285.
² Exposition of the Beatitude.
³ Fox, Acts, i. p. 285.

⁴ Petreus Church History, i. p. 261.

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Scholasticism had banished the Scriptures to a mysterious obscurity. It is true that he had translated the Gospel of St John; but the learned men at Alfred's court had translated the four evangelists: that Elfric the reign of Ethelred had translated some books of the Old Testament; that an Anglo-Saxon priest had paraphrased the Gospels into the Acts; that Richard Rolle, "the hermit of Hampole," and some pious clerks of the fourteenth century, had produced a version of the Psalms, the Gospels, and Epistles:—but these rare volumes were hidden, as theological curiosities, in the libraries of monastic convents. It was then a maxim that the reading of the Bible was injurious to the clergy; and accordingly the priests forbade it, as the Brahmins forbid the Shasters to the Hindoos. Oral tradition alone preserved among the people the histories of the Holy Scriptures, mingled with legends of the saints. The time appeared ripe for the publication of a Bible. The increase of population, the attention the English were beginning to devote to their own language, the clopment which the system of representative government had received, the awakening of the human mind—all these circumstances favoured the reformer's design. Wickliffe was ignorant indeed of Greek and Hebrew; but was it nothing to shake off the dust which for ages had covered the Bible, and to translate it into English? Was a good Latin scholar, of sound understanding and great penetration; but above all, who loved the Bible, he understood it, and desired to communicate this treasure to the people. Let us imagine him in his quiet study: on his table is the Vulgate text, corrected after the best manuscripts; and lying around him are the commentaries of the fathers of the church, especially those of Jerome and Nicholas Lyrensis. Between the year 1380 and 1382, he steadily prosecuted his task; learned men aided him with their advice, and one of them, Nicholas Hereford, began to have translated a few chapters for him. At last in 1380 it was completed. This was a great event in the religious history of England, who, outstripping the nations on the continent, took her station in the foremost rank in the great work of disseminating the Scriptures. As soon as the translation was finished, the labour of the copyists began, and the Bible was ere long widely circulated either wholly or in portions. The reception of the new Scriptures surpassed Wickliffe's expectations. The Holy Scriptures exercised a reviving influence over men's hearts; minds were quickened; souls were converted; the voices of the "poor priests" had done little comparison with this voice; something new had entered into the world. Citizens, knights, and the lower classes welcomed this version with acclamations; the high-born nobles examined the unknown book; and

even Anne of Luxemburg, wife of Richard II., having learnt English, began to read the Gospels diligently. She did more than this: she made them known to Arundel, archbishop of York and chancellor, and afterwards a persecutor, but who now, struck at the sight of a foreign lady—of a queen, humbly devoting her leisure to the study of such virtuous books,¹ commenced reading them himself, and rebuked the prelates who neglected this holy pursuit. "You could not meet two persons on the highway," says a contemporary writer, "but one of them was Wickliffe's disciple."

Yet all in England did not equally rejoice: the lower clergy opposed this enthusiasm with complaints and maledictions. "Master John Wickliffe, by translating the gospel into English," said the monks, "has rendered it more acceptable and more intelligible to laymen and even to women, than it had hitherto been to learned and intelligent clerks!.....The gospel pearl is everywhere cast out and trodden under foot of swine."² New contests arose for the reformer. Wherever he bent his steps, he was violently attacked. "It is heresy," cried the monks, "to speak of Holy Scripture in English."³—"Since the church has approved of the four Gospels, she would have been just as able to reject them and admit others! The church sanctions and condemns what she pleases..... Learn to believe in the church rather than in the gospel." These clamours did not alarm Wickliffe. "Many nations have had the Bible in their own language. The Bible is the faith of the church. Though the pope and all his clerks should disappear from the face of the earth," said he, "our faith would not fail, for it is founded on Jesus alone, our Master and our God." But Wickliffe did not stand alone; in the palace as in the cottage, and even in parliament, the rights of Holy Scripture found defenders. A motion having been made in the Upper House (1390) to seize all the copies of the Bible, the Duke of Lancaster exclaimed: "Are we then the very dregs of humanity, that we cannot possess the laws of our religion in our own tongue?"⁴

Having given his fellow-countrymen the Bible, Wickliffe began to reflect on its contents. This was a new step in his onward path. There comes a moment when the Christian, saved by a lively faith, feels the need of giving an account to himself of this faith, and this originates the science of theology. This is a natural movement: if the child, who at first possesses sensations and affections only, feels the want, as he grows up, of reflection and knowledge, why should it not be the same with the Christian? Politics—home missions—Holy Scripture—had

¹ Fox, Acts, i. p. 276.

² Evangelica margarita spargitur a porcis conculeatur. Kyrington, De eventibus Anglie, p. 226.

³ It is heresy to speak of the Holy Scripture in English. Wickliffe's Works, p. 4. Oxford, 1612, quarto.

⁴ Weber, Katholische Kirchen, i. p. 51.

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engaged Wickliffe in succession; theology had its turn, and this was the fourth phase of his life. Yet he did not penetrate to the same degree as the men of the sixteenth century into the depths of the Christian doctrine; and he attached himself in a more especial manner to those ecclesiastical dogmas which were more closely connected with the presumptuous hierarchy and the simoniacal gains of Rome,—such as transubstantiation. The Anglo-Saxon church had not professed this doctrine. "The host is the body of Christ, not bodily but spiritually," said Elfric in the tenth century in a letter addressed to the archbishop of York; but Lanfranc, the opponent of Berengarius, had taught England that at the word of a priest God quitted heaven and descended on the altar. Wickliffe undertook to overthrow the pedestal on which the pride of the priesthood was founded. "The eucharist is naturally bread and wine," he taught at Oxford in 1381; "but by virtue of the sacramental words it contains in every part the real body and blood of Christ." He did not stop here. "The consecrated wafer which we see on the altar," said he, "is not Christ, nor any part of him, but his efficient sign."¹ He oscillated between these two shades of doctrine; but to the first he more habitually attached himself. He denied the sacrifice of the mass offered by the priest, because it was substituted for the sacrifice of the cross offered up by Jesus Christ; and rejected transubstantiation, because it nullified the spiritual and living presence of the Lord.

When Wickliffe's enemies heard these propositions, they appeared horror-stricken, and yet in secret they were delighted at the prospect of destroying him. They met together, examined twelve theses he had published, and pronounced against him suspension from all teaching, imprisonment, and the greater excommunication. At the same time his friends became alarmed, their zeal cooled, and many of them forsook him. The Duke of Lancaster, in particular, could not follow him into this new sphere. That prince had no objection to an ecclesiastical opposition which might aid the political power, and for that purpose he had tried to enlist the reformer's talents and courage; but he feared a dogmatic opposition that might compromise him. The sky was heavy with clouds; Wickliffe was alone.

The storm soon burst upon him. One day, while seated in his doctoral chair in the Augustine school, and calmly explaining the nature of the eucharist, an officer entered the hall, and read the sentence of condemnation. It was the design of his enemies to humble the professor in the eyes of his disciples. Lancaster immediately became alarmed, and hastening to his old friend begged him—ordered him even—to trouble himself no more

about this matter. Attacked on every side, Wickliffe for a time remained silent. Shall he sacrifice the truth to save his reputation—his repose—perhaps his life? Shall expediency get the better of faith,—Lancaster prevail over Wickliffe? No: his courage was invincible. "Since the year of our Lord 1000," said he, "all the doctors have been in error about the sacrament of the altar—except, perhaps, it may be Berengarius. How canst thou, O priest, who art but a man, make thy Maker? What! the thing that groweth in the fields—that ear which thou pluckest to-day, shall be God to-morrow! As you cannot make the works which he made, how shall ye make Him who made the works?"² Woe to the adulterous generation that believeth the testimony of Innocent rather than of the Gospel!"³ Wickliffe called upon his adversaries to refute the opinions they had condemned, and finding that they threatened him with a civil penalty (imprisonment), he appealed to the king.

The time was not favourable for such an appeal. A fatal circumstance increased Wickliffe's danger. Wat Tyler and a dissolute priest named Ball, taking advantage of the ill-will excited by the rapacity and brutality of the royal tax-gatherers, had occupied London with 100,000 men. John Ball kept up the spirits of the insurgents, not by expositions of the gospel, like Wickliffe's poor priests, but by fiery comments on the distich they had chosen for their device:—

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?

There were many who felt no scruple in ascribing these disorders to the reformer, who was quite innocent of them; and Courtenay, bishop of London, having been translated to the see of Canterbury, lost no time in convoking a synod to pronounce on this matter of Wickliffe's. They met in the middle of May, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and were proceeding to pronounce sentence when an earthquake, which shook the city of London and all Britain, so alarmed the members of the council that they unanimously demanded the adjournment of a decision which appeared so manifestly rebuked by God. But the archbishop skillfully turned this strange phenomenon to his own purposes: "Know you not," said he, "that the noxious vapours which catch fire in the bosom of the earth, and give rise to these phenomena which alarm you, lose all their force when they burst forth? Well, in like manner, by rejecting the wicked from our community, we shall put an end to the convulsions of the church." The bishops regained their courage; and one of the primate's officers read ten propositions, said to be Wickliffe's, but

¹ Wyke's Wyckett. Tracts, pp. 274, 275.

² Vae generationi adulteræ quæ plus credit testimonio innocentium quam sensui Evangelii. Concilia, Vaughan, t. 4^{to}, App.

³ *Edicere ejus signum. Conclusio 1^{ma}, Vaughan, II. p. 424, App.*

scribing to him certain errors of which he was quite innocent. The following most excited the anger of the priests: "God must beay the devil." After Urban VI. we must receive no one as pope, but live according to the manner of the *Grocks*.¹ The ten propositions were condemned as heretical, and the rebishop enjoined all persons to shun, as they would a venomous serpent, all who would preach the aforesaid errors. "If we permit this heretic to appeal continually to the assensions of the people," said the primate to the king, "our destruction is inevitable. We must silence these *billards*—these psalm-singers."² The king gave authority "to confine in the prisons of the state any who should maintain the condemned propositions."

Day by day the circle contracted around Wickliffe. The prudent Kepingdon, the learned Hereford, and even the eloquent Ashmole, the firmest of the three, departed from him. The veteran champion of the truth which had once gathered a whole nation round it, had reached the days when "strong men shall bow themselves," and now, when harassed by persecution, he found himself alone. But boldly he uplifted his hoary head and exclaimed: "The doctrine of the gospel shall never perish; and if the earth were quaked, it was because they condemned Jesus Christ."

He did not stop here. In proportion as his physical strength decreased, his moral strength increased. Instead of parrying the blows aimed at him, he resolved on dealing more terrible ones still. He knew not if the king and the nobility were for the priests, the lower house and the tizens were for liberty and truth. He therefore presented a bold petition to the commons in the month of November 1382. Since Jesus Christ shed his blood to free his church, I demand its freedom. I demand that every one may leave those gloomy walls [the convents], within which a tyrannical law prevails, and embrace a simple and peaceful life under the open vault of heaven.

I demand that the poor inhabitants of our towns and villages be not constrained to furnish a worldly priest, often a vicious man and a heretic, with the means of satisfying his ostentation, his gluttony, and his licentiousness—of buying a showy horse, costly addles, bridles with tinkling bells, rich garments, and soft furs, while they see their wives, children, and neighbours, dying of hunger."³ The House of Commons, recollecting that they had not given their consent to the persecuting statute drawn up by the clergy and approved by the king and the lords, enacted its repeal. Was the Reformation about to begin by the will of the people?

Courtenay, indignant at this intervention of the Commons, and ever stimulated by a zeal for his church, which would have been better directed towards the word of God, visited Oxford in November 1382, and having gathered round him a number of bishops, doctors, priests, students, and laymen, summoned Wickliffe before him. Forty years ago the reformer had come up to the university: Oxford had become his home.....and now it was turning against him! Weakened by labours, by trials, by that ardent soul which preyed upon his feeble body, he might have refused to appear. But Wickliffe, who never feared the face of man, came before them with a good conscience. We may conjecture that there were among the crowd some disciples who felt their hearts burn at the sight of their master; but no outward sign indicated their emotion. The solemn silence of a court of justice had succeeded the shouts of enthusiastic youths. Yet Wickliffe did not despair: he raised his venerable head, and turned to Courtenay with that confident look which had made the regents of Oxford shrink away. Growing wrath against the *priests of Baul*, he reproached them with disseminating error in order to sell their masses. Then he stopped, and uttered these simple and energetic words: "The truth shall prevail!"⁴ Having thus spoken he prepared to leave the court: his enemies dared not say a word; and, like his divine master at Nazareth, he passed through the midst of them, and no man ventured to stop him. He then withdrew to his cure at Lutterworth.

He had not yet reached the harbour. He was living peacefully among his books and his parishioners, and the priests seemed inclined to leave him alone, when another blow was aimed at him. A papal brief summoned him to Rome, to appear before that tribunal which had so often shed the blood of its adversaries. His bodily infirmities convinced him that he could not obey this summons. But if Wickliffe refused to hear Urban, Urban could not choose but hear Wickliffe. The church was at that time divided between two chiefs: France, Scotland, Savoy, Lorraine, Castile, and Arragon acknowledged Clement VII.; while Italy, England, Germany, Sweden, Poland, and Hungary acknowledged Urban VI. Wickliffe shall tell us who is the true head of the church universal. And while the two popes were excommunicating and abusing each other, and selling heaven and earth for their own gain, the reformer was confessing that incorruptible Word, which establishes real unity in the church. "I believe," said he, "that the gospel of Christ is the whole body of God's law. I believe that Christ, who gave it to us, is very God and very man, and that this gospel re-

¹ Quod Deus debet obedire diabolo. Mansi, xvi. p. 698. Wickliffe denied having written or spoken the sentiment here ascribed to him.

² From *idem*, to sing; as *biggards* (beggars) from *beggar*.
³ A complaint of John Wickliffe. *Tracts and Treatises* edited by the Wickliffe Society, p. 200.

⁴ Finaliter veritas vincit eos. Vaughan, Appendix, B. p. 463.

velation is, accordingly, superior to all other parts of Holy Scripture.¹ I believe that the bishop of Rome is bound more than all other men to submit to it, for the greatness among Christ's disciples did not consist in worldly dignity or honours, but in the exact following of Christ in his life and manners. No faithful man ought to follow the pope, but in such points as he hath followed Jesus Christ. The pope ought to leave unto the secular power all temporal dominion and rule; and thereunto effectually more and more exhort his whole clergy.....If I could labour according to my desire in mine own person, I would surely present myself before the bishop of Rome, but the Lord hath otherwise visited me to the contrary, and hath taught me rather to obey God than men."²

Urban, who at that moment chanced to be very busy in his contest with Clement, did not think it prudent to begin another with Wickliffe, and so let the matter rest there.

From this time the doctor passed the remainder of his days in peace in the company of three personages, two of whom were his particular friends, and the third his constant adversary: these were *Aletheia*, *Phronesis*, and *Pseudes*. *Aletheia* (truth) proposed questions; *Pseudes* (falsehood) urged objections; and *Phronesis* (understanding) laid down the sound doctrine. These three characters carried on a conversation (*triadogue*) in which great truths were boldly professed. The opposition between the pope and Christ—between the canons of Romanism and the Bible—was painted in striking colours. This is one of the primary truths which the church must never forget. "The church has fallen," said one of the interlocutors in the work in question, "because she has abandoned the gospel, and preferred the laws of the pope. Although there should be a hundred popes in the world at once, and all the friars living should be transformed into cardinals, we must withhold our confidence unless so far as they are founded in Holy Scripture."³

These words were the last flicker of the torch. Wickliffe looked upon his end as near, and entertained no idea that it would come in peace. A dungeon on one of the seven hills, or a burning pile in London, was all he expected. "Why do you talk of seeking the crown of martyrdom afar?" asked he. "Preach the gospel of Christ to haughty prelates, and martyrdom will not fail you. What! I should live and be silent?.....never! Let the blow fall, I await its coming."⁴

The stroke was spared him. The war between two wicked priests, Urban and Clement, left the disciples of our Lord in peace. And besides, was it worth while cutting short a life that was drawing to a close? Wickliffe, therefore, continued tranquilly to preach Jesus Christ; and on the 29th December 1384, as he was in his church at Lutterworth, in the midst of his flock, at the very moment that he stood before the altar, and was elevating the host with trembling hands, he fell upon the pavement struck with paralysis. He was carried to his house by the affectionate friends around him, and after lingering forty-eight hours resigned his soul to God on the last day of the year.

Thus was removed from the church one of the boldest witnesses to the truth. The seriousness of his language, the holiness of his life, and the energy of his faith, had intimidated the popedom. Travellers relate that if a lion is met in the desert, it is sufficient to look steadily at him, and the beast turns away roaring from the eye of man. Wickliffe had fixed the eye of a Christian on the papacy, and the affrighted papacy had left him in peace. Hunted down unceasingly while living, he died in quiet, at the very moment when by faith he was eating the flesh and drinking the blood which give eternal life. A glorious end to a glorious life.

The Reformation of England had begun.

Wickliffe is the greatest English reformer: he was in truth the first reformer of Christendom, and to him, under God, Britain is indebted for the honour of being the foremost in the attack upon the theocratic system of Gregory VII. The work of the Waldenses, excellent as it was, cannot be compared to his. If Luther and Calvin are the fathers of the Reformation, Wickliffe is its grandfather.

Wickliffe, like most great men, possessed qualities which are not generally found together. While his understanding was eminently speculative—his treatise on the *Reality of universal Ideas*¹ made a sensation in philosophy—he possessed that practical and active mind which characterizes the Anglo-Saxon race. As a divine, he was at once scriptural and spiritual, soundly orthodox, and possessed of an inward and lively faith. With a boldness that impelled him to rush into the midst of danger, he combined a logical and consistent mind, which constantly led him forward in knowledge, and caused him to maintain with perseverance the truths he had once proclaimed. First of all, as a Christian, he had devoted his strength to the cause of the church; but he was at the same time a citizen, and the realm, his nation, and his king, had also a great share in his unwearied activity. He was a man complete.

¹ This is the reading of the Bodleian manuscript—"and be by this it passes all other laws." In Fox, Wickliffe appears to ascribe to Christ himself this superiority over all Rites, a distinction hardly in the mind of the reformer or of his age.

² An Epistle of J. Wickliffe to Pope Urban VI. Fox, Acts, l. p. 57, fol. Lond. 1841; also Lewis, Wickliffe, p. 321, Appendix.

³ Ideo si essent centum papae, et omnes fratres essent cardinales, non deberet concedi sententia nisi in materia licet, nisi de quanto se fundaverint in Scriptura, Trilobus, lib. iv. cap. vii.

⁴ Vaughan's Life of Wickliffe, ii. p. 253, 257.

¹ De universalibus realibus.

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If the man is admirable, his teaching is no less so. Scripture, which is the rule of truth, should be (according to his views) the rule of Reformation, and we must reject every doctrine and every precept which does not rest on that foundation.¹ To believe in the power of man in the work of regeneration is the great heresy of Rome, and from that error has come the ruin of the church. Conversion proceeds from the grace of God alone, and the system which ascribes it partly to man and partly to God is worse than Pelagianism.² Christ is everything in Christianity; whosoever abandons that fountain which is ever ready to impart life, and turns to muddy and stagnant waters, is a madman.³ Faith is a gift of God; it puts aside all merit, and should banish all fear from the mind.⁴ The one thing needful in the Christian life and in the Lord's Supper is not a vain formalism and superstitious rites, but communion with Christ according to the power of the spiritual life.⁵ Let Christians submit not to the word of a priest but to the word of God. In the primitive church there were but two orders, the deacon and the priest: the presbyter and the bishop were one.⁶ The sublimest calling which man can attain on earth is that of preaching the word of God. The true church is the assembly of the righteous for whom Christ shed his blood. So long as Christ is in heaven, in Him the church possesses the best hope. It is possible for a pope to be condemned at the last day because of his sins. Would men compel us to recognise as our head "a devil of hell?"⁷ Such were the essential points of Wickliffe's doctrine. It was the echo of the doctrine of the apostles—the prelude to that of the reformers.

In many respects Wickliffe is the Luther of England; but the times of revival had not yet come, and the English reformer could not gain such striking victories over Rome as the German reformer. While Luther was surrounded by an ever-increasing number of scholars and princes, who confessed the same faith as himself, Wickliffe shone almost alone in the firmament of the church. The boldness with which he substituted a living spirituality for a superstitious formalism, caused those to shrink back in affright who had gone with him against friars, priests, and popes. Erelong the Roman pontiff ordered him to be thrown into prison, and the monks threatened his

life;¹ but God protected him, and he remained calm amidst the machinations of his adversaries. "Antichrist," said he, "can only kill the body." Having one foot in the grave already, he foretold that, from the very bosom of monkery, would some day proceed the regeneration of the church. "If the friars, whom God condescends to teach, shall be converted to the primitive religion of Christ," said he, "we shall see them abandoning their unbelief, returning freely, with or without the permission of Antichrist, to the primitive religion of the Lord, and building up the church, as did St Paul."²

Thus did Wickliffe's piercing glance discover, at the distance of nearly a century and a half, the young monk Luther in the Augustine convent at Erfurth, converted by the Epistle to the Romans, and returning to the spirit of St Paul and the religion of Jesus Christ. Time was hastening on to the fulfilment of this prophecy. "The rising sun of the Reformation," for so has Wickliffe been called, had appeared above the horizon, and its beams were no more to be extinguished. In vain will thick clouds veil it at times; the distant hill-tops of Eastern Europe will soon reflect its rays;³ and its piercing light, increasing in brightness, will pour over all the world, at the hour of the church's renovation, floods of knowledge and of life.

CHAPTER IX.

The Wickliffites—Call for Reform—Richard II.—The Martyr—Lord Cobham—Appears before Henry V.—Before the Archbishop—His Confession and Death—The Cardinals.

WICKLIFFE'S death manifested the power of his teaching. The master being removed, his disciples set their hands to the plough, and England was almost won over to the reformer's doctrines. The Wickliffites recognised a ministry independent of Rome, and deriving authority from the word of God alone. "Every minister," said they, "can administer the sacraments and confer the cure of souls as well as the pope." To the licentious wealth of the clergy they opposed a Christian poverty, and to the degenerate asceticism of the mendicant orders, a spiritual and free life. The townsfolk crowded around these humble preachers; the soldiers listened to them, armed with sword and buckler to defend them;⁴ the nobility took down the

¹ Auctoritas Scripturæ sacræ, quæ est lex Christi, infinitum excedit quam libet scripturam aliam. Dialog. (Tricaps) lib. iii. cap. xxi.; see in particular, chap. xxi.

² Ibid. de predestinatione, de peccato, de gratia, &c.

³ Ibid. lib. iii. cap. xxi.

⁴ Fidem a Deo infusam sine aliqua trepidatione fidei contraria. Ibid. lib. iii. cap. ii.

⁵ Secundum rationem spirituales et virtuales existentias. Ibid. lib. iv. cap. viii.

⁶ Fuit idem presbyter atque episcopus. Ibid. lib. iv. cap. vi.

⁷ Vaughan's Life of Wickliffe, ii. 207. The Christian public is much indebted to Dr Vaughan for his biography of this reformer.

¹ Multitudo fratrum mortem tuam multipliciter machinantur. Dialog. lib. iv. cap. iv.

² Aliqui fratres quæ Deus docere dignatur... relicta sua perdidit... redibunt liberi ad religionem Christi primævam, et tunc edificabunt ecclesias, sicut Paulus. Ibid. lib. iv. cap. xxi.

³ John Huss in Bohemia.

⁴ Assisterent sicut gladio et pelta stipati ad eorum dolum alacrum. Knighton, lib. v. p. 200.

Images from their baronial chapels;¹ and even the royal family was partly won over to the Reformation. England was like a tree cut down to the ground, from whose roots fresh buds are shooting out on every side, ere long to cover all the earth beneath their shade.²

This augmented the courage of Wickliffe's disciples, and in many places the people took the initiative in the reform. The walls of St Paul's, and other cathedrals were hung with placards aimed at the priests and friars, and the abuses of which they were the defenders; and in 1395 the friends of the Gospel petitioned parliament for a general reform. "The essence of the worship which comes from Rome," said they, "consists in signs and ceremonies, and not in the efficacy of the Holy Ghost: and therefore it is not that which Christ has ordained. Temporal things are distinct from spiritual things: a king and a bishop ought not to be one and the same person."³ And then, from not clearly understanding the principle of the separation of the functions which they proclaimed, they called upon parliament to "abolish celibacy, transubstantiation, prayers for the dead, offerings to images, auricular confession, war, the art unnecessary to life, the practice of blessing oil, salt, wax, incense, stones, mitres, and pilgrims' staffs. All these pertain to necromancy and not to theology." Emboldened by the absence of the king in Ireland, they fixed their *Twelve Conclusions* on the gates of St Paul's and Westminster Abbey. This became the signal for persecution.

As soon as Arundel, archbishop of York, and Braybrooke, bishop of London, had read these propositions, they hastily crossed St George's channel, and conjured the king to return to England. The prince hesitated not to comply, for his wife, the pious Anne of Luxemburg, was dead. Richard, during childhood and youth, had been committed in succession to the charge of several guardians, and like children (says an historian), whose nurses have been often changed, he thrived none the better for it. He did good or evil, according to the influence of those around him, and had no decided inclinations except for ostentation and licentiousness. The clergy were not mistaken in calculating on such a prince. On his return to London he forbade the parliament to take the Wickliffite petition into consideration; and having summoned before him the most distinguished of its supporters, such as Story, Clifford, Latimer, and Montacute, he threatened them with death if they continued to defend their abominable opinions. Thus was the work of the reformer about to be destroyed.

But Richard had hardly withdrawn his hand

from the gospel, when God (says the annalist) withdrew his hand from him.⁴ His cousin, Henry of Hereford, son of the famous Duke of Lancaster, and who had been banished from England, suddenly sailed from the continent, landed in Yorkshire, gathered all the malcontents around him, and was acknowledged king. The unhappy Richard, after being formally deposed, was confined in Pontefract castle, where he soon terminated his earthly career.

The son of Wickliffe's old defender was now king: a reform of the church seemed imminent; but the primate Arundel had foreseen the danger. This cunning priest and skilful politician had observed which way the wind blew, and deserted Richard in good time. Taking Lancaster by the hand, he put the crown on his head, saying to him: "To consolidate your throne, conciliate the clergy, and sacrifice the Lollards."—"I will be the protector of the church," replied Henry IV., and from that hour the power of the priests was greater than the power of the nobility. Rome has ever been adroit in profiting by revolutions.

Lancaster, in his eagerness to show his gratitude to the priests, ordered that every incorrigible heretic should be burnt alive, to terrify his companions.⁵ Practice followed close upon the theory. A pious priest named William Sawtre had presumed to say: "Instead of adoring the cross on which Christ suffered, I adore Christ who suffered on it." He was dragged to St Paul's; his hair was shaved off; a layman's cap was placed on his head; and the primate handed him over to the mercy of the earl-marshal of England. This merry was shown him—he was burnt alive at Smithfield in the beginning of March 1401. Sawtre was the first martyr to protestantism.

Encouraged by this act of faith—this *ordo da fe*—the clergy drew up the articles known as the "Constitutions of Arundel," which forbade the reading of the Bible, and styled the pope, "not a mere man, but a true God."⁶ The Lollards' tower, in the archiepiscopal palace of Lambeth, was soon filled with pretended heretics, many of whom carved on the walls of their dungeons the expression of their sorrow and their hopes: *Jesus amor meus*, wrote one of them.⁷

To crush the lowly was not enough: the gospel must be driven from the more exalted stations. The priests, who were sincere in their belief, regarded those noblemen as misleaders, who set the word of God above the laws of Rome; and accordingly they girded themselves for the work. A few miles from Rochester stood Cowling Castle, in the midst

¹ Fox, Acts, l. p. 304, fol. Lond. 1604.

² Ibid. p. 304. This is the statute known as 1 Henry IV. c. 15, the first actual law in England against heresy.

³ Ibid. p. 302.

⁴ Not of pure man but of true God, here in earth. *Ibid.* p. 308.

⁵ "Jesus is my love." These words are still to be read in the tower.

¹ *Milites cum duobus et comitibus erant principes alii adherentes.* Knighton, lib. v. p. 304.

² *Quasi germinantes multiplicati sunt nimis et impleverunt ubique orbem regni.* Ibid. These "Conclusions" are reprinted by Lewis (Wickliffe), p. 237.

³ *Res et episcopos in una persona, &c.* Ibid.

D'AUBIGNE'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

of the fertile pastures watered by the Medway.

*The fair Medway that with wanton pride
Forms silver mazes with her crooked side.¹*

In the beginning of the fifteenth century it was inhabited by Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, a man in high favour with the king. The "poor priests" thronged to Cowling in quest of Wickliffe's writings, of which Cobham had caused numerous copies to be made, and whence they were circulated through the dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, London, and Hertford. Cobham attended their preaching, and if any enemies ventured to interrupt them, he threatened them with his sword.² "I would sooner risk my life," said he, "than submit to such unjust decrees as dishonour the everlasting Testament." The king would not permit the clergy to lay hands on his favourite.

But Henry V. having succeeded his father in 1413, and passed from the house of ill fame he had hitherto frequented, to the foot of the altars and the head of the armies, the archbishop immediately denounced Cobham to him, and he was summoned to appear before the king. Sir John had understood Wickliffe's doctrine, and experienced in his own person the might of the divine Word. "As touching the pope and his spirituality," he said to the king, "I owe them neither suit nor service, forasmuch as I know him by the Scriptures to be the great antichrist."³ Henry thrust aside Cobham's hand as he presented his confession of faith: "I will not receive this paper, lay it before your judges." When he saw his profession refused, Cobham had recourse to the only arm which he knew of out of the gospel. The differences which we now settle by pamphlets were then very commonly settled by the sword:—"I offer in defence of my faith to fight for life or death with any man living, Christian or pagan, always excepting your majesty."⁴ Cobham was led to the Tower.

On the 23d September 1413, he was taken before the ecclesiastical tribunal then sitting at St Paul's. "We must believe," said the primate to him, "what the holy church of Rome teaches, without demanding Christ's authority."—"Believe!" shouted the priests, "believe!"—"I am willing to believe all that God desires," said Sir John; "but that the pope should have authority to teach what is contrary to Scripture—that I can never believe." He was led back to the Tower. The word of God was to have its martyr.

On Monday, 25th September, a crowd of priests, canons, friars, clerks, and indulgence-sellers, thronged the large hall of the Dominican convent, and attacked Lord Cobham

with abusive language. These insults, the importance of the moment for the Reformation of England, the catastrophe that must needs close the scene: all agitated his soul to its very depths. When the archbishop called upon him to confess his offence, he fell on his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, exclaimed: "I confess to Thee, O God! and acknowledge that in my frail youth I seriously offended Thee by my pride, anger, intemperance, and impurity: for these offences I implore thy mercy!" Then standing up, his face still wet with tears, he said: "I ask not your absolution: it is God's only that I need."⁵ The clergy did not despair, however, of reducing this high-spirited gentleman: they knew that spiritual strength is not always conjoined with bodily vigour, and they hoped to vanquish by priestly sophisms the man who dared challenge the papal champions to single combat. "Sir John," said the primate at last, "you have said some very strange things; we have spent much time in endeavours to convince you, but all to no effect. The day passeth away: you must either submit yourself to the ordinance of the most holy church....." "I will none otherwise believe than what I have told you. Do with me what you will."—"Well then, we must needs do the law," the archbishop made answer.

Arundel stood up; all the priests and people rose with him and uncovered their heads. Then holding the sentence of death in his hand, he read it with a loud clear voice. "It is well," said Sir John; "though you condemn my body, you can do no harm to my soul, by the grace of my eternal God." He was again led back to the Tower, whence he escaped one night, and took refuge in Wales. He was retaken in December 1417, carried to London, dragged on a hurdle to Saint Giles's fields, and there suspended by chains over a slow fire, and cruelly burned to death. Thus died a Christian, illustrious after the fashion of his age—a champion of the Word of God. The London prisons were filled with Wickliffites, and it was decreed that they should be hung on the king's account, and burnt for God's.⁶

The intimidated Lollards were compelled to hide themselves in the humblest ranks of the people, and to hold their meetings in secret. The work of redemption was proceeding noiselessly among the elect of God. Of these Lollards, there were many who had been redeemed by Jesus Christ; but in general they knew not, to the same extent as the evangelical Christians of the sixteenth century, the quickening and justifying power of faith. They were plain, meek, and often timid folks, attracted by the word of God, affected at the condemnation it pronounced

¹ Blackmore.

² *Exorant predica: ionibus nefariis interfuit, et contradicere, al quos repperat, minia et terroribus et gladii secularis potentia compescuit.* Rymer, *Fœdera*, tom. iv. pars 2. 46.

³ Fox, vol. i. p. 386, fol.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 337.

⁵ Quod nullam absolutionem in hac parte peteret a nobis, sed a solo Deo. Rymer, *Fœdera*, p. 51.

⁶ Incendio propter Deum, suspendio propter regem. Thom. Waldensis in Decimo. Raynald, ann. 1414. No. 16.

against the errors of Rome, and desirous of living according to its commandments God had assigned them a part—and an important part too—in the great transformation of Christianity. Their humble piety, their passive resistance, the shameful treatment which they bore with resignation, the penitent's robes with which they were covered, the tapers they were compelled to hold at the church door—all these things betrayed the pride of the priests, and filled the most generous minds with doubts and vague desires. By a baptism of suffering, God was then preparing the way to a glorious reformation.

CHAPTER X.

Learning at Florence—The Tudors—Erasmus visits England—Sir Thomas More—Dean Colet—Erasmus and young Henry—Prince Arthur and Catherine—Marriage and Death—Catherine betrothed to Henry—Accession of Henry VIII.—Enthusiasm of the Learned—Erasmus recalled to England—Cromwell before the Pope—Catherine proposed to Henry—Their Marriage and Court—Tournaments—Henry's Lancer.

THIS reformation was to be the result of two distinct forces—the revival of learning and the resurrection of the word of God. The latter was the principal cause, but the former was necessary as a means. Without it the living waters of the gospel would probably have traversed the age, like summer streams which soon dry up, such as those which had burst forth here and there during the middle ages; it would not have become that majestic river, which, by its inundations, fertilized all the earth. It was necessary to discover and examine the original fountains, and for this end the study of Greek and Hebrew was indispensable. Lollardism and humanism (the study of the classics) were the two laboratories of the reform. We have seen the preparations of the one, we must now trace the commencement of the other; and as we have discovered the light in the lowly valleys, we shall discern it also on the lofty mountain tops.

About the end of the fifteenth century, several young Englishmen chanced to be at Florence, attracted thither by the literary glory which environed the city of the Medici. Cosmo had collected together a great number of works of antiquity, and his palace was thronged with learned men. William Selling, a young English ecclesiastic, afterwards distinguished at Canterbury by his zeal in collecting valuable manuscripts; his fellow-countrymen, Grocyn, Lilly, and Latimer "more bashful than a maiden;"¹ and, above all, Linaere, whom Erasmus ranked before all the scholars of Italy,—used to meet in the delicious villa of the Medici with

Polifian, Chalcondyles, and other men of learning; and there, in the calm evenings of summer, under that glorious Tuscan sky, they dreamt romantic visions of the Platonic philosophy. When they returned to England, these learned men laid before the youth of Oxford the marvellous treasures of the Greek language. Some Italians even, attracted by the desire to enlighten the barbarians, and a little, it may be, by the brilliant offers made them, quitted their beloved country for the distant Britain. Cornelius Vitelli taught at Oxford, and Caius Amerino at Cambridge. Caxton imported the art of printing from Germany, and the nation hailed with enthusiasm the brilliant dawn which was breaking at last in their cloudy sky.

While learning was reviving in England, a new dynasty succeeded to the throne, bringing with it that energy of character which of itself is able to effect great revolutions; the Tudors succeeded the Plantagenets. That inflexible intrepidity by which the reformers of Germany, Switzerland, France, and Scotland were distinguished, did not exist so generally in those of England; but it was found in the character of her kings, who often stretched it even to violence. It may be that to this preponderance of energy in its rulers, the church owes the preponderance of the state in its affairs.

Henry Tudor, the Louis XI. of England, was a clever prince, of decided but suspicious character, avaricious and narrow-minded. Being descended from a Welsh family, he belonged to that ancient race of Celts, who had so long contended against the papacy. Henry had extinguished faction at home, and taught foreign nations to respect his power. A good genius seemed to exercise a salutary influence over his court as well as over himself: this was his mother the Countess of Richmond. From her closet, where she consecrated the first five hours of the day to reading, meditation, and prayer, she moved to another part of the palace to dress the wounds of some of the lowest mendicants; thence she passed into the gay saloons, where she would converse with the scholars, whom she encouraged by her munificence. This noble lady's passion for study, of which her son inherited but little, was not without its influence in her family. Arthur and Henry, the king's eldest sons, trembled in their father's presence; but, captivated by the affection of their pious grandmother, they began to find a pleasure in the society of learned men. An important circumstance gave a new impulse to one of them.

Among the countess's friends was Montjoy, who had known Erasmus at Paris, and heard his cutting sarcasms upon the schoolmen and friars. He invited the illustrious Dutchman to England, and Erasmus, who was fearful of catching the plague, gladly accepted the invitation, and set out for what he believed to be the kingdom of darkness.

Podorem plus quam virginem. Eras. Ep. l. p. 225.

e had not been long in England before covered unexpected light.

rtly after his arrival, happening to dine the lord-mayor, Erasmus noticed on the side of the table a young man of nine-slender, fresh-coloured, with blue eyes, hands, and the right shoulder some-higher than the other. His features ted affability and gaiety, and pleasant were continually dropping from his If he could not find a joke in English, old in French, and even in Latin or

A literary contest soon ensued be- Erasmus and the English youth. The r, astonished at meeting with any one could hold his own against him, ex- d: *Aut tu es Morus aut nullus!* (you ther More or nobody); and his com- a, who had not learnt the stranger's quickly replied: *Aut tu es Erasmus abotus!* (you are either the devil or us).¹ More flung himself into the arms asmus, and they became inseparable s. More was continually joking, even women, teasing the young maidens, and ig fun of the dull, though without any of ill-nature in his jests.² But under sportive exterior he concealed a deep standing. He was at that time lectur- n Augustine's *City of God* before a rous audience composed of priests and men. The thought of eternity had him: and being ignorant of that in- discipline of the Holy Ghost, which is ly true discipline, he had recourse to ourge on every Friday. Thomas More ideal of the catholicism of this period. d, like the Romish system, two poles dliness and asceticism; which, al- b contrary, often meet together. In asceticism makes a sacrifice of *self*, o preserve it; just as a traveller at- l by robbers will readily give up a n of his treasures to save the rest. was the case with More, if we rightly stand his character. He sacrificed the ories of his fallen nature to save that nature. He submitted to fasts and , wore a shirt of hair-cloth, mortified dy by small chains next his skin—in d, he immolated everything in order to ve that *self* which a real regeneration can sacrifice.

in London Erasmus went to Oxford, he met with John Colet, a friend of s, but older, and of very dissimilar ter. Colet, the scion of an ancient r, was a very portly man, of imposing ; great fortune, and elegance of man- to which Erasmus had not been accus- . Order, cleanliness, and decorum iled in his person and in his house. He an excellent table, which was open to : friends of learning, and at which the

Dutchman, no great admirer of the colleges of Paris with their sour wine and stale eggs, was glad to take a seat.³ He there met also most of the classical scholars of England, especially Grocyne, Linsacre, Thomas Wolsey, bursar of Magdalene College, Halsey, and some others. "I cannot tell you how I am delighted with your England," he wrote to Lord Montjoy from Oxford. "With such men I could willingly live in the farthest coasts of Scythia."⁴

But if Erasmus on the banks of the Thames found a Mæcenas in Lord Montjoy, a Labeo and perhaps a Virgil in More, he nowhere found an Augustus. One day as he was expressing his regrets and his fears to More, the latter said: "Come, let us go to Eltham, perhaps we shall find there what you are looking for." They set out, More jesting all the way, inwardly resolving to expiate his gaiety by a severe scourging at night. On their arrival they were heartily welcomed by Lord and Lady Montjoy, the governor and governess of the king's children. As the two friends entered the hall, a pleasing and unexpected sight greeted Erasmus. The whole of the family were assembled, and they found themselves surrounded not only by some of the royal household, but by the domestics of Lord Montjoy also. On the right stood the Princess Margaret, a girl of eleven years, whose great-grandson under the name of Stuart was to continue the Tudor line in England; on the left was Mary, a child four years of age; Edmund was in his nurse's arms; and in the middle of the circle, between his two sisters, stood a boy, at that time only nine years old, whose handsome features, royal carriage, intelligent eye, and exquisite courtesy, had an extraordinary charm for Erasmus.⁵ That boy was Henry, Duke of York, the king's second son, born on the 28th June 1491. More, advancing towards the young prince, presented to him some piece of his own writing; and from that hour Erasmus kept up a friendly intercourse with Henry, which in all probability exercised a certain influence over the destinies of England. The scholar of Rotterdam was delighted to see the prince excel in all the manly sports of the day. He sat his horse with perfect grace and rare intrepidity, could hurl a javelin farther than any of his companions, and having an excellent taste for music, he was already a performer on several instruments. The king took care that he should receive a learned education, for he destined him to fill the see of Canterbury; and the illustrious Erasmus, noticing his aptitude for every thing he undertook, did his best to cut and polish this English diamond that it might glitter with the greater brilliancy. "He will

¹ Quantum ibi devorabatur ovorum putrum, quantum vini putris hauriebatur. Erasmus. Colloq. p. 264.

² Nec non potent quam mihi dulcescat Anglia tua... vel in extrema Scythia vivere non recusem. Erasmus. Ep. l. 2 31].

³ Erasmus. Ep. ad Botachem. Jortin. Appendix, p. 108.

of More by his Great-grandson (1899), p. 93.
⁴ mulieribus fere atque ptiām cum azore nonnulli coque tractat. Erasmus. Ep. l. p. 236.

begin nothing that he will not finish," said the scholar. And it is but too true, that this prince always attained his end, even if it were necessary to tread on the bleeding bodies of those he had loved. Flattered by the attentions of the young Henry, attracted by his winning grace, charmed by his wit, Erasmus on his return to the continent everywhere proclaimed that England at last had found its Octavius.

As for Henry VII. he thought of everything but Virgil or Augustus. Avarice and ambition were his predominant tastes, which he gratified by the marriage of his eldest son in 1501. Burgundy, Artois, Provence, and Brittany having been recently united to France, the European powers felt the necessity of combining against that encroaching state. It was in consequence of this that Ferdinand of Aragon had given his daughter Joanna to Philip of Austria, and that Henry VII. asked the hand of his daughter Catherine, then in her sixteenth year and the richest princess in Europe, for Arthur prince of Wales, a youth about ten months younger. The catholic king made one condition to the marriage of his daughter. Warwick, the last of the Plantagenets and a pretender to the crown, was confined in the Tower. Ferdinand, to secure the certainty that Catherine would really ascend the English throne, required that the unhappy prince should be put to death. Nor did this alone satisfy the king of Spain. Henry VII., who was not a cruel man, might conceal Warwick, and say that he was no more. Ferdinand demanded that the chancellor of Castile should be present at the execution. The blood of Warwick was shed; his head rolled duly on the scaffold; the Castilian chancellor verified and registered the murder, and on the 14th November the marriage was solemnized at St Paul's. At midnight the prince and princess were conducted with great pomp to the bridal-chamber.¹ These were ill-omened nuptials—fated to set the kings and nations of Christendom in battle against each other, and to serve as a pretext for the external and political discussions of the English Reformation. The marriage of Catherine the Catholic was a marriage of blood.

In the early part of 1502 Prince Arthur fell ill, and on the 2d of April he died. The necessary time was taken to be sure that Catherine had no hope of becoming a mother, after which the friend of Erasmus, the youthful Henry, was declared heir to the crown, to the great joy of all the learned. This prince did not forsake his studies: he spoke and wrote in French, German, and Spanish with the facility of a native; and England hoped to behold one day the most learned of Christian kings upon the throne of Alfred the Great.

A very different question, however, filled the mind of the covetous Henry VII. Must he restore to Spain the two hundred thousand ducats which formed Catherine's dowry? Shall this rich heiress be permitted to marry some rival of England? To prevent so great a misfortune the king conceived the project of uniting Henry to Arthur's widow. The most serious objections were urged against it. "It is not only inconsistent with propriety," said Warham, the primate, "but the will of God himself is against it. It is declared in His law that if a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an *unchast thing*. (Lev. xx. 21); and in the Gospel John Baptist says to Herod: *It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife*," (Mark vi. 18.) Fox, bishop of Winchester, suggested that a dispensation might be procured from the pope, and in December 1503 Julius II. granted a bull declaring that for the sake of preserving union between the catholic princes he authorized Catherine's marriage with the brother of her first husband, *accidentis forma copula carnali*. These four words, it is said, were inserted in the bull at the express desire of the princess. All these details will be of importance in the course of our history. The two parties were betrothed, but not married, in consideration of the youth of the prince of Wales.

The second marriage projected by Henry VII. was ushered in with auspices still less promising than the first. The king having fallen sick and lost his queen, looked upon these visitations as a divine judgment.² The nation murmured, and demanded whether it was in the pope's power to permit what God had forbidden.³ The young prince, being informed of his father's scruples and of the people's discontent, declared, just before attaining his majority (27th June 1505), in the presence of the bishop of Winchester and several royal counsellors, that he protested against the engagement entered into during his minority, and that he would never make Catherine his wife.

His father's death, which made him free, made him also recall this virtuous decision. In 1509, the hopes of the learned seemed about to be realized. On the 9th of May, a hearse decorated with regal pomp, bearing on a rich pall of cloth of gold the mortal remains of Henry VII., with his sceptre and his crown, entered London, followed by a long procession. The great officers of state, assembled round the coffin, broke their staves and cast them into the vault, and the heralds cried with a loud voice: "God send the noble King Henry VIII. long life."⁴ Such a cry perhaps had never on any previous occasion been so joyfully repeated by the people. The young king gratified the wishes of the nation by ordering the arrest of Erp

¹ *Principes summa nocte ad thalamum solemniter ritu defuncti sunt. Sanderus, de schismate Angl. p. 2.*

² *Morysin's Apomaria.*

³ *Herbert, Life of Henry VIII. p. 18.*

⁴ *Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 200.*

son and Dudley, who were charged with extortion; and he conformed to the enlightened counsels of his grandmother, by choosing the most able ministers, and placing the archbishop of Canterbury as lord-chancellor at their head. Warham was a man of great capacity. The day was not too short for him to hear mass, receive ambassadors, consult with the king in the royal closet, entertain as many as two hundred guests at his table, take his seat on the woolsack, and find time for his private devotions. The joy of the learned surpassed that of the people. The old king wanted none of their praises or congratulations, for fear he should have to pay for them; but now they could give free course to their enthusiasm. Montjoy pronounced the young king "divine;" the Venetian ambassador likened his port to Apollo's, and his noble chest to the torso of Mars; he was lauded both in Greek and Latin; he was hailed as the founder of a new era, and Henry seemed desirous of meriting these eulogiums. Far from permitting himself to be intoxicated by so much adulation, he said to Montjoy: "Ah! how I should like to be a scholar!"—"Sire," replied the courtier, "it is enough that you show our regard for those who possess the learning you desire for yourself."—"How can I do otherwise," he replied with earnestness; "without them we hardly exist!" Montjoy immediately communicated this to Erasmus.

Erasmus!—Erasmus!—the walls of Elham, Oxford, and London resounded with his name. The king could not live without he learned; nor the learned without Erasmus. This scholar, who was an enthusiast or the young king, was not long in answering to the call. When Richard Pace, one of the most accomplished men of that age, met the learned Dutchman at Ferrara, the latter took from his pocket a little box which he always carried with him: "You don't know," he said, "what a treasure you have in England: I will just show you;" and he took from the box a letter of Henry's expressing in Latin of considerable purity the tenderest regard for his correspondent.¹ Immediately after the coronation Montjoy wrote to Erasmus: "Our Henry Octavius, or rather Octavius, is on the throne. Come and behold the new star." The heavens smile, the earth saps for joy, and all is flowing with milk,ectar, and honey.² Avarice has fled away, liberality has descended, scattering on every side with gracious hand her bounteous largesses. Our king desires not gold or precious stones, but virtue, glory, and immortality."

In such glowing terms was the young king described by a man who had seen him

closely. Erasmus could resist no longer: he bade the pope farewell, and hastened to London, where he met with a hearty welcome from Henry. Science and power embraced each other: England was about to have its Medici; and the friends of learning no longer doubted of the regeneration of Britain.

Julius II., who had permitted Erasmus to exchange the white frock of the monks for the black dress of the seculars,³ allowed him to depart without much regret. This pontiff had little taste for letters, but was fond of war, hunting, and the pleasures of the table. The English sent him a dish to his taste in exchange for the scholar. Sometime after Erasmus had left, as the pope was one day reposing from the fatigues of the chase, he heard voices near him singing a strange song. He asked with surprise what it meant.⁴ "It is some Englishmen," was the answer, and three foreigners entered the room, each bearing a closely-covered jar, which the youngest presented on his knees. This was Thomas Cromwell, who appears here for the first time on the historic scene. He was the son of a blacksmith of Putney; but he possessed a mind so penetrating, a judgment so sound, a heart so bold, ability so consummate, such easy elocution, such an accurate memory, such great activity, and so able a pen, that the most brilliant career was foreboded him. At the age of twenty he left England, being desirous to see the world, and began life as a clerk in the English factory at Antwerp. Shortly after this two fellow-countrymen from Boston came to him in their embarrassment. "What do you want?" he asked them. "Our townsmen have sent us to the pope," they told him, "to get the renewal of the *greater* and *lesser* pardons, whose term is nearly run, and which are necessary for the repair of our harbour. But we do not know how to appear before him." Cromwell, prompt to undertake everything, and knowing a little Italian, replied, "I will go with you." Then slapping his forehead he muttered to himself: "What fish can I throw out as a bait to these greedy cormorants?" A friend informed him that the pope was very fond of dainties. Cromwell immediately ordered some exquisite jelly to be prepared, after the English fashion, and set out for Italy with his provisions and his two companions.

This was the man who appeared before Julius after his return from the chase. "Kings and princes alone eat of this preserve in England," said Cromwell to the pope. One cardinal, who was a greedier "cormorant" than his master, eagerly tasted the delicacy. "Try it," he exclaimed, and the pope, relishing this new confectionary, immediately signed the pardons, on condition however that the receipt for the jelly should

¹ Scripsit ad me sapiente manu litteras amantissimas. Justin. vita ad p. p.

² Et hoc novum sidus aspiciet. Ibid. p. 277; an expression of Virgil, speaking of the deified Augustus.

³ Ridet æther, exultat terra, omnia læta, omnia mellis, mala nectaris sunt plena. Ibid.

⁴ Vestem albam commutavit in nigram. Epp. ad Servat.
⁵ The pope suddenly marvelling at the strangeness of the song. Fox, Acts, v. 266, ed. Lond. 1634.

be left with him. "And thus were the *jelly-pardons* obtained," says the annalist. It was Cromwell's first exploit, and the man who began his busy career by presenting jars of confectionary to the pope was also the man destined to separate England from Rome.

The court of the pontiff was not the only one in Europe devoted to gaiety. Hunting parties were as common in London as at Rome. The young king and his companions were at that time absorbed in balls, banquets, and the other festivities inseparable from a new reign. He recollected however that he must give a queen to his people; Catherine of Aragon was still in England, and the council recommended her for his wife. He admired her piety without caring to imitate it;¹ he was pleased with her love for literature, and even felt some inclination towards her.² His advisers represented to him that "Catherine, daughter of the illustrious Isabella of Castile, was the image of her mother. Like her, she possessed that wisdom and greatness of mind which win the respect of nations; and that if she carried to any of his rivals her marriage-portion and the Spanish alliance, the long-contested crown of England would soon fall from his head..... We have the pope's dispensation: will you be more scrupulous than he is?"³ The archbishop of Canterbury opposed in vain: Henry gave way, and on the eleventh of June, about seven weeks after his father's death, the nuptials were privately celebrated. On the twenty-third the king and queen went in state through the city, the bride wearing a white satin dress with her hair hanging down her back nearly to her feet. On the next day they were crowned at Westminster with great magnificence.

Then followed a series of expensive entertainments. The treasures which the nobility had long concealed from fear of the old king, were now brought out; the ladies glittered with gold and diamonds; and the king and queen, whom the people never grew tired of admiring, amused themselves like children with the splendour of their royal robes. Henry VIII. was the forerunner of Louis XIV. Naturally inclined to pomp and pleasure, the idol of his people, a devoted admirer of female beauty, and the husband of almost as many wives as Louis had adulterous mistresses, he made the court of England what the son of Anne of Austria made the court of France,—one constant scene of amusements. He thought he could never get to the end of the riches amassed by his prudent father. His youth—for he was only eighteen—the gaiety of his disposition, the grace he displayed in all bodily exercises,

the tales of chivalry in which he delighted and which even the clergy recommended to their high-born hearers, the flattery of his courtiers⁴—all these combined to set his young imagination in a ferment. Wherever he appeared, all were filled with admiration of his handsome countenance and graceful figure: such is the portrait bequeathed to us by his greatest enemy.⁵ "His brow was made to wear the crown, and his majestic port the kingly mantle," adds Norryson.⁶

Henry resolved to realize without delay the chivalrous combats and fabulous splendours of the heroes of the Round Table, as if to prepare himself for those more real struggles which he would one day have to maintain against the papacy. At the sound of the trumpet the youthful monarch would enter the lists, clad in costly armour, and wearing a plume that fell gracefully down to the saddle of his vigorous courser: "like an untamed bull," says an historian, "which breaks away from its yoke and rushes into the arena." On one occasion, at the celebration of the queen's churching, Catherine with her ladies was seated in a tent of purple and gold, in the midst of an artificial forest, strewn with rocks and variegated with flowers. On a sudden a monk stepped forward, wearing a long brown robe, and kneeling before her, begged permission to run a course. It was granted, and rising up he threw aside his coarse frock, and appeared gorgeously armed for the tourney. He was Charles Brandon, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, one of the handsomest and strongest men in the kingdom, and the first after Henry in military exercises. He was followed by a number of others dressed in black velvet, with wide-brimmed hats on their heads, staves in their hands, and scarfs across their shoulders ornamented with cockle shells, like pilgrims from St James of Compostella. These also threw off their disguise, and stood forth in complete armour. At their head was Sir Thomas Boleyn, whose daughter was fated to surpass in beauty, greatness, and misfortune, all the women of England. The tournament began. Henry, who has been compared to Amadis in boldness, to the lion-hearted Richard in courage, and to Edward III. in courtesy, did not always escape danger in these chivalrous contests. One day the king had forgotten to lower his vizor, and Brandon, his opponent, setting off at full gallop, the spectators noticed the oversight, and cried out in alarm. But nothing could stop their horses: the two cavaliers met. Suffolk's lance was shivered against Henry, and the fragments struck him in the face. Every one thought the king was dead, and some were running to arrest Brandon, when Henry, recovering from the blow which

¹ Admirabatur quidem uxoris sanctitatem. Sanders, p. 6.

² Ut amer plus apud regem posset. Moryson Apom. p. 14.

³ Herbert's Henry VIII. p. 7. Fuller's Church Hist. Book V. p. 166. Erasmus. Ep. ad Amer. p. 16.

⁴ Tyndale, Obedience of a Christian Man (1526).

⁵ Etsi in corpore forma præditus, in quantum regis majesticæ augustæ quædam species alacritat. Sanders & Schæfer, p. 4.

⁶ Turner, Hist. Engl. i. p. 22.

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

a his helmet, recommenced the ran six new courses amid the es of his subjects. This intrchanged as he grew older into ruely; and it was this young movements were then so grace- no distant day tore with his the mother of his children.

CHAPTER XI.

to War—Colet's Sermon at St Paul's—The sign—Marriage of Louis XII. and Princess from Anna Holyer—Marriage of Brandon ford—Sir Thomas More at Court—Attack asteries—Colet's Household—He preaches breaks and Trojans.

rom the pope stopped Henry in f these amusements. In Scot-

France, and Italy, the young othing but friends; a harmony pacy was intent on disturbing. mediately after high mass had ted, the archbishop of Canter- alf of Julius II. laid at his feet se, which had been blessed by ointed with holy oil, and per- nusk.¹ It was accompanied by ting him as head of the Italian e warlike pontiff having reduced s, desired to humble France, and enry as the instrument of his

Henry, only a short time be- newed his alliance with Louis e pope was not to be baffled by e as that, and the young king o dream of rivalling the glories itiers, and Agincourt. To no his wisest councillors represent England, in the most favourable never been able to hold her ance, and that the sea was the on to her conquests. Julius, vinity, had promised to deprive title of Most Christian king, and on him. "His holiness hopes ace will utterly exterminate the uce," wrote the king's agent." nothing objectionable in this tolic mission, and decided on the terrible game of war for the s of peace.

ring of 1511, after some unsuc- pts by his generals, Henry de- invade France in person. He midst of his preparations when of Easter arrived. Dean Colet ointed to preach before Henry iday, and in the course of his owed more courage than could pected in a scholar, for a spark

of the Christian spirit was glowing in his bosom. He chose for the subject of his dis- course Christ's victory over death and the grave. "Whoever takes up arms from am- bition," said he, "fights not under the standard of Christ, but of Satan. If you desire to contend against your enemies, fol- low Jesus Christ as your prince and captain, rather than Cæsar or Alexander." His hear- ers looked at each other with astonishment; the friends of polite literature became alarm- ed; and the priests, who were getting uneasy at the uprising of the human mind, hoped to profit by this opportunity of inflicting a deadly blow on their antagonists. There were among them men whose opinions we must condemn, while we cannot forbear re- specting the zeal for what they believed to be the truth: of this number were Bricot, Fitzjames, and above all Standish. Their zeal, however, went a little too far on this occasion: they even talked of *burning* the dean.¹ After the sermon, Colet was inform- ed that the king requested his attendance in the garden of the Franciscan monastery, and immediately the priests and monks crowded round the gate, hoping to see their adversary led forth as a criminal. "Let us be alone," said Henry; "put on your cap, Mr Dean, and we will take a walk. Cheer up," he continued, "you have nothing to fear. You have spoken admirably of Chris- tian charity, and have almost reconciled me to the king of France; yet, as the contest is not one of choice, but of necessity, I must beg of you in some future sermon to explain this to my people. Unless you do so, I fear my soldiers may misunderstand your mean- ing." Colet was not a John Baptist, and, affected by the king's condescension, he gave the required explanation. The king was satisfied and exclaimed: "Let every man have his doctor as he pleases; this man is my doctor, and I will drink his health!" Henry was then young: very different was the fashion with which in after-years he treated those who opposed him.

At heart the king cared little more about the victories of Alexander than of Jesus Christ. Having fitted out his army, he em- barked at the end of June, accompanied by his almoner, Wolsey, who was rising into favour, and set out for the war as if for a tournament. Shortly after this, he went, all glittering with jewels, to meet the Emperor Maximilian, who received him in a plain doublet and cloak of black serge. After his victory at the battle of Spurs, Henry, in- stead of pressing forward to the conquest of France, returned to the siege of Teroouenne, wasted his time in jousts and entertainments, conferred on Wolsey the bishopric of Tournay which he had just captured, and then returned to England, delighted at having made so pleasant an excursion.

see apparatus. Wilkins, Conellia, III. p. 622. dinal Bembridge. Cotton MSS. Vitell. B.

¹ Dr Colet was in trouble and should have been burnt. Latimer's Sermons. Parker edition, p. 446.

Louis XII. was a widower in his 53d year, and bowed down by the infirmities of a premature old age; but being desirous of preventing, at any cost, the renewal of the war, he sought the hand of Henry's sister, the Princess Mary, then in her 16th year. Her affections were already fixed on Charles Brandon, and for him she would have sacrificed the splendour of a throne. But reasons of state opposed their union. "The princess," remarked Wolsey, "will soon return to England a widow with a royal dowry." This decided the question. The disconsolate Mary, who was an object of universal pity, embarked at Dover with a numerous train, and from Boulogne, where she was received by the duke of Angoulême, she was conducted to the king, elated at the idea of marrying the handsomest princess in Europe.

Among Mary's attendants was the youthful Anne Boleyn. Her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, had been charged by Henry, conjointly with the bishop of Ely, with the diplomatic negotiations preliminary to this marriage. Anne had passed her childhood at Hever Castle, surrounded by all that could heat the imagination. Her maternal grandfather, the earl of Surrey, whose eldest son had married the sister of Henry the Seventh's queen, had filled, as did his sons also, the most important offices of state. At the age probably of fourteen, when summoned by her father to court, she wrote him the following letter in French, which appears to refer to her departure for France:—

"SIR,—I find by your letter that you wish me to appear at court in a manner becoming a respectable female, and likewise that the queen will condescend to enter into conversation with me; at this I rejoice, as I do to think, that conversing with so sensible and elegant a princess will make me even more desirous of continuing to speak and to write good French; the more as it is by your earnest advice, which (I acquaint you by this present writing) I shall follow to the best of my ability.....As to myself, rest assured that I shall not ungratefully look upon this fatherly office as one that might be dispensed with; nor will it tend to diminish my affection, quest [wish], and deliberation to lead as holy a life as you may please to desire of me; indeed my love for you is founded on so firm a basis that it can never be impaired. I put an end to this my lucubration after having very humbly craved your good will and affection. Written at Hever, by

"Your very humble and obedient daughter,
"ANNA DE BOULLAN."¹

Such were the feelings under which this

young and interesting lady, so calumniated by papistical writers, appeared at court.

The marriage was celebrated at Abberville on the 9th of October 1514, and after a sumptuous banquet, the king of France distributed his royal largesses among the English lords, who were charmed by his coquetry. But the morrow was a day of trial to the young queen. Louis XII. had dismissed the numerous train which had accompanied her, and even Lady Guildford, to whom Henry had specially confided her. Three only were left,—of whom the youthful Anne Boleyn was one. At this separation, Mary gave way to the keenest sorrow. To cheer her spirits, Louis proclaimed a grand tournament. Brandon hastened to France at its first announcement, and carried off all the prizes; while the king, languidly reclining on a couch, could with difficulty look upon the brilliant spectacle over which his queen presided, sick at heart yet radiant with youth and beauty. Mary was unable to conceal her emotion, and Louisa of Savoy, who was watching her, divined her secret. But Louis, if he experienced the tortures of jealousy, did not feel them long, for his death took place on the first January 1515.

Even before her husband's funeral was over, Mary's heart beat high with hope. Francis I., impatient to see her wedded to some unimportant political personage, encouraged her love for Brandon. The latter, who had been commissioned by Henry to convey to her his letters of condolence, feared his master's anger if he should dare aspire to the hand of the princess. But the widowed queen, who was resolved to brave everything, told her lover: "Either you marry me in four days or you see me no more." The choice the king had made of his ambassador announced that he would not behave very harshly. The marriage was celebrated in the abbey of Clugny, and Henry pardoned them.

While Mary returned to England, as Wolsey had predicted, Anne Boleyn remained in France. Her father, desiring his daughter to become an accomplished woman, intrusted her to the care of the virtuous Claude of France, *the good queen*, at whose court the daughters of the first families of the kingdom were trained. Margaret, duchess of Alençon, the sister of Francis, and afterwards queen of Navarre, often charmed the queen's circle by her lively conversation. She soon became deeply attached to the young English woman, and on the death of Claude took her into her own family. Anne Boleyn was destined at no very remote period to be at the court of London a reflection of the graceful Margaret, and her relations with that princess were not without influence on the English Reformation.

And indeed the literary movement which had passed from Italy into France appeared at that time as if it would cross from France

¹ The French original is preserved among Archbishop Parker's MSS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The translation in the text is (with a slight variation) from Sir H. Ellis's Collection of royal and other letters, vol. II. second series.

in Britain. Oxford exercises over England as great an influence as the metropolis; it is almost always within its walls that government commences whether for good or ill. At this period of our history, an enthusiastic youth hailed with joy the first rays of the new sun, and attacked with its sarcasms the idleness of the monks, the morality of the clergy, and the superstition of the people. Disgusted with the superstition of the middle ages, and captivated by the writers of antiquity and the simplicity of the Gospel, Oxford boldly called for a reform which should burst the bonds of clerical domination and emancipate the human mind. Men of letters thought for a while that they had found the most powerful man in England in Wolsey, the ally that would give them the victory.

He possessed little taste for learning, but being the wind of public favour blow in that direction, he readily spread his sails before it. He got the reputation of a profound divine, quoting a few words of Thomas Aquinas, and the fame of a Mæcenas and Ptolemy, by inviting the learned to his gorgeous entertainments. "O happy cardinal," exclaimed Erasmus, "who can surround his table with thirty torches!"¹

At that time the king felt the same ambition as his minister, and having tasted in the pleasures of war and diplomacy, he went bent his mind to literature. He desired Wolsey to present Sir Thomas More to him. "What shall I do at court?" replied the latter. "I shall be as awkward as a man at never rode sitteth in a saddle." Happy in his family circle, where his father, mother, and children, gathering round the same table, formed a pleasing group, which the veil of Holbein has transmitted to us. More had no desire to leave it. But Henry was not a man to put up with a refusal: he employed force almost to draw More from his retirement, and in a short time he could not live without the society of the man of letters. On calm and starlight nights they would walk together upon the leads at the top of the palace, discoursing on the motions of the heavenly bodies. If More did not appear at court, Henry would go to Chelsea and share the frugal dinner of the family with some of their simple neighbours. Where," asked Erasmus, "where is the theatre, the porch, or the Academe, that can be compared with the court of England? ... It is a seat of the muses rather than a place. The golden age is reviving, and I congratulate the world."

But the friends of classical learning were not content with the cardinal's banquets or the king's favours. They wanted victories, and their keenest darts were aimed at the cloisters, those strong fortresses of the hier-

archy and of uncleanness.¹ The abbot of Saint Albans, having taken a married woman for his concubine, and placed her at the head of a nunnery, his monks had followed his example, and indulged in the most scandalous debauchery. Public indignation was so far aroused, that Wolsey himself—Wolsey, the father of several illegitimate children, and who was suffering the penalty of his irregularities²—was carried away by the spirit of the age, and demanded of the pope a general reform of manners. When they heard of this request, the priests and friars were loud in their outcries. "What are you about?" said they to Wolsey. "You are giving the victory to the enemies of the church, and your only reward will be the hatred of the whole world." As this was not the cardinal's game, he abandoned his project, and conceived one more easily executed. Wishing to deserve the name of "Ptolemy" conferred on him by Erasmus, he undertook to build two large colleges, one at Ipswich, his native town, the other at Oxford; and found it convenient to take the money necessary for their endowment, not from his own purse, but from the purses of the monks. He pointed out to the pope twenty-two monasteries in which (he said) vice and impiety had taken up their abode.³ The pope granted their secularization, and Wolsey having thus procured a revenue of £2000 sterling, laid the foundations of his college, traced out various courts, and constructed spacious kitchens. He fell into disgrace before he had completed his work, which led Gualter to say with a sneer: "He began a college and built a cook's shop."⁴ But a great example had been set: the monasteries had been attacked, and the first breach made in them by a cardinal. Cromwell, Wolsey's secretary, remarked how his master had set about his work, and in after-years profited by the lesson.

It was fortunate for letters that they had sincerer friends in London than Wolsey. Of these were Colet, dean of St Paul's, whose house was the centre of the literary movement which preceded the Reformation, and his friend and guest Erasmus. The latter was the hardy pioneer who opened the road of antiquity to modern Europe. One day he would entertain Colet's guests with the account of a new manuscript; on another, with a discussion on the forms of ancient literature; and at other times he would attack the schoolmen and monks, when Colet would take the same side. The only antagonist who dared measure his strength with him was Sir Thomas More, who, although a lay-

¹ Loca sacra etiam ipsa Dei templa monialium atropote sanguinis et semine effusione profanare non verentur. Fulcr. bull. Wilkins. Concilia. p. 682.

² Morbus venerens. Burnet.

³ Wherein much vice and wickedness was harboured. Strype. i. 160. The names of the monasteries are given. Ibid. ii. 122.

⁴ Institut collegium et absolvit popinam. Fulcr. cont. xvi. p. 160.

¹ Cujus manus talibus luminibus cingitur. Erasmi. Ep. h.

man, stoutly defended the ordinances of the church.

But mere table-talk could not satisfy the dean: a numerous audience attended his sermons at St Paul's. The spirituality of Christ's words, the authority which characterizes them, their admirable simplicity and mysterious depth, had deeply charmed him: "I admire the writings of the apostles," he would say, "but I forget them almost, when I contemplate the wonderful majesty of Jesus Christ."¹ Setting aside the texts prescribed by the church, he explained, like Zwingle, the Gospel of St Matthew. Nor did he stop here. Taking advantage of the Convocation, he delivered a sermon on *conformation and reformation*, which was one of the numerous forerunners of the great reform of the sixteenth century. "We see strange and heretical ideas appear in our days, and no wonder," said he. "But you must know there is no heresy more dangerous to the church than the vicious lives of its priests. A reformation is needed; and that reformation must begin with the bishops and be extended to the priests. The clergy once reformed, we shall proceed to the reformation of the people."² Thus spoke Colet, while the citizens of London listened to him with rapture, and called him a new Saint Paul.³

Such discourses could not be allowed to pass unpunished. Fitzjames, bishop of London, was a superstitious obstinate old man of eighty, fond of money, excessively irritable, a poor theologian, and a slave to Duns Scotus, the *subtle doctor*. Calling to his aid two other bishops as zealous as himself for the preservation of abuses, namely, Bricot and Standish, he denounced the dean of St Paul's to Warham. The archbishop having inquired what he had done: "What has he done?" rejoined the bishop of London. "He teaches that we must not worship images; he translates the Lord's Prayer into English; he pretends that the text *Feed my sheep*, does not include the temporal supplies the clergy draw from their flock. And besides all this," he continued with some embarrassment, "he has spoken against those who carry their manuscripts into the pulpit and read their sermons!" As this was the bishop's practice, the primate could not refrain from smiling; and since Colet refused to justify himself, Warham did so for him.

From that time Colet laboured with fresh zeal to scatter the darkness. He devoted the larger portion of his fortune to found the celebrated school of St Paul, of which the learned Lilly was the first master. Two parties, the *Greeks* and the *Trojans*, entered the lists, not to contend with sword and spear, as in the ancient epic, but with the tongue, the pen, and sometimes the fist. If

the *Trojans* (the obscurants) were defeated in the public disputations, they had their revenge in the secret of the confessional. Can a *Græcis ne fias hereticus*,¹ was the watchword of the priests—their daily lesson to the youths under their care. They looked on the school founded by Colet as the monstrous horse of the perjured Sinon, and announced that from its bosom would inevitably issue the destruction of the people. Colet and Erasmus replied to the monks by inflicting fresh blows. Linacre, a thorough literary enthusiast,—Grocyn, a man of sarcastic humour but generous heart,—and many others, reinforced the *Græcian phalanx*. Henry himself used to take one of them with him during his journeys, and if any unlucky *Trojan* ventured in his presence to attack the tongue of Plato and of Saint Paul, the young king would set his Hellenian on him. Not more numerous were the contests witnessed in times of yore on the classic banks of Xanthus and Simois.

CHAPTER XII.

Wolsey—His first Commission—His Complaisance and Success—Cardinal, Chancellor, and Legate—Intestines and Necromancy—His Spies and Enmity—Pretensions of the Clergy.

JUST as everything seemed tending to a reformation, a powerful priest rendered the way more difficult.

One of the most striking personages of the age was then making his appearance on the stage of the world. It was the destiny of that man, in the reign of Henry VIII., to combine extreme ability with extreme immorality; and to be a new and striking example of the wholesome truth that immorality is more effectual to destroy a man than ability to save him. Wolsey was the last high-priest of Rome in England, and when his fall startled the nation, it was the signal of a still more striking fall—the fall of popery.

Thomas Wolsey, the son of a wealthy butcher of Ipswich, according to the common story, which is sanctioned by high authority, had attained under Henry VII. the post of almoner, at the recommendation of Sir Richard Nanfan, treasurer of Calais and an old patron of his. But Wolsey was not at all desirous of passing his life in saying mass. As soon as he had discharged the regular duties of his office, instead of spending the rest of the day in idleness, as his colleagues did, he strove to win the good graces of the persons round the king.

Fox, Bishop of Winchester, keeper of the privy-seal under Henry VII., uneasy at the

¹ Ita suspiciebat admirabilem illam Christi majestatem. Erasmus. *Epp.* lvi.

² Colet's sermon to the Convocation.

³ Fene apostolus Paulus habitus est. Polyd. Virg. p. 618.

¹ Beware of the Greeks, lest you should become a heretic.

power of the earl of Surrey, looked for a man to counterbalance them. He had found such a one in Wolsey, to oppose the Surreys, the grandfather of Anne Boleyn, that the son of which butcher was drawn from his ob-

This is not an unimportant circumstance in our narrative. Fox began to praise in the king's hearing, and at the same time encouraged the almoner to molest public affairs. The latter, deaf, and soon found an opportunity in his sovereign's favour.

Having business of importance to the emperor, who was then in Flanders, Wolsey, explained his wishes, and determined to set out. The king determined to show Henry VII. how he was of serving him. It was long on when he took leave of the king at midnight—at four o'clock he was in London, and at Gravesend. By travelling all day he reached Dover just as the packets about to sail. After a passage of ours he reached Calais, whence he posted, and the same evening appeared at his familiar. Having obtained what he wished, he set off again by night, and on the next day but one reached Richmond, and some few hours after his departure.

The king, catching sight of him as he was going to mass, sharply inquired why he had not set out. "Sire, I am turned," answered Wolsey, placing error's letters in his master's hands. The king was delighted, and Wolsey saw that his mission was made.

The courtiers hoped at first that Wolsey, inexperienced pilot, would run his ship on some hidden rock; but never did he manage his ship with more skill. In twenty years older than Henry, the almoner danced, and sang, and with the prince's companions, and his new master with tales of scandal and flattery from Thomas Aquinas. The king found his house a temple of pleasure, a shrine of voluptuousness; and Henry's councillors were entreating him to leave his pleasures and attend to his duty. Wolsey was continually reminding him he ought to devote his youth to study and amusement, and leave the toils of government to others. Wolsey was crept up to Tournay during the campaign, and on his return to England, seated to the seats of Lincoln and of York. Citrus had been placed on his head in Rome. He found at last the vein he so long sought for.

Yet he was not satisfied. The archbishop of Canterbury had insisted, as priest, that the cross of York should be

lowered to his. Wolsey was not of a disposition to concede this, and when he found that Warham was not content with being his equal, he resolved to make him his inferior. He wrote to Paris and to Rome. Francis I., who desired to conciliate England, demanded the purple for Wolsey, and the archbishop of York received the title of Cardinal St Cecilia beyond the Tiber. In November 1515, his hat was brought by the envoy of the pope: "It would have been better to have given him a Tyburn tippet," said some indignant Englishmen; "these Romish hats never brought good into England!"—a saying that has become proverbial.

This was not enough for Wolsey: he desired secular greatness above all things. Warham, tired of contending with so arrogant a rival, resigned the seals, and the king immediately transferred them to the cardinal. At length a bull appointed him legate *a latere* of the holy see, and placed under his jurisdiction all the colleges, monasteries, spiritual courts, bishops, and the primate himself (1519). From that time, as lord chancellor of England and legate, Wolsey administered everything in church and state. He filled his coffers with money procured both at home and from abroad, and yielded without restraint to his dominant vices, ostentation and pride. Whenever he appeared in public, two priests, the tallest and comeliest that could be found, carried before him two huge silver crosses, one to mark his dignity as archbishop, the other as papal legate. Chamberlains, gentlemen, pages, sergeants, chaplains, choristers, clerks, cupbearers, cooks, and other domestics, to the number of more than 500, among whom were nine or ten lords and the stateliest yeomen of the country, filled his palace. He generally wore a dress of scarlet velvet and silk, with hat and gloves of the same colour. His shoes were embroidered with gold and silver, inlaid with pearls and precious stones. A kind of papacy was thus forming in England; for wherever pride flourishes there popery is developed.

One thing occupied Wolsey more than all the pomp with which he was surrounded: his desire, namely, to captivate the king. For this purpose he cast Henry's nativity, and procured an amulet which he wore constantly, in order to charm his master by its magic properties.* Then having recourse to a still more effectual necromancy, he selected from among the licentious companions of the young monarch those of the keenest discernment and most ambitious character; and after binding them to him by a solemn oath, he placed them at court to be as eyes and ears to him. Accordingly not a word was said in the presence of the monarch, particu-

* Latimer's Sermons (Parker Society), p. 119.

oblectus non surdis audierit auribus. Polyd. Virg. cum voluptatum omnium sacrarium fecit. Ibidi.

He calked [calculated] the king's nativity.... he made by craft of necromancy graven imagery to bear upon him, wherewith he bewitched the king's mind. Tyndale's Expositions (Parker Soc.), p. 306.

larly against Wolsey, of which he was not informed an hour afterwards. If the culprit was not in favour, he was expelled without mercy; in the contrary case, the minister sent him on some distant mission. The queen's ladies, the king's chaplains, and even their confessors, were the cardinal's spies. He pretended to omnipresence, as the pope to infallibility.

Wolsey was not devoid of certain showy virtues, for he was liberal to the poor even to affectation, and as chancellor inexorable to every kind of irregularity, and strove particularly to make the rich and high-born bend beneath his power. Men of learning alone obtained from him some little attention, and hence Erasmus calls him "the Achilles of a new Æneas." But the nation was not to be carried away by the eulogies of a few scholars. Wolsey—a man of more than suspected morals, double-hearted, faithless to his promises, oppressing the people with heavy taxes, and exceedingly arrogant to everybody—Wolsey soon became hated by the people of England.

The elevation of a prince of the Roman church could not be favourable to the Reformation. The priests, encouraged by it, determined to make a stand against the triple attack of the learned, the reformers, and the state: and they soon had an opportunity of trying their strength. Holy orders had become during the middle ages a warrant for every sort of crime. Parliament, desirous of correcting this abuse and checking the encroachments of the church, declared in the year 1513 that any ecclesiastic, accused of theft or murder, should be tried before the secular tribunals. Exceptions, however, were made in favour of bishops, priests, and deacons—that is to say, nearly all the clergy. Notwithstanding this timid precaution, an insolent clerk, the abbot of Wincheleomb, began the battle by exclaiming at St Paul's: "*Touch not mine anointed, said the Lord.*" At the same time Wolsey, accompanied by a long train of priests and prelates, had an audience of the king, at which he said with hands upraised to heaven: "Sire, to try a clerk, is a violation of God's laws." This time, however, Henry did not give way. "By God's will, we are king of England," he replied, "and the kings of England in times past had never any superior but God only. Therefore know you well that we will maintain the right of our crown." He saw distinctly that to put the clergy above the laws was to put them above the throne. The priests were beaten, but not disheartened: perseverance is a characteristic feature of every hierarchical order. Not walking by faith, they walk all the more by sight; and skilful combinations supply the place of the holy aspirations of the Christian. Humble disciples of the gospel were soon to experience this, for the clergy by a few isolated attacks were

about to flesh themselves for the great struggles of the Reformation.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Wolves—Richard Hun—A Murder—Verdict of the Jury—Hun condemned, and his Character vindicated—The Gravesend Passage-boat—A Festival disturbed—Pross tortured—Visit from his Wife—A Martyr—Character of Erasmus—1516 and 1517—Erasmus goes to Basle.

It is occasionally necessary to soften down the somewhat exaggerated colours in which contemporary writers describe the Romish clergy; but there are certain appellations which history is bound to accept. The wolves, for so the priests were called, by attacking the Lords and Commons had attempted a work beyond their reach. They turned their wrath on others. There were many shepherds endeavouring to gather together the sheep of the Lord beside the peaceful waters; these must be frightened, and the sheep driven into the howling wilderness. "The wolves" determined to fall upon the Lollards.

There lived in London an honest tradesman named Richard Hun, one of those witnesses of the truth who, sincere though unenlightened, have been often found in the bosom of Catholicism. It was his practice to retire to his closet and spend a portion of each day in the study of the Bible. At the death of one of his children, the priest required of him an exorbitant fee, which Hun refused to pay, and for which he was summoned before the legate's court. Animated by that public spirit, which characterizes the people of England, he felt indignant that an Englishman should be cited before a foreign tribunal, and laid an information against the priest and his counsel under the act of *præmunire*. Such boldness—most extraordinary at that time—exasperated the clergy beyond all bounds. "If these proud citizens are allowed to have their way," exclaimed the monks, "every layman will dare to resist a priest."

Exertions were accordingly made to snare the pretended rebel in the trap of heresy;¹ he was thrown into the Lollards' tower at St Paul's, and an iron collar was fastened round his neck, attached to which was a chain so heavy that neither man nor beast (says Foxe) would have been able to bear it long. When taken before his judges, they could not convict him of heresy, and it was observed with astonishment "that he had his beads in prison with him."² They would have set him at liberty, after inflicting on him perhaps some trifling penance—but then, what a bad example it would be, and

¹ Foxe, Acts and Mon. II. p. 8. Folio, 1664. London.
² Ibid.

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ld stop the reformers, if it was so resist the papacy? Unable to by justice, certain fanatics resolved ph by crime.

idnight on the 2d December—the examination—three men stealthily l the stairs of the Lollards' tower: inger went first carrying a torch; a named Charles Joseph followed, and e the bishop's chancellor. Having the cell, they went up to the bed on un was lying, and finding that he ep, the chancellor said: "Lay hands hief." Charles Joseph and the bell- ill upon the prisoner, who, awaking tart, saw at a glance what this mid- sit meant. He resisted the assassins

but was soon overpowered and d. Charles Joseph then fixed the n's belt round his neck, the bellringer to raise his lifeless body, and the or slipped the other end of the belt a ring fixed in the wall. They then is cap on his head, and hastily the cell. Immediately after, the ce-stricken Charles Joseph got on k and rode from the city; the bell- aft the cathedral and hid himself; ne dispersed the criminals. The or alone kept his ground, and he rayers when the news was brought t the turnkey had found Hun hang- He must have killed himself in de- said the hypocrite. But every one or Hun's Christian feelings. "It is ets who have murdered him," was al cry in London, and an inquest red to be held on his body.

uesday, the 6th of December, William d the city coroner, the two sheriffs, nty-four jurymen, proceeded to the ' tower. They remarked that the s so short that the head could not be of it, and that consequently it had een placed in it voluntarily, and e jury concluded that the suspension after-thought of some other persons. r they found that the ring was too e poor victim to reach it,—that y bore marks of violence—and that f blood were to be seen in the cell: fore all we find by God and all our ces (runs the verdict), that Richard as murdered. Also we acquit the hard Hun of his own death."¹

as but too true, and the criminals es confessed it. The miserable Joseph having returned home on the of the 6th of December, said to his rant: "If you will swear to keep ret, I will tell you all."—"Yes," she replied, "if it is neither felony son."—Joseph took a book, swore the

girl on it, and then said to her "I have killed Richard Hun!"—"O master! how? he was called a worthy man."—"I would lever [rather] than a hundred pounds it were not done," he made answer; "but what is done cannot be undone." He then rushed out of the house.

The clergy foresaw what a serious blow this unhappy affair would be to them, and to justify themselves they examined Hun's Bible (it was Wicliffe's version), and having read in the preface that "poor men and idiots [simple folks] have the truth of the holy Scriptures more than a thousand prelates and religious men and clerks of the school," and further, that "the pope ought to be called Antichrist," the bishop of London, assisted by the bishops of Durham and Lincoln, declared Hun guilty of heresy, and on the 20th December his dead body was burnt at Smithfield. "Hun's bones have been burnt, and therefore he was a heretic," said the priests; "he was a heretic, and therefore he committed suicide."

The triumph of the clergy was of short duration; for almost at the same time William Horsey, the bishop's chancellor, Charles Joseph, and John Spakling the bellringer, were convicted of the murder. A bill passed the Commons restoring Hun's property to his family and vindicating his character; the Lords accepted the bill, and the king himself said to the priests: "Restore to these wretched children the property of their father whom you so cruelly murdered to our great and just horror."—"If the clerical theocracy should gain the mastery of the state," was the general remark in London, "it would not only be a very great lie, but the most frightful tyranny!" England has never gone back since that time, and a theocratic rule has always inspired the sound portion of the nation with a just and insurmountable antipathy. Such were the events taking place in England shortly before the Reformation. This was not all.

The clergy had not been fortunate in Hun's affair, but they were not for that reason unwilling to attempt a new one.

In the spring of 1617—the year in which Luther posted up his *theses*—a priest, whose manners announced a man swollen with pride, happened to be on board the passenger-boat from London to Gravesend with an intelligent and pious Christian of Ashford, by name John Brown. The passengers, as they floated down the stream, were amusing themselves by watching the banks glide away from them, when the priest, turning towards Brown, said to him insolently: "You are too near me, get farther off. Do you know who I am?"—"No, sir," answered Brown.—"Well, then, you must know that I am a priest."—"Indeed, sir; are you a parson, or vicar, or a lady's chaplain?"—"No; I am a

arts and Mon. H. p. 13. "And so all we murdered d so Hun was hanged." (Evidence of Charles

disclosure of the inquest, see *Ibid.* H. 14.

¹ Verdict on the Inquest, *Ibid.* H. 14.

soul-priest," he haughtily replied; "I sing mass to save souls."—"Do you, sir," rejoined Brown somewhat ironically; "that is well done; and can you tell me where you find the soul when you begin the mass?"—"I cannot," said the priest.—"And where you leave it when the mass is ended?"—"I do not know."—"What!" continued Brown with marks of astonishment, "you do not know where you find the soul or where you leave it.....and yet you say that you save it!"—"Go thy ways," said the priest angrily, "thou art a heretic, and I will be even with thee." Thenceforward the priest and his neighbour conversed no more together. At last they reached Gravesend and the boat anchored.

As soon as the priest had landed, he hastened to two of his friends, Walter and William More, and all three mounting their horses set off for Canterbury, and denounced Brown to the archbishop.

In the meantime John Brown had reached home. Three days later, his wife, Elizabeth, who had just left her chamber, went to church, dressed all in white, to return thanks to God for delivering her in the perils of childbirth. Her husband, assisted by her daughter Alice and the maid-servant, were preparing for their friends the feast usual on such occasions, and they had all of them taken their seats at table, joy beaming on every face, when the street-door was abruptly opened, and Chilton, the constable, a cruel and savage man, accompanied by several of the archbishop's apparitors, seized upon the worthy townsman. All sprang from their seats in alarm; Elizabeth and Alice uttered the most heart-rending cries; but the primates' officers, without showing any emotion, pulled Brown out of the house, and placed him on horseback, tying his feet under the animal's belly.¹ It is a serious matter to jest with a priest. The cavalcade rode off quickly, and Brown was thrown into prison, and there left forty days.

At the end of this time, the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Rochester called before them the impudent fellow who doubted whether a priest's mass could save souls, and required him to retract this "blasphemy." But Brown, if he did not believe in the mass, believed in the Gospel: "Christ was once offered," he said, "to take away the sins of many. It is by this sacrifice we are saved, and not by the repetitions of the priests." At this reply the archbishop made a sign to the executioners, one of whom took off the shoes and stockings of this pious Christian, while the other brought in a pan of burning coals, upon which they set the martyr's feet.² The English laws in truth forbade torture to be inflicted on any subject

of the crown, but the clergy thought themselves above the laws. "Confess the efficacy of the mass," cried the two bishops to poor Brown. "If I deny my Lord upon earth," he replied, "He will deny me before his Father in heaven." The flesh was burnt off the soles of the feet even to the bones, and still John Brown remained unshaken. The bishops therefore ordered him to be given over to the secular arm that he might be burnt alive.

On the Saturday preceding the festival of Pentecost, in the year 1517, the martyr was led back to Ashford, where he arrived just as the day was drawing to a close. A number of idle persons were collected in the street, and among them was Brown's maid-servant, who ran off crying to the house, and told her mistress: "I have seen him!..... He was bound, and they were taking him to prison." Elizabeth hastened to her husband and found him sitting with his feet in the stocks, his features changed by suffering, and expecting to be burnt alive on the morrow. The poor woman sat down beside him, weeping most bitterly, while he, being hindered by his chains, could not so much as bend towards her. "I cannot set my feet to the ground," said he, "for bishops have burnt them to the bones; but they could not burn my tongue and prevent my confessing the Lord.....O Elizabeth!.....continue to love him for He is good; and bring up our children in his fear."

On the following morning—it was Whitsunday—the brutal Chilton and his assistants led Brown to the place of execution, and fastened him to the stake. Elizabeth and Alice, with his other children and his friends, desirous of receiving his last sigh, surrounded the pile, uttering cries of anguish. The fagots were set on fire, while Brown, calm and collected, and full of confidence in the blood of the Saviour, clasped his hands, and repeated this hymn, which Foxe has preserved:—

O Lord, I yield me to thy grace,
Grant me mercy for my trespass;
Let never the fiend my soul chase,
Lord, I will bow, and thou shalt boast,
Let never my soul come in bell-heat.

The martyr was silent: the flames had consumed their victim. Then redoubled cries of anguish rent the air. His wife and daughter seemed as if they would lose their senses. The bystanders showed them the tenderest compassion, and turned with a movement of indignation towards the executioners. The brutal Chilton perceiving this, cried out:—"Come along; let us toss the heretic's children into the flames, lest they should one day spring from their father's

¹ Fore, Acta, N. p. 7. His feet bound under his own horse.
² His bare feet were set upon hot burning coals. The Lollards (ed. Tract. Soc.), p. 168.

¹ A young maid of his house coming by saw her master she ran home. The Lollards, p. 80.
² Fore, Acta and Mon. II. p. 8 (folio 104), iv. p. 128 (last 1538). We shall in future refer to the latter edition, as being more accurate.

ashes."¹ He rushed towards Alice, and was about to lay old of her, when the maiden shrank back screaming with horror. To the end of her life, she recollected the fearful moment, and to her we are indebted for the particulars. The fury of the monster was checked. Such were the scenes passing in England shortly before the Reformation.

The priests were not yet satisfied, for the scholars still remained in England: if they could not be burnt, they should at least be banished. They set to work accordingly. Standish, bishop of St Asaph, a sincere man, as it would seem, but fanatical, was inveterate in his hatred of Erasmus, who had irritated him by an idle sarcasm. When speaking of *St Asaph's* it was very common to abbreviate it into *St As's*; and as Standish was a theologian of no great learning, Erasmus, in his jesting way, would sometimes call him *Episcopus a Sancto Asino*. As the bishop could not destroy Colet, the disciple, he flattered himself that he should triumph over the master.

Erasmus knew Standish's intentions. Should he commence in England that struggle with the papacy which Luther was about to begin in Germany? It was no longer possible to steer a middle course: he must either fight or leave. The Dutchman was faithful to his nature—we may even say, to his vocation: he left the country.

Erasmus was, in his time, the head of the great literary community. By means of his connexions and his correspondence, which extended over all Europe, he established between those countries where learning was reviving, an interchange of ideas and manuscripts. The pioneer of antiquity, an eminent critic, a witty satirist, the advocate of correct taste, and a restorer of literature, one only glory was wanting: he had not the creative spirit, the heroic soul of a Luther. He calculated with no little skill, could detect the smile on the lips or the knitting of the brows; but he had not that self-abandonment, that enthusiasm for the truth, that firm confidence in God, without which nothing great can be done in the world, and least of all in the church. "Erasmus had much, but was little," said one of his biographers.²

In the year 1517 a crisis had arrived: the period of the revival was over, that of the Reformation was beginning. The restoration

of letters was succeeded by the regeneration of religion: the days of criticism and neutrality by those of courage and action. Erasmus was then only forty-nine years old; but he had finished his career. From being first, he must now be second: the monk of Wittenberg dethroned him. He looked around himself in vain: placed in a new country, he had lost his road. A hero was needed to inaugurate the great movement of modern times: Erasmus was a mere man of letters.

When attacked by Standish in 1516, the literary king determined to quit the court of England, and take refuge in a printing-office. But before laying down his sceptre at the foot of a Saxon monk, he signalled the end of his reign by the most brilliant of his publications. The epoch of 1516-17, memorable for the theses of Luther, was destined to be equally remarkable by a work which was to imprint on the new times their essential character. What distinguishes the Reformation from all anterior revivals is the union of learning with piety, and a faith more profound, more enlightened, and based on the word of God. The Christian people was then emancipated from the tutelage of the schools and the popes, and its charter of enfranchisement was the Bible. The sixteenth century did more than its predecessors: it went straight to the fountain (the Holy Scriptures), cleared it of weeds and brambles, plumbed its depths, and caused its abundant streams to pour forth on all around. The Reformation age studied the Greek Testament, which the clerical age had almost forgotten,—and this is its greatest glory. Now the first explorer of this divine source was Erasmus. When attacked by the hierarchy, the leader of the schools withdrew from the splendid halls of Henry VIII. It seemed to him that the new era which he had announced to the world was rudely interrupted: he could do nothing more by his conversation for the country of the Tudors. But he carried with him those precious leaves, the fruit of his labours—a book which would do more than he desired. He hastened to Basle, and took up his quarters in Frobenius's printing-office,³ where he not only laboured himself, but made others labour. England will soon receive the seed of the new life, and the Reformation is about to begin.

¹ Bude cast in his children also, for they would spring of his ashes. *Fasti, Acta and Mon.* iv. p. 132.
² Ad. Muller.

³ Frobenio, ut pulchris officinis plus debeant secretorum studio literarum. *Erasm.* Ep. p. 226.

BOOK XVIII.

THE REVIVAL OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Four reforming Powers—Which reformed England—Papal Reform—Episcopal Reform—Royal Reform—What is required in a legitimate Reform—The share of the Kingly Power—Share of the Episcopal Authority—High and Low Church—Political Events—The Greek and Latin New Testament—Thoughts of Erasmus—Enthusiasm and Anger—Desire of Erasmus—Glammours of the Priests—Their Attack at Court—Ascendancy of Erasmus—His Labours for this Work—Edward Lee; his Character—Lee's Tragedy—Conspiracy.

It was within the province of four powers in the sixteenth century to effect a reformation of the church: these were the papacy, the episcopate, the monarchy, and Holy Scripture.

The Reformation in England was essentially the work of Scripture.

The only true reformation is that which emanates from the word of God. The Holy Scriptures, by bearing witness to the incarnation, death, and resurrection of the Son of God, create in man by the Holy Ghost a faith which justifies him. That faith which produces in him a new life, unites him to Christ, without his requiring a chain of bishops or a Roman mediator, who would separate him from the Saviour instead of drawing him nearer. This Reformation *by the word* restores that spiritual Christianity which the outward and hierarchical religion had destroyed; and from the regeneration of individuals naturally results the regeneration of the church.

The Reformation of England, perhaps to a greater extent than that of the continent, was effected by the word of God. This statement may appear paradoxical, but it is not the less true. Those great individualities we meet with in Germany, Switzerland, and France—men like Luther, Zwingle, and Calvin—do not appear in England; but Holy Scripture is widely circulated. What brought light into the British isles subsequently to the year 1517, and on a more extended scale after the year 1526, was the word—the invisible power of the invisible God. The religion of the Anglo-Saxon race—a race called more than any other to circulate the oracles of God throughout the world—is particularly distinguished by its biblical character.

The Reformation of England could not be papal. No reform can be hoped from that which ought to be not only reformed but abolished; and besides, no monarch dethrones himself. We may even affirm that the pope-dom has always felt a peculiar affection for its conquests in Britain, and that they would have been the last it would have renounced.

A serious voice had declared in the middle of the fifteenth century: "A reform is neither in the will nor in the power of the pope."¹

The Reformation of England was not episcopal. Roman hierarchism will never be abolished by Roman bishops. An episcopal assembly may perhaps, as at Constance, depose three competing popes, but then it will be to save the papacy. And if the bishops could not abolish the papacy, still less could they reform themselves. The then existing episcopal power being at enmity with the word of God, and the slave of its own abuses, was incapable of renovating the church. On the contrary, it exerted all its influence to prevent such a renovation.

The Reformation in England was not royal. Samuel, David, and Josiah were able to do something for the raising up of the church, when God again turned his face towards it; but a king cannot rob his people of their religion, and still less can he give them one. It has often been repeated that "the English Reformation derives its origin from the monarch:" but the assertion is incorrect. The work of God, here as elsewhere, cannot be put in comparison with the work of the king; and if the latter was infinitely surpassed in importance, it was also preceded in time by many years. The monarch was still keeping up a vigorous resistance behind his intrenchments, when God had already decided the victory along the whole line of operations.

Shall we be told that a reform effected by any other principle than the established authorities, both in church and state, would have been a revolution? But has God, the lawful sovereign of the church, forbidden all revolution in a sinful world? A *revolution* is not a revolt. The fall of the first man was a great revolution: the restoration of man by Jesus Christ was a counter-revolution. The corruption occasioned by popery was allied to the fall: the reformation accomplished in the sixteenth century was connected therefore with the restoration. There will be doubt be other interventions of the Deity, which will be revolutions in the same direction as the Reformation. When God creates a new heaven and a new earth, will not that be one of the most glorious of revolutions? The Reformation by the word alone gives truth, alone gives unity; but more than that, it alone bears the marks of true *legitimacy*.

¹ James of Juterbock, prior of the Carthusians; De septem ecclesiarum statibus opusculum.

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for the church belongs not unto men, even though they be priests. God alone is its lawful sovereign.

And yet the human elements which we have enumerated were not wholly foreign to the work that was accomplishing in England. Besides the word of God, other principles were in operation, and although less radical and less primitive, they still retain the sympathy of eminent men of that nation.

And in the first place, the intervention of the king's authority was necessary to a certain point. Since the supremacy of Rome had been established in England by several usages which had the force of law, the intervention of the temporal power was necessary to break the bonds which it had previously sanctioned. But it was requisite for the monarchy, while adopting a negative and political action, to leave the positive, doctrinal, and creative action to the word of God.

Besides the Reformation in the name of the *Scriptures*, there was then in England another in the name of the *king*. The word of God began, the kingly power followed; and ever since, these two forces have sometimes gone together against the authority of the Roman pontiffs—sometimes in opposition to each other, like those troops which march side by side in the same army, against the same enemy, and which have occasionally been seen, even on the field of battle, to turn their swords against each other.

Finally, the episcopate, which had begun by opposing the Reformation, was compelled to accept it in despite of its convictions. The majority of the bishops were opposed to it; but the better portion were found to incline, some to the side of outward reform, of which separation from the papacy was the very essence, and others to the side of internal reform, whose mainspring was union with Jesus Christ. Lastly, the episcopate took up its ground on its own account, and soon two great parties alone existed in England: the scriptural party and the clerical party.

These two parties have survived even to our days, and their colours are still distinguishable in the river of the church, like the muddy Arve and the limpid Rhone after their confluence. The royal supremacy, from which many Christians, preferring the paths of independence, have withdrawn since the end of the 16th century, is recognised by both parties in the establishment, with some few exceptions. But whilst the High Church is essentially hierarchical, the Low Church is essentially biblical. In the one, the Church is above and the Word below; in the other, the Church is below and the Word above. These two principles, evangelism and hierarchism, are found in the Christianity of the first centuries, but with a signal difference. Hierarchism then almost entirely effaced evangelism; in the age of protestantism, on the contrary, evangelism con-

tinued to exist by the side of hierarchism, and it has remained *de jure*, if not always *de facto*, the only legitimate opinion of the church.

Thus there is in England a complication of influences and contests, which render the work more difficult to describe; but it is on that very account more worthy the attention of the philosopher and the Christian.

Great events had just occurred in Europe. Francis I. had crossed the Alps, gained a signal victory at Marignano, and conquered the north of Italy. The affrighted Maximilian knew of none who could save him but Henry VIII. "I will adopt you; you shall be my successor in the empire," he intimated to him in May 1516. "Your army shall invade France; and then we will march together to Rome, where the sovereign pontiff shall crown you king of the Romans." The king of France, anxious to effect a diversion, had formed a league with Denmark and Scotland, and had made preparations for invading England to place on the throne the "white rose,"—the pretender Pole, heir to the claims of the house of York.¹ Henry now showed his prudence; he declined Maximilian's offer, and turned his whole attention to the security of his kingdom. But while he refused to bear arms in France and Italy, a war of quite another kind broke out in England.

The great work of the 16th century was about to begin. A volume fresh from the presses of Basle had just crossed the Channel. Being transmitted to London, Oxford, and Cambridge, this book, the fruit of Erasmus's vigils, soon found its way wherever there were friends of learning. It was the *New Testament* of our Lord Jesus Christ, published for the first time in Greek with a new Latin translation—an event more important for the world than would have been the landing of the pretender in England, or the appearance of the chief of the Tudors in Italy. This book, in which God has deposited for man's salvation the seeds of life, was about to effect alone, without patrons and without interpreters, the most astonishing revolution in Britain.

When Erasmus published this work, at the dawn, so to say, of modern times, he did not see all its scope. Had he foreseen it, he would perhaps have recoiled in alarm. He saw indeed that there was a great work to be done, but he believed that all good men would unite to do it with common accord. "A spiritual temple must be raised in desolated Christendom," said he. "The mighty of this world will contribute towards it their marble, their ivory, and their gold; I who am poor and humble offer the foundation stone," and he laid down before the world his edition of the Greek Testament. Then

¹ A private combination, &c. *Styry's Memorials*, i. part II. p. 16.

glancing disdainfully at the traditions of men, he said: "It is not from human reservoirs, fetid with stagnant waters, that we should draw the doctrine of salvation; but from the pure and abundant streams that flow from the heart of God." And when some of his suspicious friends spoke to him of the difficulties of the times, he replied: "If the ship of the church is to be saved from being swallowed up by the tempest, there is only one anchor that can save it: it is the heavenly word, which, issuing from the bosom of the Father, lives, speaks, and works still in the gospel."¹ These noble sentiments served as an introduction to those blessed pages which were to reform England. Erasmus, like Caiaphas, prophesied without being aware of it.

The New Testament in Greek and Latin had hardly appeared when it was received by all men of upright mind with unprecedented enthusiasm. Never had any book produced such a sensation. It was in every hand: men struggled to procure it, read it eagerly, and would even kiss it.² The words it contained enlightened every heart. But a reaction soon took place. Traditional catholicism uttered a cry from the depths of its noisome pools, (to use Erasmus's figure). Franciscans and Dominicans, priests and bishops, not daring to attack the educated and well-born, went among the ignorant populace, and endeavoured by their tales and clamours to stir up susceptible women and credulous men. "Here are horrible heresies," they exclaimed, "here are frightful antichrists! If this book be tolerated it will be the death of the papacy!"—"We must drive this man from the university," said one. "We must turn him out of the church," added another. "The public places re-echoed with their howlings," said Erasmus.³ The firebrands tossed by their furious hands were raising fires in every quarter; and the flames kindled in a few obscure convents threatened to spread over the whole country.

This irritation was not without a cause. The book, indeed, contained nothing but Latin and Greek; but this first step seemed to augur another—the translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue. Erasmus loudly called for it.⁴ "Perhaps it may be necessary to conceal the secrets of kings," he remarked, "but we must publish the mysteries of Christ. The Holy Scriptures, translated into all languages, should be read not only by the Scotch and Irish, but even by Turks and Saracens. The husbandman should sing them as he holds the handle of his plough, the weaver repeat them as he plies his shuttle, and the wearied traveller, halting on his journey, refresh him under some shady tree by these

godly narratives." These words prefigured a golden age after the iron age of popery. A number of Christian families in Britain and on the continent were soon to realize these evangelical forebodings, and England after three centuries was to endeavour to carry them out for the benefit of all the nations on the face of the earth.

The priests saw the danger, and by a skilful manœuvre, instead of finding fault with the Greek Testament, attacked the translation and the translator. "He has corrected the Vulgate," they said, "and puts himself in the place of Saint Jerome. He acts aside a work authorized by the consent of ages and inspired by the Holy Ghost. What audacity!" And then, turning over the pages, they pointed out the most odious passages: "Look here! this book calls upon men to *repent*, instead of requiring them, as the Vulgate does, to *do penance*!" (Matt. iv. 17.) The priests thundered against him from their pulpits: "This man has committed the unpardonable sin," they asserted; "for he maintains that there is nothing in common between the Holy Ghost and the monks—that they are logs rather than men!" These simple remarks were received with a general laugh; but the priests, in no wise disconcerted, cried out all the louder: "He's a heretic, an heresiarch, a forger! he's a goose!.....what do I say? he's a very antichrist!"

It was not sufficient for the papal janissaries to make war in the plain, they must carry it to the higher ground. Was not the king a friend of Erasmus? If he should declare himself a patron of the Greek and Latin Testament, what an awful calamity!..... After having agitated the cloisters, towns, and universities, they resolved to protest against it boldly, even in Henry's presence. They thought: "If he is won, all is won." It happened one day that a certain theologian (whose name is not given) having to preach in his turn before the king, he declaimed violently against the Greek language and its new interpreters. Pace, the king's secretary, was present, and turning his eyes on Henry, observed him smiling good-humouredly.⁵ On leaving the church, every one began to exclaim against the preacher. "Bring the priest to me," said the king; and then turning to More, he added: "You shall defend the Greek cause against him, and I will listen to the disputation." The literary tribunal was soon formed, but the sovereign's order had taken away all the priest's courage. He came forward trembling, fell on his knees, and with clasped hands exclaimed: "I know not what spirit impelled me." "A spirit of madness," said the king, "and not the spirit

¹ In evangelicis litteris, sermo ille collectivus, quondam e corde Patri: ad nos profectus. Erasmi. Leon. Ep. p. 164.

² Opus avidissime capitur.....amatur, manibus teritur. Er. Ep. 457.

³ Oblabrant syrophantas. Ibid. p. 389.

⁴ Parascis ad lectorem pium.

⁵ Quam stolidè debacchati sunt quidam e suggestu ad populum. Erasmi. Ep. p. 1193.

⁶ Nos clamantes esse græcos (cræcos) et bestias. Ibid. p. 914.

⁷ Pacem in regem conjecit oculis.....In man. Pacem non vider antich. Ibid.

of Jesus Christ."¹ He then added: "Have you ever read Erasmus?" "No, Sir." "Away with you then, you are a blockhead." "And yet," said the preacher in confusion, "I remember to have read something about *Moria*," (Erasmus's treatise on *Folly*).—"A subject, your majesty, that ought to be very familiar to him," wickedly interrupted Pace. The obscurant could say nothing in his justification. "I am not altogether opposed to the Greek," he added at last, "seeing that it is derived from the Hebrew."² This was greeted with a general laugh, and the king impatiently ordered the monk to leave the room, and never appear before him again.

Erasmus was astonished at these discussions. He had imagined the season to be most favourable. "Every thing looks peaceful," he had said to himself: "now is the time to launch my Greek Testament into the learned world."³ As well might the sun rise upon the earth, and no one see it! At that very hour God was raising up a monk at Wittenberg who would lift the trumpet to his lips, and proclaim the new day. "Wretch that I am!" exclaimed the timid scholar, beating his breast, "who could have foreseen this horrible tempest!"⁴

Nothing was more important at the dawn of the Reformation than the publication of the Testament of Jesus Christ in the original language. Never had Erasmus worked so carefully. "If I told what sweat it cost me, no one would believe me."⁵ He had collated many Greek MSS. of the New Testament,⁶ and was surrounded by all the commentaries and translations, by the writings of Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, Basil, Chrysostom, Cyril, Jerome, and Augustine. *Hic sum in campo meo!* he exclaimed as he sat in the midst of his books. He had investigated the texts according to the principles of sacred criticism. When a knowledge of Hebrew was necessary, he had consulted Capito and more particularly Scopolampadius. *Nothing without Theseus*, said he of the latter, making use of a Greek proverb. He had corrected the amphibologies, obscurities, hebraisms, and barbarisms of the Vulgate; and had caused a list to be printed of the errors in that version.

"We must restore the pure text of the word of God," he had said; and when he heard the maledictions of the priests, he had exclaimed: "I call God to witness I thought I was doing a work acceptable to the Lord and necessary to the cause of Christ."⁷ Nor in this was he deceived.

At the head of his adversaries was Edward

Lee, successively king's almoner, archdeacon of Colchester, and archbishop of York. Lee, at that time but little known, was a man of talent and activity, but also vain and loquacious, and determined to make his way at any cost. Even when a schoolboy he looked down on all his companions.¹ As child, youth, man, and in mature years, he was always the same, Erasmus tells us;² that is to say, vain, envious, jealous, boasting, passionate, and revengeful. We must bear in mind, however, that when Erasmus describes the character of his opponents, he is far from being an impartial judge. In the bosom of Roman-catholicism, there have always existed well-meaning, though ill-informed men, who, not knowing the interior power of the word of God, have thought that if its authority were substituted for that of the Romish church, the only foundation of truth and of Christian society would be shaken. Yet while we judge Lee less severely than Erasmus does, we cannot close our eyes to his faults. His memory was richly furnished, but his heart was a stranger to divine truth: he was a schoolman, and not a believer. He wanted the people to obey the church and not trouble themselves about the Scriptures. He was the Doctor Eck of England, but with more of outward appearance and morality than Luther's adversary. Yet he was by no means a rigid moralist. On one occasion, when preaching at the palace, he introduced ballads into his sermon, one of which began thus:—

"Pass time with good company."

And the other:—

"I love unloved."

We are indebted to Secretary Pace for this characteristic trait.³

During the sojourn of Erasmus in England, Lee, observing his influence, had sought his friendship, and Erasmus, with his usual courtesy, had solicited his advice upon his work. But Lee, jealous of his great reputation, only waited for an opportunity to injure it, which he seized upon as soon as it occurred. The New Testament had not been long published, when Lee turned round abruptly, and from being Erasmus's friend became his implacable adversary.⁴ "If we do not stop this leak," said he, when he heard of the New Testament, "it will sink the ship." Nothing terrifies the defenders of human traditions so much as the word of God.

Lee immediately leagued himself with all those in England who abhorred the study of Scripture, says Erasmus. Although exceedingly conceited, he showed himself the most amiable of men, in order to accomplish his

¹ Tum rex: ut qui inquit, spiritus iste non erat Christi sed stultitia. Eras. Ep. p. 616.

² Græci, inquit, literis non perinde sum infensus, quod originem habeant ex lingua hebraica. Ibid. p. 347.

³ Erant tempora tranquilla. Ibid. 911.

⁴ Quis enim suspicaturus erat hanc fatalem tempestatem exorturam in orbe? Ibid.

⁵ Quanta mihi constitit sudoribus. Ibid. 329.

⁶ Collatis multis Græcorum exemplaribus. Ibid.

⁷ Iam testor simplicitate calumniam me rem facere Deo gratiam ac rei christianæ necessarium. Ibid. p. 611.

¹ Solus haberi in pretio volebat. Eras. Ep. p. 599.

² Talis erat puer, talis adolescens, talis juvenis, talis comes etiam vir erat. Ibid. 594.

³ State Papers, Henry VIII. etc. l. p. 10, pub. 1580.

⁴ Subito factus est inimicus. Eras. Ep. 764.

designs. He invited Englishmen to his house, welcomed strangers, and gained many recruits by the excellence of his dinners.¹ While seated at table among his guests, he hinted perfidious charges against Erasmus, and his company left him "loaded with lies."²—"In this New Testament," said he, "there are three hundred dangerous, frightful passages.....three hundred did I say?.....there are more than a thousand!" Not satisfied with using his tongue, Lee wrote scores of letters, and employed several secretaries. Was there any convent in the odour of sanctity, he "forwarded to it instantly wine, choice viands, and other presents." To each one he assigned his part, and over all England they were rehearsing what Erasmus calls *Lee's Tragedy*.³ In this manner they were preparing the catastrophe: a prison for Erasmus, the fire for the Holy Scriptures.

When all was arranged, Lee issued his manifesto. Although a poor Greek scholar,⁴ he drew up some *Annotations* on Erasmus's book, which the latter called "mere abuse and blasphemy:" but which the members of the league regarded as *oracles*. They passed them secretly from hand to hand, and these obscure sheets, by many indirect channels, found their way into every part of England, and met with numerous readers.⁵ There was to be no publication—such was the watchword; Lee was too much afraid. "Why did you not publish your work," asked Erasmus, with cutting irony. "Who knows whether the holy father, appointing you the Aristarchus of letters, might not have sent you a birch to keep the whole world in order!"⁶

The *Annotations* having triumphed in the convents, the conspiracy took a new flight. In every place of public resort, at fairs and markets, at the dinner-table and in the council-chamber, in shops and taverns, and houses of ill-fame, in churches and in the universities, in cottages and in palaces, the league blattered against Erasmus and the Greek Testament.⁷ Carmelites, Dominicans, and Sophists, invoked heaven and conjured hell. What need was there of Scripture? Had they not the apostolical succession of the clergy? No hostile landing in England could, in their eyes, be more fatal than that of the New Testament. The whole nation must rise to repel this impudent invasion. There is, perhaps, no country in Europe, where the Reformation was received by so unexpected a storm.

¹ Excipiebatur advenas, presertim Anglos, eos conviviis faciebat suos. Erasmus, Ep. 582.

² Absentes omni mendaciarum genere dimittitibus onus. Ibid.

³ In hoc Leu orditur suam tragediam. Ibid. 913.

⁴ Simon, Hist. crit. du X. Siècl. p. 246.

⁵ Liber voluit inter manus conjuratorum. Erasmus, Ep. p. 766.

⁶ Tibi tradita virgula totius orbis censuram fuerit mandatorum. Ibid. p. 745.

⁷ Ut nequam non blaterent in Erasmus, in computationibus, in foris, in conciliabulis, in pharmacopoliis, in curribus, in tonstris, in fornicibus.... Ibid. p. 746.

CHAPTER II.

Effects of the New Testament in the Universities—Controversies—A Cambridge Fellow—Bilney buys the New Testament—The first Passage—His Conversion—Protestantism—the Fruit of the Gospel—The Vale of the Swans—William Tyndale—Evangelisation at Oxford—Many teachers at Cambridge—Fryth—Is Conversion Possible?—True Consolation—The Reformation has begun.

WHILE this rude blast was rushing over England, and roaring in the long galleries of its convents, the still small voice of the Word was making its way into the peaceful homes of praying men and the ancient halls of Oxford and Cambridge. In private chambers, in the lecture-rooms and refectories, students, and even masters of arts, were to be seen reading the Greek and Latin Testament. Animated groups were discussing the principles of the Reformation. When Christ came on earth (said some) He gave the word, and when He ascended up into heaven He gave the Holy Spirit. These are the two forces which created the church—and these are the forces that must regenerate it.—No (replied the partisans of Rome), it was the teaching of the apostles at first, and it is the teaching of the priests now.—The apostles (rejoined the friends of the Testament of Erasmus)—yes, it is true—the apostles were during their ministry a living scripture; but their oral teaching would infallibly have been altered by passing from mouth to mouth. God willed, therefore, that these precious lessons should be preserved to us in their writings, and thus become the ever-undefiled source of truth and salvation. To set the Scriptures in the foremost place, as your pretended reformers are doing (replied the schoolmen of Oxford and Cambridge), is to propagate heresy! And what are the reformers doing (asked their apologists) except what Christ did before them? The sayings of the prophets existed in the time of Jesus only as *Scripture*, and it was to this written Word that our Lord appealed when he founded his kingdom.¹ And now in like manner the teaching of the apostles exists only as *Scripture*, and it is to this written word that we appeal in order to re-establish the kingdom of our Lord in its primitive condition. The night is far spent, the day is at hand; all is in motion—in the lofty halls of our colleges, in the mansions of the rich and noble, and in the lowly dwellings of the poor. If we want to scatter the darkness, must we light the shrivelled wick of some old lamp? Ought we not rather to open the doors and shutters and admit freely into the house the great light which God has placed in the heavens?

There was in Trinity College, Cambridge, a young doctor much given to the study of the canon law, of serious turn of mind and bashful disposition, and whose tender con-

¹ Matth. xxii. 32; xxvi. 34, 35; Mark. xiv. 49; Luke, xvi. 31; xxiv. 37, 44, 46; John, v. 39, 40; 1. Jo. i. 9; xvi. 13, 26.

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strove, although ineffectually, to commandments of God. Anxious for salvation, Thomas Bilney applied to the priests, whom he looked upon as physicians of the soul. Kneeling before his comely humble look and pale face, he confessed all his sins, and even those of which he was not conscious.¹ The priest prescribed at once, at another prolonged vigils, masses and indulgences which cost him dearly.² The poor doctor went through these practices with great devotion, but found no consolation in them. Being weaker, his body wasted away by disease, his understanding grew weaker, his hope faded, and his purse became empty. "Alas!" said he with anguish, "my life is worse than the first." From that time an idea crossed his mind: "May the priests be seeking their own interest, the salvation of my soul."³ But truly rejecting the rash doubt, he felt under the iron hand of the clergy. When Bilney heard his friends talking of a new book: it was the Greek Testament with a translation which was raised for its elegant Latinity.⁴ Attracted by the beauty of the style rather than by the divinity of the subject,⁵ he stretched himself out on the ground; but just as he was going to rise, fear came upon him and he fell on it hastily. In fact the confessors prohibited Greek and Hebrew books, the traces of all heresies; and Erasmus's work was particularly forbidden. Yet he regretted so great a sacrifice; was it for the Testament of Jesus Christ? Might he not have placed therein some word which perhaps might heal his soul? He went forward, and then again shrank back; but at last he took courage. Urged, said he, by the hand of God, he walked out of his house, slipped into the house where the book was sold in secret, bought it with trembling, and then hastened back to himself up in his room.⁶ He opened it—his eyes caught these words: *faithful saying, and worthy of all account, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief.*⁷ He turned to the book, and meditated on the meaning of the declaration. "What! St Paul's words of sinners, and yet St Paul is sure of his salvation!" He read the verse again. "O assertion of St Paul, how true thou art to my soul!" he exclaimed.⁸ The declaration continually haunted him,

and in this manner God instructed him in the secret of his heart.¹ He could not tell what had happened to him;² it seemed as if a refreshing wind were blowing over his soul, or as if a rich treasure had been placed in his hands. The Holy Spirit took what was Christ's, and announced it to him. "I also am like Paul," exclaimed he with emotion, "and more than Paul, the greatest of sinners!.....But Christ saves sinners. At last I have heard of Jesus."³

His doubts were ended—he was saved. Then took place in him a wonderful transformation. An unknown joy pervaded him;⁴ his conscience until then sore with the wounds of sin was healed;⁵ instead of despair he felt an inward peace passing all understanding.⁶ "Jesus Christ," exclaimed he, "Yes, Jesus Christ saves!".....Such is the character of the Reformation: it is Jesus Christ who saves and not the church. "I see it all," said Bilney; "my vigils, my fasts, my pilgrimages, my purchase of masses and indulgences, were destroying instead of saving me." All these efforts were, as St Augustine says, a hasty running out of the right way.⁸

Bilney never grew tired of reading his New Testament. He no longer lent an attentive ear to the teaching of the schoolmen; he heard Jesus at Capernaum, Peter in the temple, Paul on Mars' hill, and felt within himself that Christ possesses the words of eternal life. A witness to Jesus Christ had just been born by the same power which had transformed Paul, Apollos, and Timothy. The Reformation of England was beginning. Bilney was united to the Son of God, not by a remote succession, but by an immediate generation. Leaving to the disciples of the pope the entangled chain of their imaginary succession, whose links it is impossible to disengage, he attached himself closely to Christ. The word of the first century gave birth to the sixteenth. Protestantism does not descend from the gospel in the fifteenth generation like the Romish church of the Council of Trent, or in the sixtieth like some modern doctors: it is the direct legitimate son—the son of the master.

God's action was not limited to one spot. The first rays of the sun from on high gilded with their fires at once the gothic colleges of Oxford and the antique schools of Cambridge.

Along the banks of the Severn extends a picturesque country, bounded by the forest of Dean, and sprinkled with villages, steeples, and ancient castles. In the sixteenth century it was particularly admired by priests and friars, and a familiar oath among them

arce medicos, indoctos confessionum auditores. as Tonstallio Episcopo: Foxe, iv. p. 633.
venit enim mihi jejunia, vigiliae, indulgentiarum
in emptione. Ibid.
um mihi virum (alioqui natura imbecillius) reli-
ctum. Ibid.
tibus quærebant quam salutem animæ meæ lan-
guine. Ibid.
b eo latine reddidit accepti. Ibid.
tate potius quam verbo Dei, allectus. Ibid.
in providentiâ (sine dubio) divinâ. Ibid.
I. 11.
a suavissimam Pauli sententiâ: Foxe, iv. p.

¹ Hæc una sententiâ, Deo intus in corde meo docente.
Foxe, iv. p. 633.

² Quod tunc fieri ignorabam. Ibid.

³ Tandem de Jesu audiebam. Ibid.

⁴ Sic exhilaravit pectus meum. Ibid.

⁵ Peccatorum conscientia saucium ac pene desperandum. Ibid.

⁶ Nescio quantum intus tranquillitatem sentire. Ibid.

⁷ Didici omnes meos conatus, etc. Ibid.

⁸ Quod ait Augustinus, celerum cursum extra viam. Ibid.

was: "As sure as God's in Glo'ster!" The papal birds of prey had swooped upon it. For fifty years, from 1484 to 1534, four Italian bishops, placed in succession over the diocese, had surrendered it to the pope, to the monks, and to immorality. Thieves in particular were the objects of the tenderest favours of the hierarchy. John de Giglis, collector of the apostolical chamber, had received from the sovereign pontiff authority to pardon murder and theft, on condition that the criminal shared his profits with the pontifical commissioners.¹

In this valley, at the foot of Stinchcomb hill, to the south-west of Gloucester, there dwelt, during the latter half of the fifteenth century, a family which had taken refuge there during the wars of the Roses, and assumed the name of Hutchins. In the reign of Henry VII. the Lancasterian party having the upper hand, they resumed their name of Tyndale, which had been borne of yore by many noble barons.² In 1484, about a year after the birth of Luther, and about the time that Zwingle first saw light in the mountains of the Tockenurg, these partisans of the red rose were blessed with a son, whom they called William. His youth was passed in the fields surrounding his native village of North Nibley, beneath the shadows of Berkeley Castle, or beside the rapid waters of the Severn, and in the midst of friars and pontifical collectors. He was sent very early to Oxford,³ where he learnt grammar and philosophy in the school of St Mary Magdalene, adjoining the college of that name. He made rapid progress, particularly in languages, under the first classical scholars in England—Grocyen, W. Latimer, and Linacre—and took his degrees.⁴ A more excellent master than these doctors—the Holy Spirit speaking in Scripture—was soon to teach him a science which it is not in the power of man to impart.

Oxford, where Erasmus had so many friends, was the city in which his New Testament met with the warmest welcome. The young Gloucestershire student, inwardly impelled towards the study of sacred literature, read the celebrated book which was then attracting the attention of Christendom. At first he regarded it only as a work of learning, or at most as a manual of piety, whose beauties were calculated to excite religious feelings; but ere long he found it to be something more. The more he read it, the more was he struck by the truth and energy of the word. This strange book spoke to him of God, of Christ, and of regeneration, with a simplicity and authority which completely subdued him. William had found a master whom he had not sought at Oxford—this was God himself. The pages he held in his hand

were the divine revelation so long hid. Possessing a noble soul, a bold spirit, and indefatigable activity, he did not keep this treasure to himself. He uttered that cry, more suited to a Christian than to Archimedes: *εὕρηκα, I have found it.* It was not long before several of the younger members of the university, attracted by the purity of his life and the charms of his conversation, gathered round him, and read with him the Greek and Latin gospels of Erasmus.⁵ "A certain well-informed young man," wrote Erasmus in a letter wherein he speaks of the publication of his New Testament, "began to lecture with success on Greek Literature at Oxford."⁶ He was probably speaking of Tyndale.

The monks took the alarm. "A barbarian," continues Erasmus, "entered the pulpit and violently abused the Greek language."—"These folk," said Tyndale, "wished to extinguish the light which exposed their trickery, and they have been laying their plans these dozen years."⁷ This observation was made in 1531, and refers therefore to the proceedings of 1517. Germany and England were beginning the struggle at nearly the same time, and Oxford perhaps before Wittenberg. Tyndale, bearing in mind the injunction: "When they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another," left Oxford and proceeded to Cambridge. It must needs be that souls whom God has brought to his knowledge should meet and enlighten one another: live coals, when separated, go out; when gathered together, they brighten up, so as even to purify silver and gold. The Romish hierarchy, not knowing what they did, were collecting the scattered brands of the Reformation.

Bilney was not inactive at Cambridge. Not long had the "sublime lesson of Jesus Christ" filled him with joy, before he fell on his knees and exclaimed: "O Thou who art the truth, give me strength that I may teach it; and convert the ungodly by means of one who has been ungodly himself."⁸ After this prayer his eyes gleamed with new fire; he had assembled his friends, and opening Erasmus's Testament, had placed his finger on the words that had reached his soul, and these words had touched many. The arrival of Tyndale gave him fresh courage, and the light burnt brighter in Cambridge.

John Fryth, a young man of eighteen, the son of an innkeeper of Sevenoaks in Kent, was distinguished among the students of King's College, by the promptitude of his understanding and the integrity of his life. He was as deeply read in the mathematics as Tyndale in the classics, and Bilney in canon

¹ *Annals of the English Bible*, i. p. 12.
² *England's Glo'ster*, p. 232. *Annals of the English Bible*, i. p. 18.
³ From a child. *Foxe, Acts and Mon.* v. p. 118.
⁴ Proceeding in degrees of the schools. *Ibid.*

⁵ His manners and conversation being correspondent to the Scriptures. *Foxe, Acts and Mon.* v. p. 115.
⁶ Read privily to certain students and fellows, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. *Ibid.*
⁷ *Oxonim cum juvenis quidam non vulgariter doctus.* *Erasm.* Ep. p. 248.
⁸ Which they have been in brewing as I hear this dozen years. Tyndale's Expositions (*Part Sec.*) p. 225.
⁹ Ut impet ad ipsum per me olim lapidum converteretur. *Foxe, Acts*, iv. p. 632.

aw. Although of an exact turn of mind, yet his soul was elevated, and he recognised in holy Scripture a learning of a new kind.

"These things are not demonstrated like a proposition of Euclid," he said; "mere study is sufficient to impress the theories of mathematics on our minds; but this science of God meets with a resistance in man that necessitates the intervention of a divine power. Christianity is a regeneration." The heavenly seed soon grew up in Fryth's heart.¹

These three young scholars set to work with enthusiasm. They declared that neither priestly absolution nor any other religious rite could give remission of sins; that the assurance of pardon is obtained by faith alone; and that faith purifies the heart. Then they addressed to all men that saying of Christ's at which the monks were so offended: *Repent and be converted!*

Ideas so new produced a great clamour. A famous orator undertook one day at Cambridge to show that it was useless to preach conversion to the sinner. "Thou, who, for sixty years past," said he, "hast wallowed in thy lusts, like a sow in her mire,² dost thou think that thou canst in one year take as many steps towards heaven, and that in thine age, as thou hast done towards hell?" Bilney left the church with indignation. "Is hast preaching repentance in the name of Jesus?" he asked. "Does not this priest tell us: Christ will not save thee.³ Alas! or so many years that this deadly doctrine has been taught in Christendom, not one man has dared open his mouth against it!" Many of the Cambridge fellows were scandalized at Bilney's language: was not the preacher whose teaching he condemned duly *ordained* by the bishop? He replied: "What would be the use of being a hundred times consecrated, were it even by a thousand papal bulls, if the inward calling is wanting?" To no purpose hath the bishop breathed on our heads if we have never felt the breath of the holy Ghost in our hearts! Thus, at the very beginning of the Reformation, England, ejecting the Romish superstitions, discerned with extreme nicety what constitutes the essence of consecration to the service of the Lord.

After pronouncing these noble words, Bilney, who longed for an outpouring of the holy Ghost, shut himself up in his room, fell on his knees, and called upon God to come to the assistance of his church. Then rising up, he exclaimed, as if animated by a prophetic spirit: "A new time is beginning. The Christian assembly is about to be renewed. Some one is coming unto us, I see him,

I hear him—it is Jesus Christ!⁴.....He is the king, and it is he who will call the true ministers commissioned to evangelize his people."

Tyndale, full of the same hopes as Bilney, left Cambridge in the course of the year 1519.

Thus the English Reformation began independently of those of Luther and Zwingle—deriving its origin from God alone. In every province of Christendom there was a simultaneous action of the divine word. The principle of the Reformation at Oxford, Cambridge, and London was the *Greek New Testament*, published by Erasmus. England, in course of time learnt to be proud of this origin of its Reformation.

CHAPTER III.

Alarm of the Clergy—The Two Days—Thomas Man's Preaching—True real Presence—Persecutions at Coventry—Standish Preaches at St Paul's—His Petition to the King and Queen—His Arguments and Defeat—Wolsey's Ambition—First Overtures—Henry and Francis Candidates for the Empire—Conference between Francis I. and Sir T. More—The Tithe promised to Wolsey—The Cardinals' Intrigues with Charles and Francis.

This revival caused great alarm throughout the Roman hierarchy. Content with the baptism they administered, they feared the baptism of the Holy Ghost perfected by faith in the word of God. Some of the clergy, who were full of zeal, but of zeal without knowledge, prepared for the struggle, and the cries raised by the prelates were repeated by all the inferior orders.

The first blows did not fall on the members of the universities, but on those humble Christians, the relics of Wickliffe's ministry, to whom the reform movement among the learned had imparted a new life. The awakening of the fourteenth century was about to be succeeded by that of the sixteenth, and the last gleams of the closing day were almost lost in the first rays of that which was commencing. The young doctors of Oxford and Cambridge aroused the attention of the alarmed hierarchy, and attracted their eyes to the humble Lollards, who here and there still recalled the days of Wickliffe.

An artisan named Thomas Man, sometimes called Doctor Man, from his knowledge of Holy Scripture, had been imprisoned for his faith in the priory of Frideswide at Oxford (1511 A. D.) Tormented by the remembrance of a recantation which had been extorted from him, he had escaped from this monastery and fled into the eastern parts of England, where he had preached the Word, supplying his daily wants by the labour of his hands.⁵

¹ Through Tyndale's instructions he first received into his heart the seed of the Gospel. Foxe, *Acts*, v. p. 4.

² Even as a beast in his own dung. Binasus Tostallio piscator. Foxe, *Acts*, iv. p. 64.

³ He will not be thy Jesus or Saviour. *Ibid.*

⁴ Without this inward calling it helpeth nothing before God to be a hundred times elect and consecrated. *Ibid.* p. 68.

⁵ If it be Christ, him that cometh unto us. Foxe, *Acts*, iv. p. 637.

⁶ Work thereby to sustain his poor life. *Ibid.* p. 638.

This "champion of God" afterwards drew near the capital, and assisted by his wife, the new Priscilla of this new Aquila, he proclaimed the doctrine of Christ to the crowd collected around him in some "upper chamber" of London, or in some "lonely meadow watered by the Thames, or under the aged oaks of Windsor Forest. He thought with Chrysostom of old, that "all priests are not saints, but all saints are priests."¹ "He that receiveth the word of God," said he, "receiveth God himself: that is the true real presence. The vendors of masses are not the high-priests of this mystery;"² but the men whom God hath anointed with his Spirit to be kings and priests." From six to seven hundred persons were converted by his preaching.

The monks who dared not as yet attack the universities, resolved to fall upon those preachers who made their temple on the banks of the Thames, or in some remote corner of the city. Man was seized, condemned, and burnt alive on the 29th March 1519.

And this was not all. There lived at Coventry a little band of serious Christians—four shoemakers, a glover, a hosier, and a widow named Smith—who gave their children a pious education. The Franciscans were annoyed that *laymen*, and even a *woman*, should dare meddle with religious instruction. On Ash Wednesday (1519) Simon Morton, the bishop's summer, apprehended them all, men, women, and children. On the following Friday, the parents were taken to the abbey of Mackstock, about six miles from Coventry, and the children to the Grey Friars' convent. "Let us see what heresies you have been taught?" said Friar Stafford to the intimidated little ones. The poor children confessed they had been taught in English the Lord's prayer, the apostles' creed, and the ten commandments. On hearing this, Stafford told them angrily: "I forbid you (unless you wish to be burnt as your parents will be) to have any thing to do with the *Pater*, the *credo*, or the ten commandments in English."

Five weeks after this, the men were condemned to be burnt alive, but the judges had compassion on the widow, because of her young family (for she was their only support), and let her go. It was night: Morton offered to see Dame Smith home; she took his arm, and they threaded the dark and narrow streets of Coventry. "Eh, eh!" said the apparitor on a sudden, "what have we here?" He heard in fact the noise of paper rubbing against something. "What have you got there?" he continued, dropping her arm, and putting his hand up her sleeve, from which he drew out a parchment. Approaching a window whence issued the faint rays of a lamp, he examined the mysterious scroll,

and found it to contain the Lord's prayer, the apostles' creed, and the ten commandments in English. "Oh, oh! sirrah!" said he; "come along. As good now as another time!"³ Then seizing the poor widow by the arm, he dragged her before the bishop. Sentence of death was immediately pronounced on her, and on the 4th of April, Dame Smith, Robert Hatcheta, Archer, Hawkins, Thomas Bond, Wrigsham, and Lansdale, were burnt alive at Coventry in the Little Park, for the crime of teaching their children the Lord's prayer, the apostles' creed, and the commandments of God.

But what availed it to silence these obscure lips, so long as the Testament of Erasmus could speak? Lee's conspiracy must be revived. Standish, bishop of St Asaph, was a narrow-minded man, rather fanatical, but probably sincere, of great courage, and not without some degree of piety. This prelate, being determined to preach a crusade against the New Testament, began at London, in St Paul's cathedral, before the mayor and corporation. "Away with these new translations," he said, "or else the religion of Jesus Christ is threatened with utter ruin."⁴ But Standish was deficient in tact, and instead of confining himself to general statements, like most of his party, he endeavoured to show how far Erasmus had corrupted the gospel, and continued thus in a whining voice: "Must I who for so many years have been a doctor of the Holy Scriptures, and who have always read in my Bible: *In principio erat verbum*,—must I now be obliged to read: *In principio erat sermo*," for thus had Erasmus translated the opening words of St John's Gospel. *Risum teneatis*, whispered one to another, when they heard this puerile charge: "My lord," proceeded the bishop, turning to the mayor, "magistrates of the city, and citizens all, fly to the succour of religion!" Standish continued his pathetic appeals, but his oratory was all in vain; some stood unmoved, others shrugged their shoulders, and others grew impatient. The citizens of London seemed determined to support liberty and the Bible.

Standish, seeing the failure of his attack in the city, sighed and groaned and prayed, and repeated mass against the so much dreaded book. But he also made up his mind to do more. One day, during the rejoicings at court for the betrothal of the Princess Mary, then two years old, with a French prince who was just born, St Asaph, absorbed and absent in the midst of the gay crowd, meditated a bold step. Suddenly he made his way through the crowd, and threw himself at the feet of the king and queen. All were thunderstruck, and asked one another what the old bishop could mean.

¹ Foxe, Acta, iv. p. 257.

² Immense christiana religiois universalem, et nova translatione omnes subtile de medio tollimus. Erasmi. Ep. p. 694.

³ Chrysostom. 43 Homily on Matth.

⁴ He called them *piled knaves*. Foxe, iv. p. 248.

⁵ Ibid. p. 211.

king," said he, "your ancestors who gned over this island,—and yours, O teen, who have governed Aragon, vays distinguished by their zeal for rch. Show yourselves worthy of efathers. Times full of danger are on us,¹ a book has just appeared, and blished too, by Erasmus! It is such hat, if you close not your kingdom it, it is all over with the religion of mong us."

ishop ceased, and a dead silence en- The devout Standish, fearing lest well-known love of learning should stacle to his prayer, raised his eyes hands toward heaven, and kneeling midst of the courtly assembly, ex- in a sorrowful tone: "O Christ! O od! save thy spouse!....for no man to her help."

g thus spoken, the prelate, whose was worthy of a better cause, rose waited. Every one strove to guess ing's thoughts. Sir Thomas More sent, and he could not forsake his rasmus. "What are the heresies t is likely to engender?" he inquired. e sublime came the ridiculous. With finger of his right hand, touching vely the fingers of his left,² Standish

First, this book destroys the *resur-* secondly, it annuls the *sacrament of* ; thirdly, it abolishes the *missa*." plifting his thumb and two fingers, ed them to the assembly with a look uph. The bigoted Catherine shud- she saw Standish's three fingers,— the three heresies of Erasmus; and himself, an admirer of Aquinas, was ssed. It was a critical moment: the 'estament was on the point of being l from England. "The proof, the exclaimed the friends of literature. give it," rejoined the impetuous , and then once more touching his mb: "Firstly," he said,.....But he forward such foolish reasons, that e women and the unlearned were l of them. The more he endeavoured y his assertions, the more confused ne: he affirmed among other things Epistles of St Paul were written in

"There is not a schoolboy that t know that Paul's epistles were in *Greek*," said a doctor of divinity f before the king. Henry, blushing ishop, turned the conversation, and , ashamed at having made a Greek the Greeks in Hebrew, would have wn unobserved. "The beetle must ck the eagle,"⁴ was whispered in his

ear. Thus did the book of God remain in England the standard of a faithful band, who found in its pages the motto, which the church of Rome had usurped: *The truth is in me alone*.

A more formidable adversary than Standish aspired to combat the Reformation, not only in England, but in all the West. One of those ambitious designs, which easily germinate in the human heart, developed itself in the soul of the chief minister of Henry VIII.; and if this project succeeded, it promised to secure for ever the empire of the papacy on the banks of the Thames, and perhaps in the whole of Christendom.

Wolsey, as chancellor and legate, governed both in state and in church, and could, without an untruth, utter his famous *Ego et rex meus*. Having reached so great a height, he desired to soar still higher. The favourite of Henry VIII., almost his master, treated as a brother by the emperor, by the king of France, and by other crowned-heads, invested with the title of Majesty, the peculiar property of sovereigns,¹ the cardinal, sincere in his faith in the popedom, aspired to fill the throne of the pontiffs, and thus become *Iesus in terra*. He thought, that if God permitted a Luther to appear in the world, it was because he had a Wolsey to oppose to him.

It would be difficult to fix the precise moment when this immoderate desire entered his mind: it was about the end of 1518 that it began to show itself. The bishop of Ely, ambassador at the court of Francis I., being in conference with that prince on the 18th of December in that year, said to him mysteriously: "The cardinal has an idea in his mind.....on which he can unbosom himself to nobody.....except it be to your majesty." Francis understood him.

An event occurred to facilitate the cardinal's plans. If Wolsey desired to be the first priest, Henry desired to be the first king. The imperial crown, vacant by the death of Maximilian, was sought by two princes:—by Charles of Austria, a cold and calculating nian, caring little about the pleasures and even the pomp of power, but forming great designs, and knowing how to pursue them with energy; and by Francis I., a man of less penetrating glance and less indefatigable activity, but more daring and impetuous. Henry VIII., inferior to both, passionate, capricious, and selfish, thought himself strong enough to contend with such puissant competitors, and secretly strove to win "the monarchy of all Christendom."² Wolsey flattered himself that, hidden under the cloak of his master's ambition, he might satisfy his own. If he procured the crown of the Cæsars for Henry, he might easily obtain the tiara of the popes for himself; if he failed, the least

tempora longe periculosisima. Erasmi. Ep. p.

obsecrare Christum dignaretur ipse sua sponsa Ibid. p. 56.
in digitis correctores dispartiens. Ibid.
sua life qui maximo suo malo aequum commisit.

¹ Consuetudinis tue Majestatis. Ventre sublimis et longe reverendissima Majestas, etc. Fideles, Bodleiana Papera, B. 176.

² Cotton MSS. Brit. Mus. Orig. D. 7, p. 66.

that could be done to compensate England for the loss of the empire, would be to give the sovereignty of the church to her prime minister.

Henry first sounded the king of France. Sir Thomas Boleyn appeared one day before Francis I. just as the latter was returning from mass. The king, desirous to anticipate a confidence that might be embarrassing, took the ambassador aside to the window and whispered to him: "Some of the electors have offered me the empire; I hope your master will be favourable to me." Sir Thomas, in confusion, made some vague reply, and the chivalrous king, following up his idea, took the ambassador firmly by one hand, and laying the other on his breast, exclaimed: "By my faith, if I become emperor, in three years I shall be in Constantinople, or I shall die on the road!" This was not what Henry wanted; but dissembling his wishes, he took care to inform Francis that he would support his candidature. Upon hearing this Francis raised his hat and exclaimed: "I desire to see the king of England; I will see him, I tell you, even if I go to London with only one page and one lackey."

Francis was well aware that if he threatened the king's ambition, he must flatter the minister's, and recollecting the hint given by the bishop of Ely, he said one day to Boleyn: "It seems to me that my brother of England and I could do, indeed ought to do.....something for the cardinal. He was prepared by God for the good of Christendom.....one of the greatest men in the church.....and on the word of a king, if he consents, I will do it." A few minutes after he continued: "Write and tell the cardinal, that if he aspires to be the head of the church, and if anything should happen to the reigning pope, I will promise him fourteen cardinals on my part." Let us only act in concert, your master and me, and I promise you, Mr Ambassador, that neither pope nor emperor shall be created in Europe without our consent."

But Henry did not act in concert with the king of France. At Wolsey's instigation he supported three candidates at once: at Paris he was for Francis I.; at Madrid for Charles V.; and at Frankfurt for himself. The kings of France and England failed, and on the 10th August, Pace, Henry's envoy at Frankfurt, having returned to England, desired to console the king by mentioning the sums of money which Charles had spent. "By the mass!"¹ exclaimed the king, congratulating himself at not having obtained the crown at so dear a rate. Wolsey proposed to sing a *Te Deum* in St Paul's, and bonfires were lighted in the city.

The cardinal's rejoicings were not misplaced. Charles had scarcely ascended the im-

perial throne, in despite of the king of France, when these two princes swore eternal hatred of each other, and each was anxious to win over Henry VIII. At one time Charles, under the pretence of seeing his uncle and aunt, visited England; at another, Francis had an interview with the king in the neighbourhood of Calais. The cardinal shared in the flattering attentions of the two monarchs. "It is easy for the king of Spain, who has become the head of the empire, to raise whomsoever he pleases to the supreme pontificate," said the young emperor to him; and at these words the ambitious cardinal surrendered himself to Maximilian's successor. But ere long Francis I. flattered him in his turn, and Wolsey replied also to his advances. The king of France gave Henry tournaments and banquets of Asiatic luxury; and Wolsey, whose countenance yet bore the marks of the graceful smile with which he had taken leave of Charles, smiled also as Francis, and sang mass in his honour. He engaged the hand of the Princess Mary to the Dauphin of France and to Charles V., leaving the care of unravelling the matter to futurity. Then proud of his skilful practices he returned to London full of hope. By walking in falsehood he hoped to attain the tiara: and if it was yet too far above him, there were certain *gospellers* in England who might serve as a ladder to reach it. Murder might serve as the complement to fraud.

CHAPTER IV.

Tyndale—Sodbury Hall—Sir John and Lady Walsh—Table-Talk—The Holy Scriptures—The Images—The Anchor of Faith—A Roman Camp—Preaching of Faith and Works—Tyndale accused by the Priests—They tear up what he has planted—Tyndale resolves to translate the Bible—His first Triumph—The Priests in the Tavern—Tyndale summoned before the Chancellor of Worcester—Crucified by an aged Doctor—Attached by a Schoolman—His secret becomes known—He leaves Sodbury Hall.

WHILE this ambitious prelate was thinking of nothing but his own glory and that of the Roman pontificate, a great desire, but of a very different nature, was springing up in the heart of one of the humble "*gospellers*" of England. If Wolsey had his eyes fixed on the throne of the popedom in order to seat himself there, Tyndale thought of raising up the true throne of the church by re-establishing the legitimate sovereignty of the word of God. The Greek Testament of Erasmus had been one step; and it now became necessary to place before the simple what the king of the schools had given to the learned. This idea, which pursued the young Oxford doctor everywhere, was to be the mighty mainspring of the English reformation.

On the slope of Sodbury hill there stood a plain but large mansion commanding an extensive view over the beautiful vale of the

¹ He took me hard by the wrist with one hand, and laid the other upon his breast. *Cott. MSS. Coll.* D. 4. p. 22.

² He will assure you full fourteen cardinals for him. *Ibid.* D. V. p. 20.

³ In the margin: *State Papers*, L. 6.

where Tyndale was born. It was led by a family of gentle birth: Sir Walsh had shone in the tournaments court, and by this means conciliated our of his prince. He kept open house to gentlemen, deans, abbots, archbishops, doctors of divinity, and fat rectors, and by Sir John's cordial welcome and good dinners, were ever at his house. His elder brother at arms of Henry VIII. took interest in the questions then discussed throughout Christendom. Lady Walsh herself, a sensible and generous woman, lost not a word of the animated discussion of her guests, and discreetly inclined the balance to the side of

Tyndale after leaving Oxford and Cambridge returned to the home of his father. Sir John had requested him to educate his son, and he had accepted. William was at the prime of life (he was about thirty), well instructed in Scripture, and desirous to show forth the light which God had given him. Opportunities were waiting. Seated at table with all the household, welcomed by Sir John,¹ Tyndale entered into conversation with them. They were of the learned men of the day—of such as much, and sometimes of Luther, as beginning to astonish England.² He discussed several questions touching the Scriptures, and sundry points of doctrine. Tyndale expressed his conviction with admirable clearness, supported with great learning, and kept his argument against all with unbending courage. His animated conversations in the vale of Wharfe are one of the essential features of the picture presented by the Reformation country. The historians of antiquity have recorded the speeches which they have put in the mouths of their heroes. In our history, without inventing, should be acquainted with the sentiments of those of whom it treats. It is sufficient

Tyndale's works to form some idea of his conversations. It is from his works that the following discussion has been drawn.

In the dining-room of the old hall a varied group was assembled round the hospitable table. There were Sir John and Lady Walsh, gentlemen of the neighbourhood, with abbots, deans, monks, and doctors, in respective costumes. Tyndale occupied the chief place, and generally kept Erasmus' Testament within reach in order to see what he advanced.³ Numerous guests were moving about engaged in

waiting on the guests; and at length the conversation, after wandering a little, took a more precise direction. The priests grew impatient when they saw the terrible volume appear. "Your Scriptures only serve to make heretics," they exclaimed. "On the contrary," replied Tyndale, "the source of all heresies is pride; now the word of God strips man of everything, and leaves him as bare as Job."⁴—"The word of God! why even we don't understand your word, how can the vulgar understand it?"—"You do not understand it," rejoined Tyndale, "because you look into it only for foolish questions, as you would into our *Lady's Masses* or *Merlin's Prophecies*." Now the Scriptures are a clue which we must follow, without turning aside, until we arrive at Christ;⁵ for Christ is the end."⁶—"And I tell you," shouted out a priest, "that the Scriptures are a Dædalian labyrinth, rather than Ariadne's clue—a conjuring book wherein everybody finds what he wants."⁷—"Alas!" replied Tyndale; "you read them without Jesus Christ; that's why they are an obscure book to you. What do I say? a den of thorns where you only escape from the briars to be caught by the brambles."⁸ "No!" exclaimed another clerk, heedless of contradicting his colleague, "nothing is obscure to us; it is we who give the Scriptures, and we who explain them to you."⁹—"You would lose both your time and your trouble," said Tyndale; "do you know who taught the eagles to find their prey?" "Well, that same God teaches his hungry children to find their Father in his word. Far from having given us the Scriptures, it is you who have hidden them from us; it is you who burn those who teach them, and if you could, you would burn the Scriptures themselves."

Tyndale was not satisfied with merely laying down the great principles of faith: he always sought after what he calls "the sweet marrow within;" but to the divine unction he added no little humour, and unmercifully ridiculed the superstitions of his adversaries. "You set candles before images," he said to them; "and since you give them light, why don't you give them food? Why don't you make their bellies hollow, and put victuals and drink inside?"¹⁰ To serve God by such mummeries is treating him like a spoiled child, whom you pacify with a toy or with a horse made of a stick."¹¹

But the learned Christian soon returned to more serious thoughts; and when his adversaries extolled the papacy as the power that would save the church in the tempest, he re-

Walsh, a stout and wise woman. Fore, Acts, v. were together with Master Tyndale sitting at the table. ¹ Ibid. ² Learned men, as of Luther and Erasmus, &c. they at any time did vary from Tyndale in opinion; judgment, he would show them in the book.

¹ Tyndale, Expositions (Park. Soc.) p. 140.

² Ibid. p. 141.

³ So along by the Scripture as by a line until thou come at Christ. Tynd. Works, i. 324 (ed. Russell).

⁴ A grave of briars: if thou loose thyself in one place thou art caught in another. Tyndale, Expositions, p. 6.

⁵ Ibid. Answer to More (Park. Soc.), p. 40.

⁶ Make a hollow belly in the image. Tyndale, Answer to More (Park. Soc.), p. 21.

⁷ Make him a horse of a stick. Tyndale's Works (ed. Russell), ii. 475.

plied: "Let us only take on board the anchor of faith, after having dipped it in the blood of Christ," and when the storm bursts upon us, let us boldly cast the anchor into the sea; then you may be sure the ship will remain safe on the great waters." And, in fine, if his opponents rejected any doctrine of the truth, Tyndale (says the chronicler) opening his Testament would set his finger on the verse which refuted the Romish error, and exclaim: "Look and read."¹

The beginnings of the English Reformation are not to be found, as we have seen, in a material ecclesiasticism, which has been decorated with the name of *English Catholicism*: they are essentially spiritual. The Divine Word, the creator of the new life in the individual, is also the founder and reformer of the church. The reformed churches, and particularly the reformed churches of Great Britain, belong to evangelism.

The contemplation of God's works refreshed Tyndale after the discussions he had to maintain at his patron's table. He would often ramble to the top of Sodbury hill, and there repose amidst the ruins of an ancient Roman camp which crowned the summit. It was here that Queen Margaret of Anjou halted; and here too rested Edward IV., who pursued her, before the fatal battle of Tewkesbury, which caused this princess to fall into the hands of the White Rose. Amidst these ruins, monuments of the Roman invasion and of the civil dissensions of England, Tyndale meditated upon other battles, which were to restore liberty and truth to Christendom. Then rousing himself he would descend the hill, and courageously resume his task.

Behind the mansion stood a little church, overshadowed by two large yew trees, and dedicated to Saint Adeline. On Sundays Tyndale used to preach there, Sir John and Lady Walsh, with the eldest of the children, occupying the manorial pew. This humble sanctuary was filled by their household and tenantry, listening attentively to the words of their teacher, which fell from his lips like the waters of Shiloah that go softly. Tyndale was very lively in conversation; but he explained the Scriptures with so much unction, says the chronicler, "that his hearers thought they heard St John himself." If he resembled John in the mildness of his language, he resembled Paul in the strength of his doctrine. "According to the pope," he said, "we must first be good after his doctrine, and compel God to be good again for our goodness. Nay, verily, God's goodness is the root of all goodness. Antichrist turneth the tree of salvation topsy-turvy: he planteth the branches, and setteth the roots upwards. We must put

it straight.....As the husband marrieth the wife, before he can have any lawful children by her; even so faith justifieth us to make us fruitful in good works.² But neither the one nor the other should remain barren. Faith is the only candle wherewith we must bless ourselves at the last hour; without it you will go astray in the valley of the shadow of death, though you had a thousand tapers lighted around your bed."³

The priests, irritated at such observations, determined to ruin Tyndale, and some of them invited Sir John and his lady to an entertainment, at which he was not present. During dinner, they so abused the young doctor and his New Testament, that his patrons retired greatly annoyed that their tutor should have made so many enemies. They told him all they had heard, and Tyndale successfully refuted his adversaries' arguments. "What!" exclaimed Lady Walsh, "There are some of these doctors worth one hundred, some two hundred, and some three hundred pounds⁴.....and were it reason, think you, Master William, that we should believe you before them?" Tyndale, opening the New Testament, replied: "No! it is not me you should believe. That is what the priests have told you; but look here, St Peter, St Paul, and the Lord himself say quite the contrary."⁵ The Word of God was there, positive and supreme: the sword of the spirit cut the difficulty.

Before long the manor-house and St Adeline's church became too narrow for Tyndale's zeal. He preached every Sunday, sometimes in a village, sometimes in a town. The inhabitants of Bristol assembled to hear him in a large meadow, called St Austin's Green.⁶ But no sooner had he preached in any place than the priests hastened thither, tore up what he had planted,⁷ called him a heretic, and threatened to expel from the church every one who dared listen to him. When Tyndale returned he found the field laid waste by the enemy; and looking sadly upon it, as the husbandman who sees his corn beaten down by the hail, and his rich furrows turned into a barren waste, he exclaimed: "What is to be done? While I am sowing in one place, the enemy ravages the field I have just left. I cannot be everywhere. Oh! if Christians possessed the Holy Scriptures in their own tongue, they could of themselves withstand these sophists. Without the Bible it is impossible to establish the light in the truth."⁸

¹ Tyndale, Parable of the Wicked Manneyn. Park. Soc. p. 125.

² Though thou hadst a thousand holy candles about thee. Ibid. p. 65.

³ Well, there was such a doctor who may dispense a hundred pounds. Foxe, Acta, v. p. 1.3.

⁴ Answering by the Scriptures maintained the truth. Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. p. 117.

⁶ Whatever truth is taught them, these enemies of the truth quench it again. Tynd. Doct. Tr. p. 304.

⁷ Impossible to establish the lay people in any truth: as the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes as their mother-tongue. Ibid.

¹ Tyndale's Expositions (Park. Soc.), p. 15.
² And lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors and confirm his sayings. Foxe, Acta, v. p. 115.

³ Antichrist turneth the roots of the trees upward. Tyndale, Doctrinal Treatise (Park. Soc.), p. 299.

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

Then a great idea sprang up in Tyndale's heart: "It was in the language of Israel," said he, "that the Psalms were sung in the temple of Jehovah; and shall not the gospel speak the language of England among us?Ought the church to have less light at noonday than at the dawn?.....Christians must read the New Testament in their mother-tongue." Tyndale believed that this idea proceeded from God. The new sun would lead to the discovery of a new world, and the infallible rule would make all human diversities give way to a divine unity. "One holdeth this doctor, another that," said Tyndale, "one followeth Duns Scotus, another St Thomas, another Bonaventure, Alexander Hales, Raymond of Penaford, Lyra, Gorram, Hugh de Sancto Victore, and so many others besides.....Now, each of these authors contradicts the other. How then can we distinguish him who says right from him who says wrong?.....How?.....Verily, by God's word."¹ Tyndale hesitated no longer..... While Wolsey sought to win the papal tiara, the humble tutor of Sodbury undertook to place the torch of heaven in the midst of his fellow-countrymen. The translation of the Bible shall be the work of his life.

The first triumph of the word was a revolution in the manor-house. In proportion as Sir John and Lady Walsh acquired a taste for the gospel, they became disgusted with the priests. The clergy were not so often invited to Sodbury, nor did they meet with the same welcome.² They soon discontinued their visits, and thought of nothing but how they could drive Tyndale from the mansion and from the diocese.

Unwilling to compromise themselves in this warfare, they sent forward some of those light troops which the church has always at her disposal. Mendicant friars and poor parates, who could hardly understand their missal, and the most learned of whom made *Albertus de secretis mulierum* their habitual study, fell upon Tyndale like a pack of hungry hounds. They trooped to the alehouses,³ and calling for a jug of beer, took their seats, one at one table, another at another. They invited the peasantry to drink with them, and entering into conversation with them, poured forth a thousand curses upon the daring reformer: "He's a hypocrite," said one; "he's a heretic," said another. The most skilful among them would mount upon a stool, and turning the tavern into a temple, deliver, for the first time in his life, an extemporaneous discourse. They reported words that Tyndale had never uttered, and actions that he had never committed.⁴ Rushing upon the poor tutor (he himself informs us) "like un-

clean swine that follow their carnal lusts,"⁵ they tore his good name to very tatters, and shared the spoil among them; while the audience, excited by their calumnies and heated by the beer, departed overflowing with rage and hatred against the heretic of Sodbury.

After the monks came the dignitaries. The deans and abbots, Sir John's former guests, accused Tyndale to the chancellor of the diocese,⁶ and the storm which had begun in the tavern burst forth in the episcopal palace.

The titular bishop of Worcester (an ap- panage of the Italian prelates) was Giulio de' Medici, a learned man, great politician, and crafty priest, who already governed the pope- dom without being pope.⁷ Wolsey, who administered the diocese for his absent col- league, had appointed Thomas Parker chan- cellor, a man devoted to the Roman church. It was to him the churchmen made their complaint. A judicial inquiry had its diffi- culties; the king's companion-at-arms was the patron of the pretended heretic, and Sir Anthony Poyntz, Lady Walsh's brother, was sheriff of the county. The chancellor was therefore content to convoke a general con- ference of the clergy. Tyndale obeyed the summons, but foreseeing what awaited him, he cried heartily to God, as he pursued his way up the banks of the Severn, "to give him strength to stand fast in the truth of his word."⁸

When they were assembled, the abbots and deans, and other ecclesiastics of the diocese, with haughty heads and threatening looks, crowded round the humble but unbending Tyndale. When his turn arrived, he stood forward, and the chancellor administered him a severe reprimand, to which he made a calm reply. This so exasperated the chancellor, that, giving way to his passion, he treated Tyndale as if he had been a dog.⁹ "Where are your witnesses?" demanded the latter. "Let them come forward, and I will answer them." Not one of them dared support the charge—they looked another way. The chancellor waited, one witness at least he must have, but he could not get that.¹⁰ Annoyed at this desertion of the priests, the representative of the Medici became more equitable, and let the accusation drop. Tyndale quietly returned to Sodbury, blessing God who had saved him from the cruel hands of his adversaries,¹¹ and entertaining nothing but the tenderest charity towards them. "Take away my goods," he said to them one

¹ Tyndale, *Expositions*, p. 10.

² *Ibid.* Doctr. Tr. 395.

³ Governava il papato e aveva più sente a la sua audien- zia che il papa. (He governed the pope-dom, and had more people at his audiences than the pope.) *Relazione di Marco Foscarini*, 1528.

⁴ *Foxe, Acts*, v. p. 118.

⁵ He threatened me grievously and reviled me, and rated me as though I had been a dog. Tynd. Doctr. Tr. p. 395.

⁶ And laid to my charge whereof there would be none ac- cuser brought forth. *Ibid.*

⁷ Escaping out of their hands. *Foxe, Acts*, v. p. 118.

⁸ Tynd. Doctr. Tr. p. 149.

⁹ Neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came, as before they had. *Foxe, Acts*, v. p. 118.

¹⁰ Come together to the alehouse, which is their preaching place. Tynd. Doctr. Tr. 394.

¹¹ They add too of their own heads what I never spoke. *Ibid.* p. 395.

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day, "take away my good name! yet so long as Christ dwelleth in my heart, so long shall I love you not a whit the less."¹ Here indeed is the Saint John to whom Tyndale has been compared.

In this violent warfare, however, he could not fail to receive some heavy blows; and where could he find consolation? Fryth and Bilney were far from him. Tyndale recollected an *aged doctor* who lived near Sudbury, and who had shewn him great affection. He went to see him, and opened his heart to him.² The old man looked at him for a while as if he hesitated to disclose some great mystery. "Do you not know," said he, lowering his voice, "that the pope is very *Antichrist* whom the Scripture speaketh of?.....But beware what you say.....That knowledge may cost you your life."³ This doctrine of Antichrist, which Luther was at that moment enunciating so boldly, struck Tyndale. Strengthened by it, as was the Saxon reformer, he felt fresh energy in his heart, and the aged doctor was to him what the aged friar had been to Luther.

When the priests saw that their plot had failed, they commissioned a celebrated divine to undertake his conversion. The reformer replied with his Greek Testament to the schoolman's arguments. The theologian was speechless: at last he exclaimed: "Well then! it were better to be without God's laws than the pope's."⁴ Tyndale, who did not expect so plain and blasphemous a confession, made answer: "And I defy the pope and all his laws!" and then, as if unable to keep his secret, he added: "If God spares my life, I will take care that a ploughboy shall know more of the Scriptures than you do."⁵

All his thoughts were now directed to the means of carrying out his plans; and desirous of avoiding conversations that might compromise them, he thenceforth passed the greater portion of his time in the library.⁶ He prayed, he read, he began his translation of the Bible, and in all probability communicated portions of it to Sir John and Lady Walsh.

All his precautions were useless: the scholastic divine had betrayed him, and the priests had sworn to stop him in his translation of the Bible. One day he fell in with a troop of monks and curates, who abused him in the grossest manner. "It's the favour of the gentry of the county that makes you so proud," said they; "but notwithstanding your patrons, there will be a talk about you before long, and in a pretty fashion too!.... You shall not always live in a manor-house!"

"Banish me to the obscure corner of England," replied Tyndale; "provided you will permit me to teach children and preach the gospel, and give me ten pounds a-year for my support!.... I shall be satisfied!" The priests left him, but with the intention of preparing him a very different fate.

Tyndale indulged in his pleasant dreams no longer. He saw that he was on the point of being arrested, condemned, and interrupted in his great work. He must seek a retreat where he can discharge in peace the task God has allotted him. "You cannot save me from the hands of the priests," said he to Sir John, "and God knows to what troubles you would expose yourself by keeping me in your family. Permit me to leave you." Having said this, he gathered up his papers, took his Testament, pressed the hands of his benefactors, kissed the children, and then descending the hill, bade farewell to the smiling banks of the Severn, and departed alone—alone with his faith. What shall he do? What will become of him? Where shall he go? He went forth like Abraham, one thing alone engrossing his mind:—the Scriptures shall be translated into the vulgar tongue, and he will deposit the oracles of God in the midst of his countrymen.

CHAPTER V.

Luther's Works in England—Consultation of the Bishops—The Bull of Leo X. published in England—Luther's Books burnt—Letter of Henry VIII.—He undertakes to write against Luther—Cry of Alarm—Tradition and Sacramentalism—Prudence of Sir T. More—The Book presented to the Pope—Defender of the Faith—Exaltation of the King.

WHILST a plain minister was commencing the Reformation in a tranquil valley in the west of England, powerful reinforcements were landing on the shores of Kent. The writings and actions of Luther excited a lively sensation in Great Britain. His appearance before the diet of Worms was a common subject of conversation. Ships from the harbours of the Low Countries brought his books to London,² and the German printers had made answer to the nuncio Aleander, who was prohibiting the Lutheran works in the empire: "Very well! we shall send them to England!" One might almost say that England was destined to be the asylum of truth. And in fact, the *Theses* of 1517, the *Explanation of the Lord's Prayer*, the books against *Emser*, against the papacy of Rome, against the bull of Antichrist, the *Epistle to the Galatians*, the *Appeal to the German nobility*, and above all, the *Babylonish Captivity of the Church*—all crossed the sea, were translated, and circulated

¹ Tynd. Doctr. Tr. p. 296.
² For to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. Foxe, Acts, v. p. 117.

³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scriptures than he did. Ibid.

⁶ This part of the house was standing in 1830, but has since been pulled down. Anderson, Bible Annals, i. p. 37. We cannot but unite in the wish expressed in that volume, that the remainder of the building, now tenanted by a farmer, may be carefully preserved.

¹ Binding him to no more but to teach children and to preach. Foxe, Acts, v. p. 117.

² Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation (Lond. 1644, Oct.) i. p. 21.

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throughout the kingdom.¹ The German and English nations, having a common origin and being sufficiently alike at that time in character and civilization, the works intended for one might be read by the other with advantage. The monk in his cell, the country gentleman in his hall, the doctor in his college, the tradesman in his shop, and even the hop in his palace, studied these extraordinary writings. The laity in particular, who had been prepared by Wickliffe and disgusted by the avarice and disorderly lives of the priests, read with enthusiasm the eloquent pages of the Saxon monk. They strengthened all hearts.

The papacy was not inactive in presence of all these efforts. The times of Gregory I. and of Innocent III., it is true, were used; and weakness and irresolution had succeeded to the former energy and activity of the Roman pontificate. The spiritual power had resigned the dominion of Europe to the secular powers, and it was doubtful whether faith in the papacy could be found in the papacy itself. Yet a German (Dr K.), by the most indefatigable exertions, had extorted a bull from the profane Leo X.,² and this bull had just reached England. The pope himself sent it to Henry, calling upon him to extirpate the Lutheran heresy.³ The king handed it to Wolsey, and the latter transmitted it to the bishops, who, after reading heretic's books, met together to discuss the matter.⁴ There was more Romish faith in London than in the Vatican. "This false ur," exclaimed Wolsey, "attacks submission to the clergy—that fountain of all virtues." The humanist prelates were the most annoyed; the road they had taken ended in abyss, and they shrank back in alarm. To install, the friend of Erasmus, afterwards hop of London, and who had just returned from his embassy to Germany where Luther had been painted to him in the darkest colors, was particularly violent: "This monk is a Proteus.....I mean an atheist.⁵ If you allow the heresies to grow up which he is uttering with both hands, they will choke faith and the church will perish." Had not enough of the Wickliffites—here are new legions of the same kind!.....To-day they call for the abolition of the mass; tomorrow he will ask for the abolition of Jesus Christ.⁷ He rejects every thing, and puts nothing in its place. What? if barbarians plunder our frontiers, we punish them.....and shall we bear with heretics who murder our altars?.....No! by the mortal body that Christ endured, I entreat you.....

What am I saying? the whole church conjures you to combat against this devouring dragon.....to punish this hell-dog, to silence his sinister howlings, and to drive him shamefully back into his den."² Thus spoke the eloquent Tostall; nor was Wolsey far behind him. The only attachment at all respectable in this man was that which he entertained for the church; it may perhaps be called respectable, for it was the only one that did not exclusively regard himself. On the 14th May 1521, this English pope, in imitation of the Italian pope, issued his bull against Luther.

It was read (probably on the first Sunday in June) in all the churches during high mass, when the congregation was most numerous.⁴ A priest exclaimed: "For every book of Martin Luther's found in your possession within fifteen days after this injunction, you will incur the greater excommunication." Then a public notary, holding the pope's bull in his hand, with a description of Luther's perverse opinions, proceeded towards the principal door of the church and fastened up the document.⁵ The people gathered round it; the most competent person read it aloud, while the rest listened; and the following are some of the sentences which, by the pope's order, resounded in the porches of all the cathedral, conventual, collegiate, and parish churches of every county in England:⁶

"11. Sins are not pardoned to any, unless, the priest remitting them, he believe they are remitted to him.

"13. If by reason of some impossibility, the contrite be not confessed, or the priest absolve him, not in earnest, but in jest; yet if he believe that he is absolved, he is most truly absolved.

"14. In the sacrament of penance and the remission of a fault, the pope or bishop doth not more than the lowest priest; yea, where there is not a priest, then any Christian will do; yea, if it were a woman or a child.

"26. The pope, the successor of Peter, is not Christ's vicar.

"28. It is not at all in the hand of the church or the pope to decree articles of faith, no, nor to decree the laws of manners or of good works."

The cardinal-legate, accompanied by the nuncio, by the ambassador of Charles V., and by several bishops, proceeded in great pomp to St Paul's, where the bishop of Rochester preached, and Wolsey burnt Luther's books.⁶ But they were hardly reduced to ashes, before sarcasms and jests were heard in every direction. "Fire is not a theological argument," said one. "The papists,

¹ Libros Lutheranos quoniam magnus iam numerus pererat in manus Anglorum. Polyd. Virg. Angl. Hist. (1567) fol. 1 p. 664.

² See above, Book VI. chap. iv.

³ Ab hoc regio extirpandum et abolendum. Cardinal.

⁴ r. Comolado. Strype, W. I. v. p. 22.

⁵ Hæreticæ nuper hæc re dilecti tractatu. Ibid.

⁶ cum Flo. Prelo. Anno A. M. 1521. Erasmus. Ep. 1163.

⁷ Tota ruit Ecclesia. Ibid. p. 1169.

⁸ Nec de volendo Christo scribere destinavit. Ibid. p. 1171.

¹ Gladio Spiritus auctum in antrum suum cecus, Erasmus. Ep. p. 116.

² cum major convenit multitudo. Ibid.

³ In valvis seu locis publicis ecclesiarum vestrarum. Ibid. p. 24.

⁴ Strype, W. I. p. 22 (inf. ed.) or Luther, xvii. p. 204.

⁵ See above, Book IX. chap. 2.

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who accuse Martin Luther of slaying and murdering Christians," added another, "are like the pickpocket, who began to cry *stop thief*, as soon as he saw himself in danger of being caught." "The bishop of Rochester," said a third, "concludes that because Luther has thrown the pope's decretals into the fire, he would throw in the pope himself..... We may hence deduce another syllogism, quite as sound: The popes have burnt the New Testament, therefore, if they could, they would burn Christ himself."¹ These jests were rapidly circulated from mouth to mouth. It was not enough that Luther's writings were in England, they must needs be known, and the priests took upon themselves to advertise them. The Reformation was advancing, and Rome herself pushed behind the ear.

The cardinal saw that something more was required than these paper *autos-da-fé*, and the activity he displayed may indicate what he would have done in Europe, if ever he had reached the pontifical chair. "The spirit of Satan left him no repose," says the papist Sanders.² Some action out of the ordinary course is needful, thought Wolsey. Kings have hitherto been the enemies of the popes: a king shall now undertake their defence. Princes are not very anxious about learning, a prince shall publish a book!..... "Sire," said he to the king, to get Henry in the vein, "you ought to write to the princes of Germany on the subject of this heresy." He did so. Writing to the Archduke Palatine, he said: "This fire, which has been kindled by Luther, and fanned by the arts of the devil, is raging everywhere. If Luther does not repent, deliver him and his audacious treatises to the flames. I offer you my royal co-operation, and even, if necessary, my life."³ This was the first time Henry showed that cruel thirst, which was in after-days to be quenched in the blood of his wives and friends.

The king having taken the first step, it was not difficult for Wolsey to induce him to take another. To defend the honour of Thomas Aquinas, to stand forward as the champion of the church and to obtain from the pope a title equivalent to that of *Christianissimus*, most Christian King, were more than sufficient motives to induce Henry to break a lance with Luther. "I will combat with the pen this Cerberus, sprung from the depths of hell,"⁴ said he, "and if he refuses to retract, the fire shall consume the heretic and his heresies together."⁵

The king shut himself up in his library; all the scholastic tastes with which his youth had been imbued were revived; he worked

as if he were archbishop of Canterbury, and not king of England; with the pope's permission he read Luther's writings; he ransacked Thomas Aquinas; forged, with infinite labour, the arrows with which he hoped to pierce the heretic; called several learned men to his aid, and at last published his book. His first words were a cry of alarm. "Beware of the track of this serpent," said he to his Christian readers; "walk on tip-toe; fear the thickets and caves in which he lies concealed, and whence he will dart his poison on you. If he licks you, be careful! the cunning viper caresses only that he may bite!"¹ After that Henry sounded a charge: "Be of good cheer! Filled with the same valour that you would display against Turks, Saracens, and other infidels, march now against this *little friar*.—a fellow apparently weak, but more formidable through the spirit that animates him than all infidels, Saracens, and Turks put together."² Thus did Henry VIII., the *Peter the Hermit* of the sixteenth century, preach a crusade against Luther, in order to save the papacy.

He had skilfully chosen the ground on which he gave battle: sacramentalism and tradition are in fact the two essential features of the papal religion; just as a lively faith and Holy Scripture are of the religion of the gospel. Henry did a service to the Reformation, by pointing out the principles it would mainly have to combat; and by furnishing Luther with an opportunity of establishing the authority of the Bible, he made him take a most important step in the path of reform. "If a teaching is opposed to Scripture," said the Reformer, "whatever be its origin—traditions, custom, kings, Thomists, sophists, Satan, or even an angel from heaven,—all from whom it proceeds must be accused. *Nothing can exist contrary to Scripture, and everything must exist for it.*"

Henry's book being terminated by the aid of the bishop of Rochester, the king showed it to Sir Thomas More, who begged him to pronounce less decidedly in favour of the papal supremacy. "I will not change a word," replied the king, full of servile devotion to the popedom. "Besides, I have my reasons," and he whispered them in More's ear.

Doctor Clarke, ambassador from England at the court of Rome, was commissioned to present the pope with a magnificently bound copy of the king's work. "The glory of England," said he, "is to be in the foremost rank among the nations in obedience to the papacy."³ Happily Britain was ere long to know a glory of a very different kind. The ambassador added that his master, after having refuted Luther's errors with the pen, was

¹ They would have burnt Christ himself. Tynd. Doct. Tr. Obedience, &c. (Park. Soc.), p. 221.

² Satanas spiritus actus. De Schism. Angl. p. 8.

³ Kapp's Urkunden, II. p. 458.

⁴ Velut Cerberum ex inferis productum in lucem. Regis ad legatum. Epist. p. 24.

⁵ Ut erroris ejus campum ipsum ignis exurat. Ibid. p. 26.

¹ Qui tantum ideo lambit ut mordeat. Assertio Sept. Sc. gram.

² Sed anime Turcis omnibus Sarrazenis omnibusque infidelibus nocentissimum fraterculum. Ibid. p. 107.

³ Fisher's Life of Wolsey, p. 222.

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ly to combat his adherents with the sword.¹ The pope, touched with this offer, kissed him his foot, and then his cheek to kiss, and said to him: "I will do for your master's work as much as the church has done for the works of St Jerome and St Augustine."

The enfeebled papacy had neither the power of intelligence, nor even of fanaticism. It still maintained its pretensions and its pride, but it resembled the corpses of the mighty ones of the earth that lie in state, shrouded in their most magnificent robes: splendour above, death and corruption below. The underbolts of a Hildebrand ceasing to produce their effect, Rome gratefully accepted defence of laymen, such as Henry VIII.

Sir Thomas More, without disdaining royal judicial sentences and their scaffolds, "we must honour those noble champions," said the pope to his cardinals, "who show themselves prepared to cut off with the sword the rotten members of Jesus Christ.² What shall we give to the virtuous king of England?"—"Protector of the Roman church, assisted one; Apostolic king, said another; finally, but not without some opposition, Henry VIII. was proclaimed *Defender of the faith*. At the same time the pope promised years' indulgence to all readers of the king's book. This was a lure after the fashion of the middle ages, and which never failed in its effect. The clergy compared its value to the wisest of kings; and the book, which many thousand copies were printed, reached the Christian world (Cochlæus tells us) with admiration and delight.

Nothing could equal Henry's joy. "His Majesty," said the vicar of Croydon, "would exchange that name for all London and thirty miles round."³ The king's fool, entering the room just as his master had received a bull, asked him the cause of his transports. "The pope has just named me *Defender of the Faith*!"—"Ho! ho! good rye," replied the fool, "let you and me find one another; but.....take my word to.....let the faith alone to defend itself."⁴ The entire modern system was found in those days. In the midst of the general intoxication, the fool was the only sensible person.

Henry could listen to nothing. Seated on an elevated throne, with the cardinal at right hand, he caused the pope's letter to be read in public. The trumpets sounded: they said mass; the king and his court sat on their seats around a sumptuous table, the heralds at arms proclaimed: *Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Defensor Fidei et Dominus Hiberniæ!*

Henry was the king of England more than united to the pope: whoever brings the Scriptures into his kingdom shall there

encounter that material sword, *ferrum et materiale gladium*, in which the papacy so much delighted.

CHAPTER VI.

Wolsey's Machinations to obtain the Tiara.—He gains Charles V.—Alliance between Henry and Charles.—Wolsey offers to command the Troops.—Treaty of Bruges.—Henry believes himself King of France.—Victories of Francis I.—Death of Leo X.

ONE thing only was wanting to check more surely the progress of the gospel: Wolsey's accession to the pontifical throne. Consumed by the desire of reaching "the summit of sacerdotal unity,"¹ he formed, to attain this end, one of the most perfidious schemes ambition ever engendered. He thought with others: "The end justifies the means."

The cardinal could only attain the papedom through the emperor or the king of France; for then, as now, it was the secular powers that really elected the chief of catholicity. After carefully weighing the influence of these two princes, Wolsey found that the balance inclined to the side of Charles, and his choice was made. A close intimacy of long standing united him to Francis I., but that mattered little; he must betray his friend to gain his friend's rival.

But this was no easy matter. Henry was dissatisfied with Charles the Fifth.² Wolsey was therefore obliged to employ every imaginable delicacy in his manoeuvres. First he sent Sir Richard Wingfield to the emperor; then he wrote a flattering letter in Henry's name to the princess-regent of the Low Countries. The difficulty was to get the king to sign it. "Have the goodness to put your name," said Wolsey, "even if it should annoy your Highness.....You know very well.....that women like to be pleased."³ This argument prevailed with the king, who still possessed a spirit of gallantry. Lastly, Wolsey being named arbitrator between Charles and Francis, resolved to depart for Calais, apparently to hear the complaints of the two princes; but in reality to betray one of them. Wolsey felt as much pleasure in such practices, as Francis in giving battle.

The king of France rejected his arbitration: he had a sharp eye, and his mother one still sharper. "Your master loves me not," said he to Charles's ambassador, "and I do not love him any more, and am determined to be his enemy."⁴ It was impossible to speak more plainly. Far from imitating this frankness, the politic Charles endeavoured to gain Wolsey, and Wolsey, who was eager to sell

otius regni sui viribus et armis. Rymer, Fœderr., vi. titida membra.....ferro et materiali gladio abscindere. oza, Acta, iv. p. 204. Fuller, book v. p. 108.

¹ Unitatis sacerdotalis fastigium conscendere. Sanders, De Schism. Aug. 8.

² His own affairs doth not succeed with th' Emperor. State Papers, vol. i. p. 10.

³ Ibid. p. 12. ⁴ He was utterly determined to be his enemy. Ootter MSS. Galba, B. 7, p. 26.

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himself, adroitly hinted at what price he might be bought. "If the king of England sides with me," Charles informed the cardinal, "you shall be elected pope at the death of Leo X."¹ Francis, betrayed by Wolsey, abandoned by the pope, and threatened by the emperor, determined at last to accept Henry's mediation.

But Charles was now thinking of very different matters. Instead of a mediation, he demanded of the king of England 4000 of his famous bowmen. Henry smiled as he read the despatch, and looking at Pace his secretary, and Marney the captain of his guards, he said: "*Beati qui audiunt et non intelligunt!*" thus forbidding them to understand, and above all to bruit abroad this strange request. It was agreed to raise the number of archers to 6000; and the cardinal, having the tiara continually before his eyes, departed to perform at Calais the odious comedy of a hypocritical arbitration. Being detained at Dover by contrary winds, the mediator took advantage of this delay to draw up a list of the 6000 archers and their captains, not forgetting to insert in it, "certain obstinate deer," as Henry had said, "that must of necessity be hunted down."² These were some gentlemen whom the king desired to get rid of.

While the ambassadors of the king of France were received at Calais on the 4th of August with great honours, by the lord high chamberlain of England, the cardinal signed a convention with Charles's ministers that Henry should withdraw his promise of the Princess Mary's hand to the dauphin, and give her to the emperor. At the same time he issued orders to destroy the French navy, and to invade France.³ And finally he procured by way of compensating England for the pension of 16,000 pounds hitherto received from the court of St Germain, that the emperor should pay henceforward the annual sum of 40,000 marks. Without ready money the bargain would not have been a good one.

This was not all. While Wolsey was waiting to be elected pope, he conceived the idea of becoming a soldier. A commander was wanted for the 6000 archers Henry was sending against the king of France; and why should he not be the cardinal himself? He immediately intrigued to get the noblemen set aside who had been proposed as generals in chief. "Shrewsbury," he said to the king, "is wanted for Scotland—Worcester by his experience is worthy that you should keep him near you. As for Dorset he will be very dear." Then the priest added: "Sire, if during my sojourn on the other side of the sea, you have good

reason to send your archers I hasten to inform you that whenever the emperor takes the command of his soldiers, I am ready, although an ecclesiastic,¹ to put myself at the head of yours." What devotedness! Wolsey would cause his cross of cardinal's later to be carried before him (he said): and neither Francis nor Bayard would be able to resist him. To command at the same time the state, the church, and the army, while awaiting the tiara,—to surround his head with laurels: such was this man's ambition. Unfortunately for him, they were not of that opinion at court. The king made the earl of Essex commander-in-chief.

As Wolsey could not be general, he turned to diplomacy. He hastened to Bruges; and as he entered at the emperor's side, a voice was heard above the crowd, exclaiming: *Salve, Rex regis tui atque regni sui!*²—a sound most pleasing to his ears. People were very much astonished at Bruges by the intimacy existing between the cardinal and the emperor. "There is some mystery beneath it all," they said.³ Wolsey desired to place the crown of France on Henry's head, and the tiara on his own. Such was the mystery, which was well worth a few civilities to the mighty Charles V. The alliance was concluded, and the contracting parties agreed "to avenge the insults offered to the throne of Jesus Christ," or in other words, to the popedom.

Wolsey, in order to drag Henry into the intrigues which were to procure him the tiara, had reminded him that he was king of France, and the suggestion had been eagerly caught at. At midnight on the 7th of August, the king dictated to his secretary a letter for Wolsey containing this strange expression: *Si iberis parare regi locum in regno ejus hereditario, Majestas ejus quoniam tempus erit opportunum, sequetur.*⁴ The theologian who had corrected the famous latin book of the king's against Luther, most certainly had not revised this phrase. According to Henry, France was his hereditary kingdom, and Wolsey was going to prepare the throne for him The king could not restrain his joy at the mere idea, and already he surpassed in imagination both Edward III. and the Black Prince. "I am about to attain a glory superior to that which my ancestors have gained by so many wars and battles."⁵ Wolsey traced out for him the road to his palace on the banks of the Seine: "Mezières is about to fall; afterwards there is only Rheims, which is not a strong city; and thus your grace will very easily reach

¹ Though I be a spiritual man. State Papers, i. p. 31.

² Hail, both king of thy king and also of his kingdom. Tynd. Expos. p. 314.

³ There was a certain secret whereof all men knew not. Ibid. 315.

⁴ If you go to prepare a place for the king in his hereditary kingdom, his Majesty will follow you at a fitting season. State Papers, i. 32.

⁵ Majors asequi quam omnes locos propugnaculis et bellis et preliis. Ibid. 32.

¹ Ut Wolseus mortuo Leone decimo fieret summus pontifex.

² Saying that certain hartes were so loggidde for hym, that he must needs huntte them. State Papers, i. p. 30.

³ Ibid. i. p. 32.

Paris."¹ Henry followed on the map the route he would have to take: "Affairs are going on well," wrote the cardinal, "the Lord be praised." In him this Christian language was a mere official formality.

Wolsey was mistaken: things were going on badly. On the 20th of October 1522, Francis I. whom so much perfidy had been unable to deceive,—Francis, ambitious and turbulent, but honest in this matter at least, and confiding in the strength of his arms, had suddenly appeared between Cambray and Valenciennes. The emperor fled to Flanders in alarm, and Wolsey, instead of putting himself at the head of the army, had shielded himself under his arbitrator's cloak. Writing to Henry, who, a fortnight before, had by his advice excited Charles to attack France, he said: "I am confident that your *virtuous mediation* will greatly increase your reputation and honour throughout Christendom."² Francis rejected Wolsey's offers, but the object of the latter was attained. The negotiations had gained time for Charles, and bad weather soon stopped the French army. Wolsey returned satisfied to London about the middle of December. It was true that Henry's triumphant entry into Paris became very difficult; but the cardinal was sure of the emperor's favour, and through it (he imagined) of the tiara. Wolsey had done, therefore, what he desired. He had hardly arrived in England, when there came news which raised him to the height of happiness: Leo X. was dead. His joy surpassed what Henry had felt at the thought of his *hereditary kingdom*. Protected by the powerful Charles V., to whom he had sacrificed everything, the English cardinal was at last on the point of receiving that pontifical crown which would permit him to crush heresy, and which was, in his eyes, the just reward of so many infamous transactions.

CHAPTER VII.

The Just Men of Lincolnshire—Their Assemblies and Teaching—Agnes and Morden—Itinerant Libraries—Polemical Conversations—Sarcasm—Royal Decree and Terror—Depositions and Condemnnations—Four Martyrs—A Conclave—Charles consoles Wolsey.

WOLSEY did not stay until he was pope, before persecuting the disciples of the word of God. Desirous of carrying out the stipulations of the convention at Bruges, he had broken out against "the king's subjects who disturbed the apostolic see." Henry had to vindicate the title conferred on him by the pope; the cardinal had to gain the popedom;

and both could satisfy their desires by the erection of a few scaffolds.

In the county of Lincoln on the shores of the North Sea, along the fertile banks of the Humber, Trent, and Witham, and on the slopes of the smiling hills, dwelt many peaceful Christians—labourers, artificers, and shepherds—who spent their days in toil, in keeping their flocks, in doing good, and in reading the Bible.¹ The more the gospel-light increased in England, the greater was the increase in the number of these children of peace.² These "just men," as they were called, were devoid of human knowledge, but they thirsted for the knowledge of God. Thinking they were alone the true disciples of the Lord, they married only among themselves.³ They appeared occasionally at church; but instead of repeating their prayers like the rest, they sat, said their enemies, "mum like beasts."⁴ On Sundays and holidays, they assembled in each other's houses, and sometimes passed a whole night in reading a portion of Scripture. If there chanced to be few books among them, one of the brethren, who had learnt by heart the Epistle of St James, the beginning of St Luke's gospel, the sermon on the mount, or an epistle of St Paul's, would recite a few verses in a loud and calm voice; then all would piously converse about the holy truths of the faith, and exhort one another to put them in practice. But if any person joined their meetings, who did not belong to their body, they would all keep silent.⁵ Speaking much among each other, they were speechless before those from without: fear of the priests and of the fagot made them dumb. There was no family rejoicing without the Scriptures. At the marriage of a daughter of the aged Durdant, one of their patriarchs, the wedding party met secretly in a barn, and read the whole of one of St Paul's epistles. Marriages are rarely celebrated with such pastimes as this!

Although they were dumb before enemies or suspected persons, these poor people did not keep silence in the presence of the humble: a glowing proselytism characterized them all. "Come to my house," said the pious Agnes Ashford to James Morden, "and I will teach you some verses of Scripture." Agnes was an educated woman; she could read; Morden came, and the poor woman's chamber was transformed into a school of theology. Agnes began: "Ye are the salt of the earth," and then recited the following verses.⁶ Five times did Morden return to Agnes before he knew that beautiful discourse. "We are spread like salt

¹ Being simple labourers and artificers. Foxe, *Acts*, iv. p. 241.

² As the light of the gospel began more to appear, and the number of professors to grow. *Ibid.* p. 231.

³ Did contract matrimony only with themselves. *Ibid.* p. 223.

⁴ If any came in among them that were not of their side, then they would keep all silent. *Ibid.* p. 223.

⁵ *Math.* v. 12-16.

¹ Your grace shall have but a lyeve way to Parris. State Papers, i. 46.
² Cotton MSS. Calig. D. 6, p. 26.

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over the various parts of the kingdom," said this Christian woman to the neophyte, "in order that we may check the progress of superstition by our doctrine and our life. But," added she in alarm, "keep this secret in your heart, as a man would keep a thief in prison."¹

As books were rare these pious Christians had established a kind of itinerant library, and one John Scrivener was continually engaged in carrying the precious volumes from one to another.² But at times, as he was proceeding along the banks of the river or through the forest glades, he observed that he was followed. He would quicken his pace and run into some barn where the friendly peasants promptly hid him beneath the straw, or, like the spies of Israel, under the stalks of flax.³ The bloodhounds arrived, sought and found nothing; and more than once those who so generously harboured these evangelists cruelly expiated the crime of charity.

The disappointed officers had scarcely retired from the neighbourhood when these friends of the word of God came out of their hiding-place, and profited by the moment of liberty to assemble the brethren. The persecutions they suffered irritated them against the priests. They worshipped God, read, and sang with a low voice; but when the conversation became general, they gave free course to their indignation. "Would you know the use of the pope's pardons?" said one of them; "they are to blind the eyes and empty the purse."—"True pilgrimages," said the tailor Geoffrey of Uxbridge, "consist in visiting the poor and sick—barefoot, if so it please you—for these are the little ones that are God's true image."—"Money spent in pilgrimages," added a third, "serves only to maintain thieves and harlots."⁴—The women were often the most animated in the controversy. "What need is there to go to the *feet*," said Agnes Ward, who disbelieved in saints, "when we may go to the *head*?"⁵—"The clergy of the good old times," said the wife of David Lewis, "used to lead the people as a hen leadeth her chickens;" but now if our priests lead their flocks anywhere, it is to the devil assuredly."

Erelong there was a general panic throughout this district. The king's confessor John Longland was bishop of Lincoln. This fanatic priest, Wolsey's creature, took advantage of his position to petition Henry for a severe persecution: this was the ordinary use in England, France, and elsewhere, of the confessors of princes. It was unfortunate that among these pious disciples of the word, men of a cynical turn were now and then met with, whose biting sarcasms went beyond all bounds. Wolsey and Longland

knew how to employ these expressions in arousing the king's anger. "As one of these fellows," they said, "was busy beating out his corn in his barn, a man chanced to pass by. 'Good morrow, neighbour,' (said the latter), 'you are hard at it!'—'Yes,' replied the old heretic, thinking of transubstantiation, 'I am thrashing the corn out of which the priests make God Almighty.'"¹ Henry hesitated no longer.

On the 20th October 1521, nine days after the bull on the *Defender of the Faith* had been signed at Rome, the king, who was at Windsor, summoned his secretary, and dictated an order commanding all his subjects to assist the bishop of Lincoln against the heretics. "You will obey it at the peril of your lives," added he. The order was transmitted to Longland, and the bishop immediately issued his warrants, and his officers spread terror far and wide. When they beheld them, these peaceful but timid Christians were troubled. Isabella Bartlet, hearing them approach her cottage, screamed out to her husband: "You are a lost man! and I am a dead woman!"² This cry was re-echoed from all the cottages of Lincolnshire. The bishop, on his judgment-seat, skillfully played upon these poor unhappy beings to make them accuse one another. Alas! according to the ancient prophecy: "the brother delivered up the brother to death." Robert Bartlet deposed against his brother Richard and his own wife; Jane Bernard accused her own father, and Tredway his mother. It was not until after the most cruel anguish that these poor creatures were driven to such frightful extremities; but the bishop and death terrified them: a small number alone remained firm. As regards heroism, Wickliffe's Reformation brought but a feeble aid to the Reformation of the sixteenth century; still, if it did not furnish many heroes, it prepared the English people to love God's word above all things. Of these humble people, some were condemned to do penance in different monasteries; others to carry a faggot on their shoulders thrice round the market-place, and then to stand some time exposed to the jeers of the populace; others were fastened to a post while the executioner branded them on the cheek with a red-hot iron. They also had their martyrs. Wickliffe's revival had never been without them. Four of these brethren were chosen to be put to death, and among them the pious evangelical *colporteur* Scrivener. By burning him to ashes, the clergy desired to make sure that he would no longer circulate the word of God; and by a horrible refinement of cruelty his children were compelled to set fire to the pile that was to consume their father.³ They stretched

¹ Foxe, Acts, iv. p. 226.

² Carrying about books from one to another. Ibid. p. 224.

³ Hiding others in their barns. Ibid. p. 225.

⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid. p. 224. ⁶ Ibid. p. 224.

¹ I thresh God Almighty out of the straw. Foxe, Acts, iv. p. 222.

² Alas! now are you an undone man, and I but a dead woman. Ibid. p. 224.

³ Ibid. p. 226.

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forth their trembling hands, held in the strong grasp of the executioners.....Poor children!.....But it is easier to burn the limbs of Christians than to quench the Spirit of Heaven. These cruel fires could not destroy among the Lincolnshire peasantry that love of the Bible which in all ages has been England's strength, far more than the wisdom of her senators or the bravery of her generals.

Having by these exploits gained indisputable claims to the tiara, Wolsey turned his efforts towards Rome. Leo X. as we have seen, was just dead (1522). The cardinal sent Pace to Rome, instructing him to "Represent to the cardinals that by choosing a partisan of Charles or Francis, they will incur the enmity of one or the other of these princes, and that if they elect some feeble Italian priest, the apostolical see must become the prey of the strongest. Luther's revolt and the emperor's ambition endanger the papacy. There is only one means of preventing the threatening dangers.....It is to choose me.....Now go and exert yourself."¹ The conclave opened at Rome on the 27th December, and Wolsey was proposed; but the cardinals were not generally favourable to his election. "He is too young," said one; "too firm," said another. "He will fix the seat of the papacy in England and not in Rome," urged many. He did not receive twenty votes. "The cardinals," wrote the English ambassador, "snarled and quarrelled with each other; and their bad faith and hatred increased every day." On the sixth day, only one dish was sent them; and then in despair they chose Adrian, who had been tutor to the emperor, and the cry was raised; *Papam habemus!*

During all this time Wolsey was in London, consumed by ambition, and counting the days and hours. At length a despatch from Ghent, dated the 22d January, reached him with these words: "On the 9th of January, the cardinal of Tortosa was elected!".....Wolsey was almost distracted. To gain Charles, he had sacrificed the alliance of Francis I.; there was no stratagem that he had not employed, and yet Charles, in spite of his engagements, had procured the election of his tutor!.....The emperor knew what must be the cardinal's anger, and endeavoured to appease it: "The new pope," he wrote, "is old and sickly;" he cannot hold his office long.....Beg the cardinal of York for my sake to take great care of his health."

Charles did more than this; he visited London in person, under pretence of his betrothal with Mary of England, and, in the treaty then drawn up, he consented to the insertion of an article by virtue of which Henry VIII. and the mighty emperor bound themselves, if either should infringe the treaty, to appear

before Wolsey and to submit to his decisions.² The cardinal, gratified by such condescension, grew calm; and at the same time he was soothed with the most flattering hopes. "Charles's imbecile preceptor," they told him, "has arrived at the Vatican, attended only by his female cook; you shall soon make your entrance there surrounded by all your grandeur." To be certain of his game, Wolsey made secret approaches to Francis I., and then waited for the death of the pope.³

CHAPTER VIII.

Character of Tyndale—He arrives in London—He preaches—The Cloth and the Ell—The Bishop of London gives Audience to Tyndale—He is dismissed—A Christian Merchant of London—Spirit of Love in the Reformation—Tyndale in Monmouth's House—Fyrrh helps him to translate the New Testament—Importunities of the Bishop of Lincoln—Persecution in London—Tyndale's resolution—He departs—His Indignation against the Prelates—His Hopes.

WHILE the cardinal was intriguing to attain his selfish ends, Tyndale was humbly carrying out the great idea of giving the Scriptures of God to England.

After bidding a sad farewell to the manor-house of Sodbury, the learned tutor had departed for London. This occurred about the end of 1522 or the beginning of 1523. He had left the university—he had forsaken the house of his protector; his wandering career was about to commence, but a thick veil hid from him all its sorrows. Tyndale, a man simple in his habits, sober, daring, and generous, fearing neither fatigue nor danger, inflexible in his duty, anointed with the Spirit of God, overflowing with love for his brethren, emancipated from human traditions, the servant of God alone, and loving nought but Jesus Christ, imaginative, quick at repartee, and of touching eloquence—such a man might have shone in the foremost ranks; but he preferred a retired life in some poor corner, provided he could give his countrymen the Scriptures of God. Where could he find this calm retreat? was the question he put to himself as he was making his solitary way to London. The metropolitan sea was then filled by Cuthbert Tonstall, who was more of a statesman and a scholar than of a churchman, "the first of English men in Greek and Latin literature," said Erasmus. This eulogy of the learned Dutchman occurred to Tyndale's memory.⁴ It was the Greek Testament of Erasmus that led me to Christ, said he to himself; why should not the house of Erasmus's friend offer me a shelter that I may translate it.....At last he reached London, and, a stranger in that crowded city, he

¹ The sole way.... was to choose him. Herbert, p. 110.

² The new elect is both old, sickly.... so that he shall not have the office long. Cotton MSS. Calix, B. vii. p. 4.

³ Both princes appearing before the cardinal of York as Judge. Art. xiii. Herbert, p. 115.

⁴ Morlem etiam Adrian expectat. Sanders, p. 1.

⁵ As I thus thought, the Bishop of London came to my remembrance. Tyndale, Doctr. Tr. p. 200.

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wandered along the streets, a prey by turns to hope and fear.

Being recommended by Sir John Walsh to Sir Harry Guildford, the king's comptroller, and by him to several priests, Tyndale began to preach almost immediately, especially at St Dunstan's, and bore into the heart of the capital the truth which had been banished from the banks of the Severn. 'The word of God was with him the basis of salvation, and the *grace* of God its essence. His inventive mind presented the truths he proclaimed in a striking manner. He said on one occasion:—"It is the blood of Christ that opens the gates of heaven, and not thy works. I am wrong Yes, if thou wilt have it so, by thy good works shalt thou be saved.—Yet, understand me well,—not by those which thou hast done, but by those which Christ has done for thee. Christ is in thee and thou in him, knit together inseparably. Thou canst not be damned, except Christ be damned with thee; neither can Christ be saved except thou be saved with him."¹ This lucid view of justification by faith places Tyndale among the reformers. He did not take his seat on a bishop's throne, or wear a silken cope; but he mounted the scaffold, and was clothed with a garment of flames. In the service of a crucified Saviour this latter distinction is higher than the former.

Yet the translation was his chief business; he spoke to his acquaintances about it, and some of them opposed his project. "The teachings of the doctors," said some of the city tradesmen, "can alone make us understand Scripture." "That is to say," replied Tyndale, "I must measure the *yard* by the *cloth*."² Look here," continued he, using a practical argument, "here are in your shop twenty pieces of stuff of different lengths..... Do you measure the yard by these pieces, or the pieces by the yard?..... The universal standard is Scripture." This comparison was easily fixed in the minds of the petty tradesmen of the capital.

Desirous of carrying out his project, Tyndale aspired to become the bishop's chaplain;³ his ambition was more modest than Wolsey's. The hellenist possessed qualities which could not fail to please the most learned of Englishmen in Greek literature: Tonstall and Tyndale both liked and read the same authors. The ex-tutor determined to plead his cause through the elegant and harmonious disciple of Radicus and Gorgias: "Here is one of Isocrates' orations that I have translated into Latin," said he to Sir Harry Guildford: "I should be pleased to become chaplain to his lordship the bishop of London; will you beg him to accept this trifle. Isocrates ought to be an excellent recommendation to a scholar; will you be good enough to add yours." Guildford spoke to the bishop,

placed the translation in his hands, and Tonstall replied with that benevolence which he showed to every one. "Your business is it a fair way," said the comptroller to Tyndale; "write a letter to his lordship, and deliver it yourself."⁴

Tyndale's hopes now began to be realized. He wrote his letter in the best style, and then, commending himself to God, proceeded to the episcopal palace. He fortunately knew one of the bishop's officers, William Hebilthwayte, to whom he gave the letter. Hebilthwayte carried it to his lordship, while Tyndale waited. His heart throbbed with anxiety: shall he find at last the long hoped for asylum? The bishop's answer might decide the whole course of his life. If the door is opened,—if the translator of the Scriptures should be settled in the episcopal palace, why should not his London patron receive the truth like his patron at Sodbury? and, in that case, what a future for the church and for the kingdom!..... The Reformation was knocking at the door of the hierarchy of England, and the latter was about to utter its yea or its nay. After a few moments' absence Hebilthwayte returned: "I am going to conduct you to his lordship." Tyndale fancied himself that he had attained his wishes.

The bishop was too kind-hearted to refuse an audience to a man who called upon him with the triple recommendation of Isocrates, of the comptroller, and of the king's old companion in arms. He received Tyndale with kindness, a little tempered however with coldness, as if he were a man whose acquaintanceship might compromise him. Tyndale having made known his wishes, the bishop hastened to reply: "Alas! my house is full; I have now more people than I can employ."⁵ Tyndale was discomfited by this answer. The bishop of London was a learned man, but wanting in courage and consistency; he gave his right hand to the friends of letters and of the gospel, and his left hand to the friends of the priests; and then endeavoured to walk with both. But when he had to choose between the two parties, clerical interests prevailed. There was no lack of bishops, priests, and laymen about him, who intimidated him by their clamours. After taking a few steps forward, he suddenly recoiled. Still Tyndale ventured to hazard a word; but the prelate was cold as before. The humanists, who laughed at the ignorance of the monks, hesitated to touch an ecclesiastical system which lavished on them such rich sinecures. They accepted the new ideas in theory, but not in practice. They were very willing to discuss them at table, but not to proclaim them from the pulpit; and covering the Greek Testament

¹ Tyndal, Doctr. Tr. p. 79.

² Ibid. p. 153.

³ He laboured to be his chaplain. Foxe, Acta, iv. p. 617.

⁴ He willed me to write an epistle to my lord, and to send it to him myself. Foxe, Acta, iv. p. 617.

⁵ My Lord answered me, his house was full. Tyndal, Doctr. Tr. p. 205.

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with applause, they tore it in pieces when rendered into the vulgar tongue. "If you will look well about London," said Tonstall coldly to the poor priest; "you will not fail to meet with some suitable employment." This was all Tyndale could obtain. Hebilthwayte waited on him to the door, and the hellenist departed sad and desponding.

His expectations were disappointed. Driven from the banks of the Severn, without a home in the capital, what would become of the translation of the Scriptures? "Alas!" he said; "I was deceived.....¹ there is nothing to be looked for from the bishops.....Christ was smitten on the cheek before the bishop, Paul was buffeted before the bishop²...and a bishop has just turned me away." His dejection did not last long: there was an elastic principle in his soul. "I hunger for the word of God," said he, "I will translate it, whatever they may say or do. God will not suffer me to perish. He never made a mouth but he made food for it, nor a body, but he made raiment also."³

This trustfulness was not misplaced. It was the privilege of a layman to give what the bishop refused. Among Tyndale's hearers at St Dunstan's was a rich merchant named Humphrey Monmouth, who had visited Rome, and to whom (as well as to his companions) the pope had been so kind as to give certain Roman curiosities, such as indulgences, a *culpâ et a pœnâ*. Ships laden with his manufactures every year quitted London for foreign countries. He had formerly attended Colet's preaching at St Paul's, and from the year 1515 he had known the word of God.⁴ He was one of the gentlest and most obliging men in England; he kept open house for the friends of learning and of the Gospel, and his library contained the newest publications. In putting on Jesus Christ, Monmouth had particularly striven to put on his character; he helped generously with his purse both priests and men of letters; he gave forty pounds sterling to the chaplain of the bishop of London, the same to the king's, to the provincial of the Augustines, and to others besides. Latimer, who sometimes dined with him, once related in the pulpit an anecdote characteristic of the friends of the Reformation in England. Among the regular guests at Monmouth's table was one of his poorest neighbours, a zealous Romanist, to whom his generous host often used to lend money. One day when the pious merchant was extolling Scripture and blaming popery, his neighbour turned pale, rose from the table, and left the room. "I will never set foot in his house again," he said to his friends, "and I will never borrow another shilling of him."⁵ He next went

to the bishop and laid an information against his benefactor. Monmouth forgave him, and tried to bring him back; but the neighbour constantly turned out of his way. Once, however, they met in a street so narrow that he could not escape. "I will pass by without looking at him," said the Romanist turning away his head. But Monmouth went straight to him, took him by the hand, and said affectionately: "Neighbour, what wrong have I done you?" and he continued to speak to him with so much love, that the poor man fell on his knees, burst into tears, and begged his forgiveness.⁶ Such was the spirit which, at the very outset, animated the work of the Reformation in England: it was acceptable to God, and found favour with the people.

Monmouth being edified by Tyndale's sermons, inquired into his means of living. "I have none,"⁷ replied he, "but I hope to enter into the bishop's service." This was before his visit to Tonstall. When Tyndale saw all his hopes frustrated, he went to Monmouth and told him everything. "Come and live with me," said the wealthy merchant, "and there labour." God did to Tyndale according to his faith. Simple, frugal, devoted to work, he studied night and day,⁸ and wishing to guard his mind against "being overcharged with surfeiting," he refused the delicacies of his patron's table, and would take nothing but sodden meat and small beer.⁹ It would even seem that he carried simplicity in dress almost too far.¹⁰ By his conversation and his works, he shed over the house of his patron the mild light of the Christian virtues, and Monmouth loved him more and more every day.

Tyndale was advancing in his work when John Fryth, the mathematician of King's College, Cambridge, arrived in London. It is probable that Tyndale, feeling the want of an associate, had invited him. United like Luther and Melancthon, the two friends held many precious conversations together. "I will consecrate my life wholly to the church of Jesus Christ," said Fryth.¹¹ "To be a good man, you must give great part of yourself to your parents, a greater part to your country; but the greatest of all to the church of the Lord." "The people should know the word of God,"¹² they said both. "The interpretation of the gospel without the intervention of councils or popes, is sufficient to create a saving faith in the heart." They shut themselves up in the little room in Monmouth's house, and translated chapter after chapter from the Greek into plain English. The bishop of London knew nothing of the work going on a few yards from him, and every-

¹ Latimer's Works, I. p. 441.

² Foxe, Acts, iv. p. 612.

³ Strype, Records, I. p. 664.

⁴ Ibid. He would eat but sodden meat and drink but small single beer.

⁵ He was never seen in that house to wear linen about him. Ibid.

⁶ Tyndale and Fryth's Works, III. p. 73. 74.

⁷ That the poor people might also read and see the simple plain word of God. Foxe, Acts, v. p. 113.

¹ I was beguiled. Tyndale, Doctr. Tr. p. 395.

² Exposition, p. 69.

³ Tynd. and Fryth's Works, II. p. 219.

⁴ The rich man began to be a Scripture man. Latimer's Sermons, p. 440 (Park. Soc.).

⁵ Latimer's Works, I. p. 441. He would borrow no [more] money of him.

thing was succeeding to Tyndale's wishes when it was interrupted by an unforeseen circumstance.

Longland, the persecutor of the Lincolnshire Christians, did not confine his activity within the limits of his diocese; he besieged the king, the cardinal, and the queen with his cruel importunities, using Wolsey's influence with Henry, and Henry's with Wolsey. "His majesty," he wrote to the cardinal, "shows in this holy dispute as much goodness as zeal.....yet, be pleased to urge him to overthrow God's enemies." And then turning to the king, the confessor said, to spur him on: "The cardinal is about to fulminate the greater excommunication against all who possess Luther's Works or hold his opinions, and to make the booksellers sign a bond before the magistrates, not to sell heretical books." "Wonderful!" replied Henry with a sneer, "they will fear the magisterial bond, I think, more than the clerical excommunication." And yet the consequences of the "clerical" excommunication were to be very positive; whosoever persevered in his offence was to be pursued by the law *ad ignem*, even to the fire.¹ At last the confessor applied to the queen: "We cannot be sure of restraining the press," he said to her. "These wretched books come to us from Germany, France, and the Low Countries; and are even printed in the very midst of us. Madam, we must train and prepare skilful men, such as are able to discuss the controverted points, so that the laity, struck on the one hand by well developed arguments, and frightened by the fear of punishment on the other, may be kept in obedience."² In the bishop's system, "fire" was to be the complement of Roman learning. The essential idea of Jesuitism is already visible in this conception of Henry the Eighth's confessor. That system is the natural development of Romanism.

Tunstall, urged forward by Longland, and desirous of showing himself as holy a churchman as he had once been a skilful statesman and elegant scholar—Tunstall, the friend of Erasmus, began to persecute. He would have feared to shed blood, like Longland; but there are measures which torture the mind and not the body, and which the most moderate men fear not to make use of. John Higgins, Henry Chambers, Thomas Eaglestone, a priest named Edmund Spilman, and some other Christians in London, used to meet and read portions of the Bible in English, and even asserted publicly that "Luther had more learning in his little finger than all the doctors in England."³ The bishop ordered these rebels to be arrested; he flattered and alarmed them, threatening them with a cruel death (which he would hardly

have inflicted on them), and by these skilful practices reduced them to silence.

Tyndale, who witnessed this persecution, feared lest the stake should interrupt his labour. If those who read a few fragments of Scripture are threatened with death, what will he not have to endure who is translating the whole? His friends entreated him to withdraw from the bishop's pursuit. "Alas!" he exclaimed, "is there then no place where I can translate the Bible?.....It is not the bishop's house alone that is closed against me, but all England."⁴

He then made a great sacrifice. Since there is no place in his own country where he can translate the word of God, he will go and seek one among the nations of the continent. It is true the people are unknown to him; he is without resources; perhaps persecution and even death await him there..... It matters not! some time must elapse before it is known what he is doing, and perhaps he will have been able to translate the Bible. He turned his eyes towards Germany. "God does not destine us to a quiet life here below," he said. "If he calls us to peace on the part of Jesus Christ, he calls us to war on the part of the world."

There lay at that moment in the river Thames a vessel loading for Hamburg. Monmouth gave Tyndale ten pounds sterling for his voyage, and other friends contributed a like amount. He left the half of this sum in the hands of his benefactor to provide for his future wants, and prepared to quit London, where he had spent a year. Rejected by his fellow countrymen, persecuted by the clergy, and carrying with him only his New Testament and his ten pounds, he went on board the ship, shaking off the dust of his feet, according to his Master's precept, and that dust fell back on the priests of England. He was indignant (says the chronicler) against those coarse monks, covetous priests, and pompous prelates,⁵ who were waging an impious war against God. "What a trade is that of the priests!" he said in one of his later writings: "they want money for every thing; money for baptism, money for churchings, for weddings, for burials, for images, brotherhoods, penances, soul masses, bells, organs, chalices, copes, surplices, ewers, censers, and all manner of ornaments. Poor sheep! The parson shears, the vicar shaves, the parish priest polls, the friar scrapes, the indulgence seller pares.....all that you want is a butcher to flay you and take away your skin."⁶ He will not leave you long. Why are your prelates dressed in red? Because they are ready to shed the blood of whomsoever seeketh the word of God.⁷ Scourge of states, devastators of kingdoms, the priests take away not only

¹ But also that there was no place to do it in all England. Tynd. Doctr. Tr. 396.

² We be not called to a soft living. Ibid. II. p. 389.

³ Ibid. I. p. 42, 44. Herbert says (p. 147) "to suspend the liberty betwixt fear and controversy."

⁴ Foxe, Acta, v. p. 173.

⁵ Marking especially the demeanour of the preachers, and beholding the pomp of the prelates. Foxe, Acta, v. p. 185.

⁶ Doct. Tr. p. 238. Obedience of a Chr. Man.

⁷ Ibid. p. 261.

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Holy Scripture, but also prosperity and peace; but of their councils is no layman; reigning over all, they obey nobody; and making all concur to their own greatness, they conspire against every kingdom."¹

No kingdom was to be more familiar than England with the conspiracies of the papacy of which Tyndale spoke; and yet none was to free itself more irrevocably from the power of Rome.

Yet Tyndale was leaving the shores of his native land, and as he turned his eyes towards the new countries, hope revived in his heart. He was going to be free, and he would use his liberty to deliver the word of God, so long held captive. "The priests," he said one day, "when they had slain Christ, set pole-axes to keep him in his sepulchre, that he should not rise again; even so have our priests buried the testament of God, and all their study is to keep it down, that it rise not again." But the hour of the Lord is come, and nothing can hinder the word of God, as nothing could hinder Jesus Christ of old from issuing from the tomb." Indeed that poor man, then sailing towards Germany, was to send back, even from the banks of the Elbe, the eternal gospel to his countrymen.

CHAPTER IX.

Bilney at Cambridge—Conversions—The University Cross-Bearer—A Leicestershire Farmer—A Party of Students—Superstitious Practices—An obstinate Papist—The Sophists—Latimer attacks Stafford—Bilney's Resolution—Latimer hears Bilney's Confession—Confessor converted—New Life in Latimer—Bilney preaches Grace—Nature of the Ministry—Latimer's Character and Teaching—Works of Charity—Three Classes of Adversaries—Clark and Dalser.

THIS ship did not bear away all the hopes of England. A society of Christians had been formed at Cambridge, of which Bilney was the centre. He now knew no other canon law than Scripture, and had found a new master, "the Holy Spirit of Christ," says an historian. Although he was naturally timid, and often suffered from the exhaustion brought on by his fasts and vigils, there was in his language a life, liberty, and strength, strikingly in contrast with his sickly appearance. He desired to draw to the knowledge of God,² all who came nigh him; and by degrees, the rays of the gospel sun, which was then rising in the firmament of Christendom, pierced the ancient windows of the colleges, and illuminated the solitary chambers of certain of the masters and fellows. Master Arthur, Master Thistle of Pembroke Hall, and Master Stafford, were among the first to join Bilney. George Stafford, professor of divinity, was a man of deep learning and holy

life, clear and precise in his teaching. He was admired by every one in Cambridge, so that his conversion, like that of his friends, spread alarm among the partisans of the schoolmen. But a conversion still more striking than this was destined to give the English Reformation a champion more illustrious than either Stafford or Bilney.

There was in Cambridge, at that time, a priest notorious for his ardent fanaticism. In the processions, amidst the pomp, prayers, and chanting of the train, none could fail to notice a master of arts, about thirty years of age, who, with erect head, carried proudly the university cross. Hugh Latimer, for such was his name, combined a biting humour with an impetuous disposition and indefatigable zeal, and was very quick in ridiculing the faults of his adversaries. There was more wit and railery in his fanaticism than can often be found in such characters. He followed the friends of the word of God into the colleges and houses where they used to meet, debated with them, and pressed them to abandon their faith. He was a second Saul, and was soon to resemble the apostle of the Gentiles in another respect.

He first saw light in the year 1491, in the county of Leicester. Hugh's father was an honest yeoman; and, accompanied by one of his six sisters, the little boy had often tended in the pastures the five score sheep belonging to the farm, or driven home to his mother the thirty cows it was her business to milk.¹ In 1497, the Cornish rebels, under Lord Audley, having encamped at Blackheath, our farmer had donned his rusty armour, and, mounting his horse, responded to the summons of the crown. Hugh, then only six years old, was present at his departure, and as if he had wished to take his little part in the battle, he had buckled the straps of his father's armour.² Fifty-two years afterwards he recalled this circumstance to mind in a sermon preached before king Edward. His father's house was always open to the neighbours; and no poor man ever turned away from the door without having received alms. The old man brought up his family in the love of men and, in the fear of God, and having remarked with joy the precocious understanding of his son, he had him educated in the country schools, and then sent to Cambridge at the age of fourteen. This was in 1505, just as Luther was entering the Augustine convent.

The son of the Leicestershire yeoman was lively, fond of pleasure, and of cheerful conversation, and mingled frequently in the amusements of his fellow-students. One day, as they were dining together, one of the party exclaimed: *Nil melius quam latari et facere bene!*—"There is nothing better than to be merry and to do well."³—"A vengeance on

¹ Doctr. Tr. p. 191.

² Tyndale, *Ibid.* p. 231.

³ So was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many.
Peters, Acts, iv. p. 400.

¹ My mother milked thirty kine. Latimer's Sermons (Parker ed.) p. 101.

² I can remember that I buckled his harness. *Ibid.*

³ Eccles. iii. 12.

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that *bene*!" replied a monk of impudent mien; "I wish it were beyond the sea;¹ it mars all the rest." Young Latimer was much surprised at the remark: "I understand it now," said he, "that will be a heavy *bene* to these monks when they have to render God an account of their lives."

Latimer having become more serious, threw himself heart and soul into the practices of superstition, and a very bigoted old cousin undertook to instruct him in them. One day, when one of their relations lay dead, she said to him: "Now we must drive out the devil. Take this holy taper, my child, and pass it over the body, first longways and then athwart, so as always to make the sign of the cross."

But the scholar performing this exorcism very awkwardly, his aged cousin snatched the candle from his hand, exclaiming angrily: "It's a great pity your father spends so much money on your studies: he will never make anything of you."²

This prophecy was not fulfilled. He became Fellow of Clare Hall in 1509, and took his master's degree in 1514. His classical studies being ended, he began to study divinity. Duns Scotus, Aquinas, and Hugo de Sancto Victore were his favourite authors. The practical side of things, however, engaged him more than the speculative; and he was more distinguished in Cambridge for his asceticism and enthusiasm than for his learning. He attached importance to the merest trifles. As the missal directs that water should be mingled with the sacramental wine, often while saying mass he would be troubled in his conscience for fear he had not put *sufficient water*.³ This remorse never left him a moment's tranquillity during the service. In him, as in many others, attachment to puerile ordinances occupied in his heart the place of faith in the great truths. With him, the cause of the church was the cause of God, and he respected Thomas à Becket at least as much as St Paul. "I was then," said he, "as obstinate a papist as any in England."⁴ Luther said the same thing of himself.

The fervent Latimer soon observed that everybody around him was not equally zealous with himself for the ceremonies of the church. He watched with surprise certain young members of the university, who, forsaking the doctors of the School, met daily to read and search into the Holy Scriptures. People sneered at them in Cambridge: "It is only the *sophists*," was the cry; but railery was not enough for Latimer. One day he entered the room where these *sophists* were assembled, and begged them to cease studying the Bible. All his entreaties were useless. Can we be astonished at it? said La-

timer to himself. Don't we see even the tators setting an example to these stray sheep? There is Master Stafford, the most illustrious professor in English universities, devoting his time *ad Biblia*, like Luther at Wittenberg, and explaining the Scriptures according to the Hebrew and Greek texts! and the delighted students celebrate in bad verse the doctor,

*Qui Paulum explicuit rite et congregationem.*⁵

That young people should occupy themselves with these new doctrines was conceivable, but that a doctor of divinity should do so—what a disgrace! Latimer therefore determined to attack Stafford. He insulted him;⁶ he entreated the youth of Cambridge to abandon the professor and his heretical teaching; he attended the hall in which the doctor taught, made signs of impatience during the lesson, and cavilled at it after leaving the school. He even preached in public against the learned doctor. But it seemed to him that Cambridge and England were struck blind: true, the clergy approved of Latimer's proceedings—nay, praised them; and yet they did nothing. To console him, however, he was named cross-bearer to the university, and we have already seen him discharging this duty.

Latimer desired to show himself worthy of such an honour. He had left the students to attack Stafford; and he now left Stafford for a more illustrious adversary. But this attack led him to some one *that was stronger than he*. At the occasion of receiving the degree of bachelor of divinity he had to deliver a Latin discourse in the presence of the university; Latimer chose for his subject *Philip Melancthon and his doctrines*. Had not this daring heretic presumed to say quite recently that the fathers of the church have altered the sense of Scripture? Had he not asserted that, like those rocks whose various colours are imparted to the polypos which clings to them,⁷ so the doctors of the church give each their own opinion in the passages they explain? And finally had he not discovered a new *touchstone* (it is thus he styles the Holy Scripture) by which we must test the sentences even of St Thomas?

Latimer's discourse made a great impression. At last (said his hearers) England, nay Cambridge, will furnish a champion for the church that will confront the Wittenberg doctors, and save the vessel of our Lord. But very different was to be the result. There was among the hearers one man almost hidden through his small stature: it was Bilney. For some time he had been watching Latimer's movements, and his zeal interested

¹ I would that we had been banished beyond the sea. Latimer's Sermons, p. 164.

² He thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water. Foxe, Acts, viii. p. 433.

³ Ibid. p. 236.

⁴ Who has explained to us the true sense of St Paul and of the gospel. Buryers Mem. i. p. 74.

⁵ Most spitefully railing against him. Foxe, Acts, vii. p. 437.

⁶ Ut polypos utinamque pectus adhaerent, quos colunt imitator. Corp. Ref. i. p. 114.

him, though it was a zeal without knowledge. His energy was not great, but he possessed a delicate tact, a skilful discernment of character which enabled him to distinguish error, and to select the fittest method for combating it. Accordingly, a chronicler styles him "a trier of Satan's subtleties, appointed by God to detect the bad money that the enemy was circulating throughout the church."¹ Bilney easily detected Latimer's sophisms, but at the same time loved his person, and conceived the design of winning him to the gospel. But how to manage it? The prejudiced Latimer would not even listen to the evangelical Bilney. The latter reflected, prayed, and at last planned a very candid and very strange plot, which led to one of the most astonishing conversions recorded in history.

He went to the college where Latimer resided. "For the love of God," he said to him, "be pleased to hear my confession."² The heretic prayed to make confession to the catholic: what a singular fact! My discourse against Melancthon has no doubt converted him, said Latimer to himself. Had not Bilney once been among the number of the most pious zealots? His pale face, his wasted frame, and his humble look are clear signs that he ought to belong to the ascetics of catholicism. If he turns back, all will turn back with him, and the reaction will be complete at Cambridge. The ardent Latimer eagerly yielded to Bilney's request, and the latter, kneeling before the cross-bearer, related to him with touching simplicity the anguish he had once felt in his soul, the efforts he had made to remove it; their unprofitableness so long as he determined to follow the precepts of the church, and lastly, the peace he had felt when he believed that Jesus Christ is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. He described to Latimer the spirit of adoption he had received, and the happiness he experienced in being able now to call God his father.....Latimer, who expected to receive a confession, listened without mistrust. His heart was opened, and the voice of the pious Bilney penetrated it without obstacle. From time to time the confessor would have chased away the new thoughts which came crowding into his bosom; but the penitent continued. His language, at once so simple and so lively, entered like a two-edged sword. Bilney was not without assistance in his work. A new, a strange witness,—the Holy Ghost,³—was speaking in Latimer's soul. He learned from God to know God: he received a new heart. At length grace prevailed: the penitent rose up, but Latimer remained seated, absorbed in thought. The strong cross-bearer contended in vain against the words of the feeble Bil-

ney. Like Saul on the way to Damascus, he was conquered, and his conversion, like the apostle's, was instantaneous. He stammered out a few words; Bilney drew near him with love, and God scattered the darkness which still obscured his mind. He saw Jesus Christ as the only Saviour given to man: he contemplated and adored him. "I learnt more by this confession," he said afterwards, "than by much reading and in many years before.....I now tasted the word of God,"⁴ and forsook the doctors of the school and all their fooleries."⁵ It was not the penitent but the confessor who received absolution. Latimer viewed with horror the obstinate war he had waged against God; he wept bitterly; but Bilney consoled him. "Brother," said he, "though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow." These two young men, then locked in their solitary chamber at Cambridge, were one day to mount the scaffold for that divine Master whose spirit was teaching them. But one of them before going to the stake was first to sit on an episcopal throne.

Latimer was changed. The energy of his character was tempered by a divine unction. Becoming a believer, he had ceased to be superstitious. Instead of persecuting Jesus Christ, he became a zealous seeker after him.⁶ Instead of cavilling and railing, he showed himself meek and gentle;⁷ instead of frequenting company, he sought solitude, studying the scriptures and advancing in true theology. He threw off the old man and put on the new. He waited upon Stafford, begged forgiveness for the insult he had offered him, and then regularly attended his lectures, being subjugated more by this doctor's angelic conversation⁸ than by his learning. But it was Bilney's society Latimer cultivated most. They conversed together daily, took frequent walks together into the country, and occasionally rested at a place, long known as "the heretic's hill."⁹

So striking a conversion gave fresh vigour to the evangelical movement. Hitherto Bilney and Latimer had been the most zealous champions of the two opposite causes; the one despised, the other honoured; the weak man had conquered the strong. This action of the Spirit of God was not thrown away upon Cambridge. Latimer's conversion, as of old the miracles of the apostles, struck men's minds; and was it not in truth a miracle? All the youth of the university ran to hear Bilney preach. He proclaimed "Jesus Christ as He who, having tasted death, has delivered his people from the penalty of sin."¹⁰ While the doctors of the

¹ Latimer's Sermons, p. 334.

² From that time forward I began to smell the word of God. *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 335.

⁴ Whereas before he was an enemy and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him. *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ A man of a very perfect life and angelic conversation. *Becon's Works* (Parker Soc.), p. 423.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 423.

⁸ Christus quem pro virili doceo....denique et satisfactionem. *Ep. ad Tostatium episcop.* *Ibid.* Acts, iv. p. 623.

¹ *Fore, Acts, vii. p. 436.*

² He came to me afterwards in my study, and desired me for God's sake to hear his confession. *Latimer's Sermons*, p. 334.

³ He was through the good Spirit of God so touched, *Fore, viii. p. 438.*

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school (even the most pious of them) laid most stress upon *man's* part in the work of redemption, Bilney on the contrary emphasized the other term, namely, *God's* part. This doctrine of grace, said his adversaries, annuls the sacraments, and contradicts baptismal regeneration. The selfishness which forms the essence of fallen humanity rejected the evangelical doctrine, and felt that to accept it was to be lost. "Many listened with *the left ear*," to use an expression of Bilney's; "like Malchus, having their *right ear* cut off;" and they filled the university with their complaints.

But Bilney did not allow himself to be stopped. The idea of eternity had seized on his mind, and perhaps he still retained some feeble relic of the exaggerations of asceticism. He condemned every kind of recreation, even when innocent. Music in the churches seemed to him a mockery of God;¹ and when Thurlby, who was afterwards a bishop, and who lived at Cambridge in the room below his, used to begin playing on the recorder, Bilney would fall on his knees and pour out his soul in prayer: to him prayer was the sweetest melody. He prayed that the lively faith of the children of God might in all England be substituted for the vanity and pride of the priests. He believed—he prayed—he waited. His waiting was not to be in vain.

Latimer trod in his footsteps: the transformation of his soul was going on; and the more fanaticism he had shown for the sacerdotal system, which places salvation in the hands of the priest, the more zeal he now showed for the evangelical system, which placed it in the hands of Christ. He saw that if the churches must needs have ministers, it is not because they require a human mediation, but from the necessity of a regular preaching of the gospel and a steady direction of the flock; and accordingly he would have wished to call the servant of the Lord *minister* (*δυνάμειν* or *διάκονος τοῦ λόγου*), and not *priest* (*ἱερεύς* or *sacerdos*.) In his view, it was not the imposition of hands by the bishop that gave grace, but grace which authorized the imposition of hands. He considered activity to be one of the essential features of the gospel ministry. "Would you know," said he, "why the Lord chose *fishermen* to be his apostles?.....See how they watch day and night at their nets to take all such fishes that they can get and come in their way.....So all our bishops, and curates, and vicars should be as painful in casting their nets, that is to say, in preaching God's word."² He regarded all confidence in human strength as a remnant of paganism. "Let us not do," he said, "as the haughty Ajax, who said to his father as he went to battle: Without the

help of God I am able to fight, and I will get the victory with mine own strength."³

The Reformation had gained in Latimer a very different man from Bilney. He had not so much discernment and prudence perhaps, but he had more energy and eloquence. What Tyndale was to be for England by his writings, Latimer was to be by his discourses. The tenderness of his conscience, the warmth of his zeal, and the vivacity of his understanding, were enlisted in the service of Jesus Christ; and if at times he was carried too far by the liveliness of his wit, it only shows that the reformers were not *saints*, but sanctified men. "He was one of the first," says an historian, "who, in the days of King Henry VIII., set himself to preach the gospel in the truth and simplicity of it."⁴ He preached in Latin *ad clerum*, and in English *ad populum*. He boldly placed the law with its curses before his hearers, and then conjured them to flee towards the Saviour of the world.⁵ The same zeal which he had employed in saying mass, he now employed in preaching the true sacrifice of Christ. He said one day:—"If one man had committed all the sins since Adam, you may be sure he should be punished with the same horror of death, in such a sort as all men in the world should have suffered.....Such was the pain Christ endured.....If our Saviour had committed all the sins of the world; all that I for my part have done, all that you for your part have done, and that any man else hath done; if he had done all this himself, his agony that he suffered should have been no greater nor grievouser than it was.....Believe in Jesus Christ, and you shall overcome death.....But, alas!" said he at another time, "the devil, by the help of that Italian bishop, his chaplain, has laboured by all means that he might frustrate the death of Christ and the merits of his passion."⁶

Thus began in British Christendom the preaching of the Cross. The Reformation was not the substitution of the catholicism of the first ages for the popery of the middle ages: it was a revival of the preaching of St Paul, and thus it was that on hearing Latimer every one exclaimed with rapture: "Of a *Saul*, God has made him a very *Paul*."⁷

To the inward power of faith, the Cambridge evangelists added the outward power of the life. Saul become Paul, the strong, the ardent Latimer, had need of action; and Bilney, the weak and humble Bilney, in delicate health, observing a severe diet, taking ordinarily but one meal a-day, and never sleeping more than four hours, absorbed in prayer and in the study of the

¹ Foxe, Acts, iv. p. 621.

² Minister is a more fit name for that office. Latimer's Sermons, p. 224.

³ Ibid. p. 224.

⁴ Latimer's Sermons, p. 491. Sophocles, Ajax, 783, et seq.

⁵ Strype's Mem. iii. part i. p. 274.

⁶ Flying to him by an evangelical faith. Ibid.

⁷ Lat. Ser. p. 74.

⁸ This was said by Ralph Meric, afterwards Comptroller Secretary. Strype, Mem. Mem. iii. part i. p. 282.

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word, displayed at that time all the energy of charity. These two friends devoted themselves not merely to the easy labours of Christian beneficence; but caring little for that formal Christianity so often met with among the easy classes, they explored the gloomy cells of the madhouse to hear the sweet and subtle voice of the gospel to the infuriate maniacs. They visited the miserable lazaret-house without the town, in which several poor lepers were dwelling; they carefully tended them, wrapped them in clean sheets, and wooed them to be converted to Christ.¹ The gates of the jail at Cambridge were opened to them,² and they announced to the poor prisoners that word which giveth liberty. Some were converted by it, and longed for the day of their execution.³ Latimer, afterwards bishop of Worcester, was one of the most beautiful types of the Reformation in England.

He was opposed by numerous adversaries. In the front rank were the priests, who spared no endeavours to retain souls. "Beware," said Latimer to the new converts, "lest robbers overtake you, and plunge you into the pope's prison of purgatory."⁴ After these came the sons and favourites of the aristocracy, worldly and frivolous students, who felt little disposition to listen to the gospel. "By yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is and hath been chiefly maintained in the church,"⁵ said Latimer. "Is this realm taught by rich men's sons? No, no; read the chronicles; ye shall find sometime noblemen's sons which have been unpreaching bishops and prelates, but ye shall find none of them learned men." He would have desired a mode of election which placed in the Christian pulpit, not the richest and most fashionable men, but the ablest and most pious. This important reform was reserved for other days. Lastly, the evangelists of Cambridge came into collision with the brutality of many, to use Latimer's own expression. "What need have we of universities and schools?" said the students of this class. The Holy Ghost "will give us always what to say."⁶ "We must trust in the Holy Ghost," replied Latimer, "but not presume on it. If you will not maintain universities, you shall have a brutality."⁷ In this manner the Reformation restored to Cambridge gravity and knowledge, along with truth and charity.

Yet Bilney and Latimer often turned their eyes towards Oxford, and wondered how the light would be able to penetrate there. Wolsey provided for that. A Cambridge master of arts, John Clark, a conscientious man, of tender heart, great prudence, and

unbounded devotion to his duty, had been enlightened by the word of God. Wolsey, who since 1523 had been seeking everywhere for distinguished scholars to adorn his new college, invited Clark among the first. This doctor, desirous of bearing to Oxford the light which God had given Cambridge, immediately began to deliver a course of divinity lectures, to hold conferences, and to preach in his eloquent manner. He taught every day.¹ Among the graduates and students who followed him was Anthony Dalaber, a young man of simple but profound feeling, who while listening to him had experienced in his heart the regenerating power of the gospel. Overflowing with the happiness which the knowledge of Jesus Christ imparted to him, he went to the Cardinal's college, knocked at Clark's door, and said: "Father, allow me never to quit you more!" The teacher, beholding the young disciple's enthusiasm, loved him, but thought it his duty to try him: "Anthony," said he, "you know not what you ask. My teaching is now pleasant to you, but the time will come when God will lay the cross of persecution on you; you will be dragged before bishops; your name will be covered with shame in the world, and all who love you will be heart-broken on account of you.Then, my friend, you will regret that you ever knew me."

Anthony believing himself rejected, and unable to bear the idea of returning to the barren instructions of the priests, fell on his knees, and weeping bitterly,² exclaimed: "For the tender mercy of God, turn me not away." Touched by his sorrow, Clark folded him in his arms, kissed him, and with tears in his eyes exclaimed: "The Lord give thee what thou askest!.....Take me for thy father, I take thee for my son." From that hour Anthony, all joy, was like Timothy at the feet of Paul. He united a quick understanding with tender affections. When any of the students had not attended Clark's conferences, the master commissioned his disciple to visit them, to inquire into their doubts, and to impart to them his instructions. "This exercise did me much good," said Dalaber, "and I made great progress in the knowledge of Scripture."

Thus the kingdom of God, which consists not in forms, but in the power of the Spirit, was set up in Cambridge and Oxford. The alarmed schoolmen, beholding their most pious scholars escaping one after another from their teaching, called the bishops to their aid, and the latter determined to send agents to Cambridge, the focus of the heresy, to apprehend the leaders. This took place in 1523 or the beginning of 1524. The episcopal officers had arrived, and were proceeding to business. The most timid began

¹ Preaching at the lazar-cots, wrapping them in sheets. *Peter's Acts*, vol. iv. p. 62. London, 1846.

² Latimer's Sermons, p. 336 (Park. Soc.)

³ She had such a savour, such a sweetness, and feeling, that she thought it long to the day of execution. Latimer's Sermons, p. 150.

⁴ *Stephen's History. Memorabilia*, vol. III. pt. I. p. 379.

⁵ Latimer's Sermons, p. 102. ⁶ *Ibid.* p. 220.

¹ Teach or preach, which he did daily. *Peter's Acts*, v. p. 424.

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to feel alarm, but Latimer was full of courage; when suddenly the agents of the clergy were forbidden to go on, and this prohibition, strange to say, originated with Wolsey; "upon what ground I cannot imagine," says Burnet.¹ Certain events were taking place at Rome of a nature to exercise great influence over the priestly councils, and which may perhaps explain what Burnet could not understand.

CHAPTER X.

Wolsey seeks the Tiara—Clement VII. is elected—Wolsey's Disimulation—Charles offers France to Henry—Pacis Union on this Subject—Wolsey reforms the Convent—His secret Alliance—Treaty between France and England—Taxation and Insurrection—False Charges against the Reformers—Latimer's Defence—Tenterden Steeple.

ADRIAN VI. died on the 14th September 1523, before the end of the second year of his pontificate. Wolsey thought himself pope. At length he would no longer be the favourite only, but the arbiter of the kings of the earth; and his genius, for which England was too narrow, would have Europe and the world for its stage. Already revolving gigantic projects in his mind, the future pope dreamt of the destruction of heresy in the west, and in the east the cessation of the Greek schism, and new crusades to replant the cross on the walls of Constantinople. There is nothing that Wolsey would not have dared undertake when once seated on the throne of catholicism, and the pontificates of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. would have been eclipsed by that of the Ipswich butcher's son. The cardinal reminded Henry of his promise, and the very next day the king signed a letter addressed to Charles the Fifth.

Believing himself sure of the emperor, Wolsey turned all his exertions to the side of Rome. "The legate of England," said Henry's ambassadors to the cardinals, "is the very man for the present time. He is the only one thoroughly acquainted with the interests and wants of Christendom, and strong enough to provide for them. He is all kindness, and will share his dignities and wealth among all the prelates who support him."

But Julio de' Medici himself aspired to the papacy, and as eighteen cardinals were devoted to him, the election could not take place without his support. "Rather than yield," said he in the conclave, "I would die in this prison." A month passed away, and nothing was done. New intrigues were then resorted to: there were cabals for Wolsey, cabals for Medici. The cardinals were be-

*laid into their midst, by many a secret path,
Creeps sly intrigue.*²

At length, on the 19th November 1523, the people collected under their windows, shouting: "No foreign pope." After forty-nine days debating, Julio was elected, and according to his own expression, "bent his head beneath the yoke of apostolic servitude."³ He took the name of Clement VII.

Wolsey was exasperated. It was in vain that he presented himself before St Peter's chair at each vacancy: a more active or more fortunate rival always reached it before him. Master of England, and the most influential of European diplomatists, he saw men preferred to him who were his inferiors. This election was an event for the Reformation. Wolsey as pope would, humanly speaking, have tightened the cords which already bound England so closely to Rome; but Wolsey, rejected, could hardly fail to throw himself into tortuous paths which would perhaps contribute to the emancipation of the Church. He became more crafty than ever; declared to Henry that the new election was quite in conformity with his wishes,⁴ and hastened to congratulate the new pope. He wrote to his agents at Rome: "This election, I assure you, is as much to the king's and my rejoicing, consolation, and gladness, as possibly may be devised or imagined..... Ye shall show unto his holiness what joy, comfort, and gladness it is both to the king's highness and me to perceive that once in our lives it hath pleased God of his great goodness to provide such a pastor unto his church, as his grace and I have long inwardly desired; who for his virtue, wisdom, and other high and notable qualities, we have always reputed the most able and worthy person to be called to that dignity."⁵ But the pope, divining his competitor's vexation, sent the king a golden rose, and a ring to Wolsey. "I am sorry," he said as he drew it from his finger, "that I cannot present it to his eminence in person." Clement moreover conferred on him the quality of *legate for life*—an office which had hitherto been temporary only. Thus the popedom and England embraced each other, and nothing appeared more distant than that Christian revolution which was destined very shortly to emancipate Britain from the tutelage of the Vatican.

Wolsey's disappointed ambition made him suspend the proceedings of the clergy at Cambridge. He had revenge in his heart, and cared not to persecute his fellow-countrymen merely to please his rival; and besides, like several popes, he had a certain

¹ Un conclave, by O. Delavigne.

² Colla sublimis iugo apostolice servituti. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vi. 2. p. 7.

³ I take God to witness, I am more joyous thereof, than if it had fallen upon my person. Wolsey to Henry VIII. Burnet, *Records*, p. cccxviii. (Lond. 1641.)

⁴ Wolsey to Secretary Pace. *Gloucester's Wolsey*, p. 24, 4p. postscript. (Lond. 1841.)

⁵ History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 26. Lond. 1841.

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fondness for learning. To send a few Lollards to prison was a matter of no difficulty; but learned doctors.....this required a closer examination. Hence he gave Rome a sign of independence. And yet it was not specially against the pope that he began to entertain sinister designs: Clement had been more fortunate than himself; but that was no reason why he should be angry with him.....Charles V. was the offender, and Wolsey swore a deadly hatred against him. Resolved to strike, he sought only the place where he could inflict the severest blow. To obtain his end, he resolved to dissemble his passion, and to distil drop by drop into Henry's mind that mortal hatred against Charles, which gave fresh energy to his activity.

Charles discovered the indignation that lay hid under Wolsey's apparent mildness, and wishing to retain Henry's alliance, he made more pressing advances to the king. Having deprived the minister of a tiara, he resolved to offer the king a crown: this was, indeed, a noble compensation! "You are king of France," the emperor said, "and I undertake to win your kingdom for you." Only send an ambassador to Italy to negotiate the matter." Wolsey, who could hardly contain his vexation, was forced to comply, in appearance at least, with the emperor's views. The king, indeed, seemed to think of nothing but his arrival at St Germain's, and commissioned Pace to visit Italy for this important business. Wolsey hoped that he would be unable to execute his commission: it was impossible to cross the Alps, for the French troops blockaded every passage. But Pace, who was one of those adventurous characters whom nothing can stop, spurred on by the thought that the king himself had sent him, determined to cross the *Col di Tenda*. On the 27th July, he entered the mountains, traversed precipitous passes, sometimes climbing them on all-fours,¹ and often falling during the descent. In some places he could ride on horseback; "but in the most part thereof I durst not either turn my horse traverse (he wrote to the king) for all the worldly riches, nor in manner look on my left hand, for the prone and deepness to the valley." After this passage, which lasted six days, Pace arrived in Italy worn out by fatigue. "If the king of England will enter France immediately by way of Normandy," said the constable of Bourbon to him, "I will give him leave to pluck out both my eyes" if he is not master of Paris before All-Saints; and when Paris is taken, he will be master of the whole kingdom." But Wolsey, to whom these remarks were transmitted by the ambassador, slighted them, delayed furnishing the subsidies, and required certain conditions

which were calculated to thwart the project. Pace, who was ardent and ever imprudent, but plain and straightforward, forgot himself, and in a moment of vexation wrote to Wolsey: "To speak frankly, if you do not attend to these things, I shall impute to your grace the loss of the crown of France." These words ruined Henry's envoy in the cardinal's mind. Was this man, who owed everything to him, trying to supplant him?... Pace in vain assured Wolsey that he should not take seriously what he had said, but the bolt had hit. Pace was associated with Charles in the cruel enmity of the minister, and he was one day to feel its terrible effects. It was not long before Wolsey was able to satisfy himself that the service Charles had desired to render the king of England was beyond the emperor's strength.

No sooner at ease on one side, than Wolsey found himself attacked on another. This man, the most powerful among kings' favourites, felt at this time the first breath of disfavour blow over him. On the pontifical throne, he would no doubt have attempted a reform after the manner of Sixtus V.: and wishing to rehearse on a smaller stage, and regenerate after his own fashion the catholic church in England, he submitted the monasteries to a strict inquisition, patronized the instruction of youth, and was the first to set a great example, by suppressing certain religious houses whose revenues he applied to his college in Oxford. Thomas Cromwell, his solicitor, displayed much skill and industry in this business,² and thus, under the orders of a cardinal of the Roman church, made his first campaign in a war of which he was in later days to hold the chief command. Wolsey and Cromwell, by their reforms, drew down the hatred of certain monks, priests, and noblemen, always the very humble servants of the clerical party. The latter accused the cardinal of not having estimated the monasteries at their just value, and of having, in certain cases, encroached on the royal jurisdiction. Henry, whom the loss of the crown of France had put in a bad humour, resolved, for the first time, not to spare his minister: "There are loud murmurs throughout this kingdom," he said to him: "it is asserted that your new college at Oxford is only a convenient cloak to hide your malversations."³ "God forbid," replied the cardinal, "that this virtuous foundation at Oxford, undertaken for the good of my poor soul, should be raised *ex rapinis*! But, above all, God forbid that I should ever encroach upon your royal authority." He then cunningly insinuated, that by his will he left all his property to the king. Henry was satisfied: he had a share in the business.

Events of very different importance drew the king's attention to another quarter. The

¹ Ellis' Letters, Second Series, p. 326, 327.
² He made an essay of all-four. Pace to the king, 21st May, 1528, part B. p. 27.
³ See Ellis' Letters, Second Series, B. 6, p. 27.

¹ Very forward and industrious. Pace, Asia, v. p. 228.
² Cromwell's Report. Ellis, L. p. 28.

two armies, of the empire and of France, were in presence before Pavia. Wolsey, who openly gave his right hand to Charles V., and secretly his left to Francis, repeated to his master: "If the emperor gains the victory, are you not his ally? and if Francis, am I not in secret communication with him?"¹ Thus," added the cardinal, "whatever happens, your Highness will have great cause to give thanks to Almighty God."

On the 24th of February 1525, the battle of Pavia was fought, and the imperialists found in the French king's tent several of Wolsey's letters, and in his military chest and in the pockets of his soldiers the cardinal's corrupting gold. This alliance had been contrived by Giovanni Gioacchino, a Genoese master of the household to Louisa, regent of France, who passed for a merchant of Bologna, and lived in concealment at Blackfriars. Charles now saw what he had to trust to; but the news of the battle of Pavia had scarcely reached England, when, faithful in perfidy, Wolsey gave utterance to a feigned pleasure. The people rejoiced also, but they were in earnest. Bonfires were lighted in the streets of London: the fountains ran wine, and the lord-mayor, attended by the aldermen, passed through the city on horseback to the sound of the trumpet.

The cardinal's joy was not altogether false. He would have been pleased at his enemy's defeat; but his victory was perhaps still more useful to him.

He said to Henry: "The emperor is a liar, observing neither faith nor promise: the Archduchess Margaret is a woman of evil life;² Don Ferdinand is a child, and Bourbon a traitor. Sire, you have other things to do with your money than to squander it on these four individuals. Charles is aiming at universal monarchy; Pavia is the first step of this throne, and if England does not oppose him, he will attain it." Joachim having come privily to London, Wolsey prevailed upon Henry to conclude between England and France an "*indissoluble peace* by land and sea."³ At last then he was in a position to prove to Charles that it is a dangerous thing to oppose the ambition of a priest.

This was not the only advantage Wolsey derived from the triumph of his enemy. The citizens of London imagined that the king of England would be in a few weeks in Paris; Wolsey, rancorous and grasping, determined to make them pay dearly for their enthusiasm. "You desire to conquer France," said he; "you are right. Give me then for that purpose the sixth part of your property; that is a trifle to gratify so noble an inclination." England did not think so: this illegal demand aroused universal com-

plaint. "We freemen and not cry. Henry n but not lay ha

The eastern four thousand moment; and palace by only; cessary to brea insurgents.⁴ T king; the kin dinal; the car had encourage quoting to hir manding of t their goods; ascribed the i who (said they war in Englat many. Refor this is the fav the pope." Vi the heretics.

tianos.⁵ The charge the people are concerned, an are blind also necessary to o by the way, I Latimer one More was once to help to try the cause of G stopped up Sar country afore l be men of expe in an old man that was thou hundred years the old aged m tell me if you great arising o about, that sto sooth, Sir (quo am well-nigh Tenterden stee win Sands. Fe may remember steeple, and be ing, there was After relating added: "Even ing of God's w Tenterden stee haven is decay.

There was no thing else to b tain that Charl sion to the po manner he mi during this tim

¹ By such communications as he set forth with France apart. State Papers. i. p. 166.

² Milady Margaret was a ribaud. Cotton MSS. Vesp. C.

³ p. 14.

⁴ Vincere sceleris, arma et indissolubilis pax. Rymor, Fordon, p. 24, 25.

⁵ Hall's Chronicle, by a commission, t France; and so Eng

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ "God sends no r

⁸ A cry ascribed by An

⁹ Latimer's Sermon

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; and the year 1525, memorable for the fall of Pavia, was destined to be no less in the British isles, by a still more glorious victory.

CHAPTER XI.

Hamburg—First two Gospels—Embarrassment at Wittenberg—At Cologne—The New Testament—Sudden Interruption—Cochleus at Cooper's Manuscripts—Discovery of Cochleus's Miracles—His Alarm—Rincke and the Senate's Proclamation—Consternation and Decision of Tyndale—Cochleus to England—Tyndale ascends the Rhine—Two Editions at Worms—Tyndale's Prayer.

ip which carried Tyndale and his at anchor at Hamburg, where, since 1521, the gospel had counted numera-nds. Encouraged by the presence of men, the Oxford fellow had taken a lodging in one of the narrow winding streets of that old city, and had immediately begun his task. A secretary, whom he called a "faithful companion,"¹ aided him in his texts; but it was not long before he, whose name is unknown to us, himself called to preach Christ in here. He had as yet never been profited Tyndale. A former friar-observer of the Franciscan order at Greenwich, abandoned the cloister, and being at a loss without resources, offered his services to the Hellenist. William Roye was a wise man (and they are always pretty wise) whom impatience of the yoke of Rome without their being at the Spirit of God to Christ. Acute, cunning, crafty, and yet of pleasing manner, charmed all those who had mere cautions with him. Tyndale banished the stant shores of the Elbe, surrounded by customs, and hearing only a fog-ue, often thought of England, and content that his country should enjoy the fruits of his labours: he accepted Roye's offer of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, and printed at Hamburg, became, in fact, the first fruits to England of his task.

Tyndale was soon overwhelmed by his task. Roye, who was pretty manager, he had no money, had become a beggar now that his purse was less.

What was to be done? The reformer spent the ten pounds he had from England, could not satisfy the demands of his assistant, pay his own debts, or save to another city. He became a miserly and economical. The place, in which Luther had translated the Testament, was a palace in com-

parison with the lodging in which the reformer of wealthy England endured hunger and cold, while toiling day and night to give the gospel to the English Christians.

About the end of 1524, Tyndale sent the two Gospels to Monmouth; and a merchant named John Collenbeke, having brought him the ten pounds he had left in the hands of his old patron, he prepared to depart immediately.

Where should he go? Not to England; he must complete his task before all things. Could he be in Luther's neighbourhood and not desire to see him? He needed not the Saxon reformer either to find the truth, which he had already known at Oxford, or to undertake the translation of the Scriptures, which he had already begun in the vale of the Severn. But did not all evangelical foreigners flock to Wittenberg? To remove all doubt as to the interview of the reformers, it would be desirable perhaps to find some trace at Wittenberg either in the university registers or in the writings of the Saxon reformers. Yet several contemporaneous testimonies seem to give a sufficient degree of probability to this conference. Foxe tells us: "He had an interview with Luther and other learned men of that country."² This must have been in the spring of 1525.

Tyndale, desirous of drawing nearer to his native country, turned his eyes towards the Rhine. There were at Cologne some celebrated printers well known in England, and among others Quentel and the Byrckmans. Francis Byrckman had warehouses in St Paul's churchyard in London,—a circumstance that might facilitate the introduction and sale of the Testament printed on the banks of the Rhine. This providential circumstance decided Tyndale in favour of Cologne, and thither he repaired with Roye and his MSS. Arrived in the gloomy streets of the city of Agrippina, he contemplated its innumerable churches, and above all its ancient cathedral re-echoing to the voices of its canons, and was oppressed with sorrow as he beheld the priests and monks and mendicants and pilgrims who, from all parts of Europe, poured in to adore the pretended reliques of the *three wise men* and of the *eleven thousand virgins*. And then Tyndale asked himself whether it was really in this superstitious city that the New Testa-

¹ I requested a German divine to investigate this matter, but his researches were unsuccessful.

² Mr Anderson, in his excellent work (*Annals of the English Bible*, vol. i. p. 47) disputes the interview between these two reformers, but his arguments do not convince me. We can understand how Luther, at that time busily engaged in his dispute with Caristadt, does not mention Tyndale's visit in his letters. But, besides Foxe, there are other contemporaneous authorities in favour of this fact. Cochleus, a German well informed on all the movements of the reformers, and whom we shall presently see on Tyndale's traces, says of him and Roye: "Duo Angli apostolice rei diligenter facientem Folliardum" (p. 121). And Sir Thomas More, having said that Tyndale had gone to see Luther, Tyndale was content to reply: "When Mr More saith Tyndale was confederate with Luther, that is no truth." Answer to Sir Thos. More's Dialogue, p. 147 (Park. Soc.). He denied the confederation, but not the visit. If Tyndale had not seen Luther, he would have been more explicit, and would probably have said that he had never even met him.

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ment was to be printed in English. This was not all. The reform movement then at work in Germany had broken out at Cologne during the feast of Whitsuntide, and the archbishop had just forbidden all evangelical worship. Yet Tyndale persevered, and submitting to the most minute precautions, not to compromise his work, he took an obscure lodging where he kept himself closely hidden.

Soon however, trusting in God, he called on the printer, presented his manuscripts to him, ordered six thousand copies, and then, upon reflection, sank down to three thousand for fear of a seizure.¹ The printing went on; one sheet followed another; gradually the gospel unfolded its mysteries in the English tongue, and Tyndale could not contain himself for very joy.² He saw in his mind's eye the triumphs of the Scriptures over all the kingdom, and exclaimed with transport: "Whether the king wills it or not, ere long all the people of England, enlightened by the New Testament, will obey the gospel."³

But on a sudden that sun whose earliest beams he had hailed with songs of joy, was hidden by thick clouds. One day, just as the tenth sheet had been thrown off, the printer hastened to Tyndale, and informed him that the senate of Cologne forbade him to continue the work. Everything was discovered then. No doubt Henry VIII., who has burnt Luther's books, wishes to burn the New Testament also, to destroy Tyndale's manuscripts, and deliver him up to death. Who had betrayed him? He was lost in unavailing conjectures, and one thing only appeared certain; alas! his vessel, which was moving onwards in full sail, had struck upon a reef! The following is the explanation of this unexpected incident.

A man whom we have often met with in the course of this history,⁴ one of the most violent enemies of the Reformation—we mean Cochleus—had arrived in Cologne. The wave of popular agitation which had stirred this city during the Whitsuntide holidays, had previously swept over Frankfurt during the festival of Easter; and the dean of Notre-Dame, taking advantage of a moment when the gates of the city were open, had escaped a few minutes before the burghers entered his house to arrest him. On arriving at Cologne, where he hoped to live unknown under the shadow of the powerful elector, he had gone to lodge with George Lauer, a canon in the church of the Apostles.

By a singular destiny the two most opposite men, Tyndale and Cochleus, were in hiding in the same city; they could not long remain there without coming into collision.

On the right bank of the Rhine, and oppo-

site Cologne, stood the monastery of Deutz, one of whose abbots, Rupert, who lived in the twelfth century, had said: "To be ignorant of Scripture is to be ignorant of Jesus Christ. This is the *scripture of nations*!"¹ This book of God, which is not pompous in words and poor in meaning like Plato, ought to be set before every people, and to proclaim aloud to the whole world the salvation of all." One day, when Cochleus and his host were talking of Rupert, the canon informed the dean that the *heretic* Osiander of Nuremberg was in treaty with the abbot of Deutz about publishing the writings of this ancient doctor. Cochleus guessed that Osiander was desirous of bringing forward the contemporary of Saint Bernard as a witness in defence of the Reformation. Hastening to the monastery he alarmed the abbot: "Intrust to me the manuscripts of your celebrated predecessor," he said; "I will undertake to print them and prove that he was one of us." The monks placed them in his hands, stipulating for an early publication, from which they expected no little renown.² Cochleus immediately went to Peter Quentel and Arnold Byrckman to make the necessary arrangements. They were Tyndale's printers.

There Cochleus made a more important discovery than that of Rupert's manuscripts. Byrckman and Quentel having invited him one day to meet several of their colleagues at dinner, a printer, somewhat elevated by wine, declared in his cups, (to borrow the words of Cochleus):³ "Whether the king and the cardinal of York wish it or not, all England will soon be Lutheran."⁴ Cochleus listened and grew alarmed; he made inquiry, and was informed that *two Englishmen*, learned men and skilled in the languages, were concealed at Cologne.⁵ But all his efforts to discover more proved unavailing.

There was no more repose for the dean of Frankfurt; his imagination fermented, his mind became alarmed. "What," said he, "shall England, that faithful servant of the popedom, be perverted like Germany? Shall the English, the most religious people of Christendom,⁶ and whose king once ennobled himself by writing against Luther,—shall they be invaded by heresy?..... Shall the mighty cardinal-legate of York be compelled to flee from his palace, as I was from Frankfurt?" Cochleus continued his search; he paid frequent visits to the printers, spoke to them in a friendly tone, flattered them, invited them to visit him at the canon's; but as yet he dared not hazard the important

¹ *Scripturæ populorum*. Opp. i. p. 641.

² *Cum monachi quieturi non erant, nisi edereat opes illa*. Coch. p. 124.

³ *Andist eos aliquando inter pocula socialiter jactant*. Ibid. p. 125.

⁴ *Vellint nolint rex et cardinalis Angliæ, totam Angliam brevi fore Lutheranam*. Ibid.

⁵ *Duos ibi latitare Anglos eruditos, linguarumque peritos*. Ibid.

⁶ *In gente illa religiosissima veracem Christiana*. Ibid. p. 121.

¹ *Sex milia sub prelo dari*. Cochleus, p. 121.

² *Tanta ex ea spe laetitia Lutheranos invasi*. Ibid. p. 124.

³ *Cunctos Angliæ populos, volente nolente rege*. Ibid. 122.

⁴ *Book ix. chapter xii. etc.*

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question; it was sufficient for the moment to have won the good graces of the depositaries of the secret. He soon took a new step; he was careful not to question them before one another; but he procured a private interview with one of them,¹ and supplied him plentifully with Rhine wine:—he himself is our informant.² Artful questions embarrassed the unwary printer, and at last the secret was disclosed. "The New Testament," Cochleus learnt, "is translated into English; three thousand copies are in the press; fourscore pages in quarto are ready; the expense is fully supplied by English merchants, who are secretly to convey the work when printed, and to disperse it widely through all England, before the king or the cardinal can discover or prohibit it."³..... Thus will Britain be converted to the opinions of Luther."⁴

The surprise of Cochleus equalled his alarm;⁵ he dissembled; he wished to learn, however, where the two Englishmen lay concealed; but all his exertions proved ineffectual, and he returned to his lodgings filled with emotion. The danger was very great. A stranger and an exile, what can he do to oppose this impious undertaking? Where shall he find a friend to England, prepared to show his zeal in warding off the threatened blow?.....He was bewildered.

A flash of light suddenly dispelled the darkness. A person of some consequence at Cologne, Herman Rincke, a patrician and imperial councillor, had been sent on important business by the Emperor Maximilian to Henry VII., and from that time he had always shown a great attachment to England. Cochleus determined to reveal the fatal secret to him; but, being still alarmed by the scenes at Frankfort, he was afraid to conspire openly against the Reformation. He had left an aged mother and a little niece at home, and was unwilling to do anything which might compromise them. He therefore crept stealthily towards Rincke's house (as he tells us himself),⁶ slipped in secretly, and unfolded the whole matter to him. Rincke could not believe that the New Testament in English was printing at Cologne; however, he sent a confidential person to make inquiries, who reported to him that Cochleus's information was correct, and that he had found in the printing office a large supply of paper intended for the edition.⁷ The patrician immediately proceeded to the senate, and spoke of Wolsey, of Henry VIII., and of the preservation of the Romish church in England; and that body which, under the influence of the arch-

bishop, had long since forgotten the rights of liberty, forbade the printer to continue the work. Thus then there were to be no New Testaments for England! A practised hand had warded off the blow aimed at Roman catholicism; Tyndale would perhaps be thrown into prison, and Cochleus enjoy a complete triumph.

Tyndale was at first confounded. Were so many years of toil lost, then, for ever? His trial seemed beyond his strength.¹ "They are ravening wolves," he exclaimed, "they preach to others, Steal not, and yet they have robbed the soul of man of the bread of life, and fed her with the shales [shells?] and coals of the hope in their merits and confidence in their good works."² Yet Tyndale did not long remain cast down; for his faith was of that kind which would remove mountains. Is it not the word of God that is imperilled? If he does not abandon himself, God will not abandon him. He must anticipate the senate of Cologne. Daring and prompt in all his movements, Tyndale bade Roze follow him, hastened to the printing office, collected the sheets, jumped into a boat, and rapidly ascended the river, carrying with him the hope of England.³

When Cochleus and Rincke, accompanied by the officers of the senate, reached the printing office, they were surprised beyond measure. The apostate had secured the abominable papers!.....Their enemy had escaped like a bird from the net of the fowler. Where was he to be found now? He would no doubt go and place himself under the protection of some Lutheran prince, whither Cochleus would take good care not to pursue him; but there was one resource left. These English books can do no harm in Germany; they must be prevented reaching London. He wrote to Henry VIII., to Wolsey, and to the bishop of Rochester. "Two Englishmen," said he to the king, "like the two eunuchs who desired to lay hands on Ahasuerus, are plotting wickedly against the peace of your kingdom: but I, like the faithful Mordecai,⁴ will lay open their designs to you. They wish to send the New Testament in English to your people. Give orders at every seaport to prevent the introduction of this most baneful merchandise."⁵ Such was the name given by this zealous follower of the pope to the word of God. An unexpectedly soon restored peace to the soul of Cochleus. The celebrated Dr Eck, a champion of popery far more formidable than he was, had arrived at Cologne on his way to Lon-

¹ Unus eorum in secretiori colloquio revelavit illi arcanum. Cochleus, p. 131.

² Rem omnium ut acciperet vixit beneficium. Ibid.

³ Opus secretum clam invecituri per totam Angliam is-temper dispergere reliquit. Ibid.

⁴ Ad Lutheri partes trahenda est Anglia. Ibid.

⁵ Metu et admiratione affectus. Ibid.

⁶ Abiit igitur clam ad H. Rinckem. Ibid.

⁷ Ingentem paggini copiam ibi existere. Ibid.

¹ Necessity and compulsion (God is record) show strength. Tynd. Doctr. Tr. p. 380.

² Tyndale, Expositions, p. 123. (Parker Society).

³ Arraptis secum quaternislibus impressis auferuntur navigio per Rhenum accedentes. Cochl. p. 124.

⁴ He was indebted to me no less than Ahasuerus was indebted to Mordecai. Annals of the Bible, i. p. 61.

⁵ Ut quam diligentissime procuraretur in omnibus Angliæ portibus, ne mors illa perniciosissima invaderetur. Cochl. p. 124.

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don, and he undertook to arouse the anger of the bishops and of the king.¹ The eyes of the greatest opponents of the Reformation seemed now to be fixed on England. Eck, who boasted of having gained the most signal triumphs over Luther, would easily get the better of the humble tutor and his New Testament.

During this time, Tyndale, guarding his precious bales, ascended the rapid river as quickly as he could. He passed before the antique cities and the smiling villages scattered along the banks of the Rhine amidst scenes of picturesque beauty. The mountains, glens, and rocks, the dark forests, the ruined fortresses, the gothic churches, the boats that passed and repassed each other, the birds of prey that soared over his head, as if they bore a mission from Cochlœus—nothing could turn his eyes from the treasure he was carrying with him. At last, after a voyage of five or six days, he reached Worms, where Luther, four years before, had exclaimed: "Here I stand, I can do no other; may God help me!"² These words of the German reformer, so well known to Tyndale, were the star that had guided him to Worms. He knew that the gospel was preached in that ancient city. "The citizens are subject to fits of Lutheranism," said Cochlœus.³ Tyndale arrived there, not as Luther did, surrounded by an immense crowd, but unknown, and imagining himself pursued by the myrmidons of Charles and of Henry. As he landed from the boat he cast an uneasy glance around him, and laid down his precious burden on the bank of the river.

He had had time to reflect on the dangers which threatened his work. As his enemies would have marked the edition, some few sheets of it having fallen into their hands, he took steps to mislead the inquisitors, and began a new edition, striking out the prologue and the notes, and substituting the more portable *octavo* form for the original *quarto*. Peter Schæffer, the grandson of Fust, one of the inventors of printing, lent his presses for this important work. The two editions were quietly completed about the end of the year 1525.⁴

Thus were the wicked deceived: they would have deprived the English people of the oracles of God, and two editions were now ready to enter England. "Give diligence," said Tyndale to his fellow-countrymen, as he sent from Worms the Testament he had just translated, "unto the words of eternal life, by the which, if we repent and believe them, we are born anew, created

afresh, and enjoy the fruits of the blood of Christ."⁵ In the beginning of 1526, these books crossed the sea by way of Antwerp or Rotterdam. Tyndale was happy; but he knew that the unction of the Holy Ghost alone could enable the people of England to understand these sacred pages; and accordingly he followed them night and day with his prayers. "The scribes and pharisees," said he, "had thrust up the sword of the word of God in a scabbard or sheath of glosses, and therein had knit it fast, so that it could neither stick nor cut."⁶ Now, O God, draw this sharp sword from the scabbard. Strike, wound, cut asunder, the soul and the flesh, so that man being divided in two, and set at variance with himself, may be in peace with thee to all eternity!"

CHAPTER XII.

Worms and Cambridge—St Paul resuscitated—Latimer's preaching—Never Man spake like this Man—Joy and exultation at Cambridge—Sermon by Prior Buckingham—Irony—Latimer's Reply to Buckingham—The Students threatened—Latimer preaches before the Bishop—His forbidden to preach—The most zealous of Bishops—Barnes the Restorer of Letters—Bilney undertakes to convert him—Barnes offers his Pulpit to Latimer—Fruit Thirst for God—Christmas Eve, 1525—Storm against Barnes—Fervent in the Colleges—Germany at Cambridge—Meetings at Oxford—General Expectation.

WHILE these works were accomplishing at Cologne and Worms, others were going on at Cambridge and Oxford. On the banks of the Rhine they were preparing the seed; in England they were drawing the furrows to receive it. The gospel produced a great agitation at Cambridge. Bilney, whom we may call the father of the English Reformation, since, being the first converted by the New Testament, he had brought to the knowledge of God the energetic Latimer, and so many other witnesses of the truth,—Bilney did not at that time put himself forward, like many of those who had listened to him: his vocation was prayer. Timid before men, he was full of boldness before God, and day and night called upon him for souls. But while he was kneeling in his closet, others were at work in the world. Among these Stafford was particularly remarkable. "Paul is risen from the dead," said many as they heard him. And in fact Stafford explained with so much life the true meaning of the words of the apostle and of the four evangelists,⁷ that these holy men, whose faces had been so long hidden under the dense traditions of the schools,⁸ reappeared before the youth of the university such as the apostolic times had beheld them. But it was not only their *persons* (for that

¹ Ad quem Doctor Ecolius venit, dum in Angliam tenderet. Cochlœus, p. 108.

² See above, book vii. chapter viii.

³ Ascendentes Wormatiæ ubi plebes pleno furore luthæ. Cochlœus, p. 126.

⁴ A copy of the *octavo* edition exists in the Museum of the Baptist College at Bristol. If it is compared with the *quarto* edition, a sensible progress will be found in the orthography. Thus we read in the latter: *prophets, synners, words, schymer*; in the *octavo* we find: *prophets, sinners, most, schisms*. *Annals of the Bible*, i. p. 78.

⁵ Epistle, in init.

⁶ Tyndale's Works, II. p. 378; or exposition (Matthew, p. 131, [Park Soc.])

⁷ He set forth in his lectures the native sense. *Thomas Bacon*, II. p. 628.

⁸ Obscured through the darkness and mist of the scholastic ideas.

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ave been a trifling matter), it was *trine* which Stafford laid before his

While the schoolmen of Cambridge daring to their pupils a reconciliation as not yet worked out, and telling at pardon must be purchased by the prescribed by the church. Stafford that redemption was *accomplished*, satisfaction offered by Jesus Christ *et*; and he added, that popery having the *kingdom of the law*, God, by the tion, was now reviving the *kingdom*

The Cambridge students, charmed master's teaching, greeted him with and, indulging a little too far in *h*usiasm, said to one another as they lecture-room: "Which is the most to the other? Stafford to Paul, who the holy epistles; or Paul to Stafford, resuscitated that apostle and his trines, which the middle ages had

Bilney and Stafford rose Latimer, the power of the Holy Ghost, trans- to other hearts the learned lessons aster.¹ Being informed of the work *ade* was preparing, he maintained Cambridge pulpits that the Bible be read in the vulgar tongue.² "The f Holy Scripture," said he, "is the One, the Everlasting.....*God him*.....and this Scripture partakes of the *nd* eternity of its author. There is *king* nor emperor that is not bound it. Let us beware of those bypaths *n* tradition, filled of stones, brambles, *oted* trees. Let us follow the straight the word. It does not concern us *e* Fathers have done, but what they *ave* done."³

erous congregation crowded to Lati- teaching, and his hearers hung listen- is lips. One in particular attracted *1*. He was a Norfolk youth, sixteen age, whose features were lighted up *derstanding* and piety. This poor *ad* received with eagerness the truth *ed* by the former cross-bearer. He *niss* one of his sermons; with a sheet *on* his knees, and a pencil in his *e* took down part of the discourse, the remainder to his memory.⁴ This *omas* Becon, afterwards chaplain to *;* archbishop of Canterbury. "If I the knowledge of God," said he, "I *nder* God) to Latimer." *er* had hearers of many sorts. By *of* those who gave way to their en- *n* stood men "swelling, blown full, *ed* up like unto Esop's frog, with

envy and malice against him," said Becon;¹ these were the partisans of traditional catholicism, whom curiosity had attracted, or whom their evangelical friends had dragged to the church. But as Latimer spoke, a marvellous transformation was worked in them; by degrees their angry features relaxed, their fierce looks grew softer; and if these friends of the priests were asked, after their return home, what they thought of the heretic preacher, they replied in the exaggeration of their surprise and rapture: "*Nunquam sic locutus est homo, sicut hic homo!*" (John vii. 46.)

When he descended from the pulpit, Latimer hastened to practise what he had taught. He visited the narrow chambers of the poor scholars, and the dark rooms of the working classes: "he watered with good deeds what-soever he had before planted with godly words,"² said the student who collected his discourses. The disciples conversed together with joy and simplicity of heart; everywhere the breath of a new life was felt; as yet no external reforms had been effected, and yet the spiritual church of the gospel and of the Reformation was already there. And thus the recollection of these happy times was long commemorated in the adage:

When Master Stafford read,
And Master Latimer preached,
Then was Cambridge blessed.³

The priests could not remain inactive: they heard speak of grace and liberty, and would have nothing to do with either. If *grace* is tolerated, will it not take from the hands of the clergy the manipulation of salvation, indulgences, penance, and all the rubrics of the canon law? If *liberty* is conceded, will not the hierarchy, with all its degrees, poms, violence, and scaffolds, be shaken? Rome desires no other liberty than that of free-will, which, exalting the natural strength of fallen man, dries up as regards mankind the springs of divine life, withers Christianity, and changes that heavenly religion into a human moralism and legal observances.

The friends of popery, therefore, collected their forces to oppose the new religion. "Satan, who never sleeps," says the simple chronicler, "called up his familiar spirits, and sent them forth against the reformers." Meetings were held in the convents, but particularly in that belonging to the Greyfriars. They mustered all their forces. *An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth*, said they. Latimer extols in his sermons the *blessings* of Scripture; we must deliver a sermon also to shew its *dangers*. But where was the orator to be found who could cope with him? This was a very embarrassing question to the clerical party. Among the Greyfriars there was a haughty monk, adroit and skilful in little matters, and full at once of ignorance and

the instructor to the rest of his brethren within city. Foxe, Acts, vii. p. 438.

oved in his sermons that the Holy Scriptures be read in the English tongue of all Christian *acon*, vol. ii. p. 624. (Park. Soc.)

³ his opinions upon that subject in a later sermon's Sermons, p. 96, 97. (Park. Soc.) scholar of Cambridge....but a child of sixteen *son's* Works, li. p. 424.

¹ Becon's Works, li. p. 425.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

pride: it was the prior Buckingham. No one had shown more hatred against the evangelical Christians, and no one was in truth a greater stranger to the gospel. This was the man commissioned to set forth the dangers of the word of God. He was by no means familiar with the New Testament; he opened it however, picked out a few passages here and there which seemed to favour his thesis; and then, arrayed in his costliest robes, with head erect and solemn step, already sure of victory, he went into the pulpit, combated the heretic, and with pompous voice stormed against the reading of the Bible;¹ it was in his eyes the fountain of all heresies and misfortunes. "If that heresy should prevail," he exclaimed, "there will be an end of everything useful among us. The ploughman, reading in the gospel that *no man having put his hand to the plough should look back*, would soon lay aside his labour.....The baker, reading that *a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump*, will in future make us nothing but very insipid bread; and the simple man finding himself commanded to *pluck out the right eye and cast it from thee*, England, after a few years, will be a frightful spectacle; it will be little better than a nation of blind and one-eyed men, sadly begging their bread from door to door."

This discourse moved that part of the audience for which it was intended. "The heretic is silenced," said the monks and clerks; but sensible people smiled, and Latimer was delighted that they had given him such an adversary. Being of a lively disposition and inclined to irony, he resolved to lash the platitudes of the pompous friar. There are some absurdities, he thought, which can only be refuted by showing how foolish they are. Does not even the grave Tertullian speak of things which are only to be laughed at, for fear of giving them importance by a serious refutation?² "Next Sunday I will reply to him," said Latimer.

The church was crowded when Buckingham, with the hood of St Francis on his shoulders and with a vain-glorious air, took his place solemnly in front of the preacher. Latimer began by recapitulating the least weak of his adversary's arguments; then taking them up one by one, he turned them over and over, and pointed out all their absurdity with so much wit, that the poor prior was buried in his own nonsense. Then turning towards the listening crowd, he exclaimed with warmth: "This is how your skillful guides abuse your understanding. They look upon you as children that must be for ever kept in leading-strings. Now, the hour of your majority has arrived; boldly examine the Scriptures, and you will easily discover

the absurdity of the teaching of your doctors." And then desirous, as Solomon has it, of *answering a fool according to his folly*, he added: "As for the comparisons drawn from the *plough*, the *leaven*, and the *eye*, of which the reverend prior has made so singular a use, is it necessary to justify these passages of Scripture? Must I tell you what *plough*, what *leaven*, what *eye* is here meant? Is not our Lord's teaching distinguished by those expressions which, under a popular form, conceal a spiritual and profound meaning? Do not we know that in all languages and in all speeches, it is not on the *image* that we must fix our eyes, but on the *thing* which the image represents?.....For instance," he continued, and as he said these words he cast a piercing glance on the prior, "if we see a fox painted preaching in a friar's hood, nobody imagines that a fox is meant, but that craft and hypocrisy are described, which are so often found disguised in that garb."³ At these words the poor prior, on whom the eyes of all the congregation were turned, rose and left the church hastily, and ran off to his convent to hide his rage and confusion among his brethren. The monks and their creatures uttered loud cries against Latimer. It was unpardonable (they said) to have been thus wanting in respect to the soul of St Francis. But his friends replied: "Do we not whip children? and he who treats Scripture worse than a child, does he not deserve to be well flogged?"

The Romish party did not consider themselves beaten. The heads of colleges and the priests held frequent conferences. The professors were desired to watch carefully over their pupils, and to lead them back to the teaching of the church by flattery and by threats. "We are putting our lance in rest," they told the students; "if you become evangelicals, your advancement is at an end." But these open-hearted generous youths loved rather to be poor with Christ than rich with the priests. Stafford continued to teach Latimer to preach, and Bilney to visit the poor: the doctrine of Christ ceased not to be spread abroad, and souls to be converted.

One weapon only was left to the schoolmen; this was persecution, the favourite arm of Rome. "Our enterprise has not succeeded," said they: "Buckingham is a fool. The best way of answering these *gospelers* is to prevent their speaking." Dr West, bishop of Ely, was ordinary of Cambridge; they called for his intervention, and he ordered one of the doctors to inform him the next time Latimer was to preach; "but," added he, "do not say a word to any one. I wish to come without being expected."

One day as Latimer was preaching in *Latin ad clerum*, the bishop suddenly entered the university church, attended by a number of priests. Latimer stopped, waiting respectfully

¹ With great pomp and prolixity. Gilpin's Life of Latimer, p. 8.

² The nation full of blind beggars. Ibid.

³ Si et ridiculus aliquid materia ipsa satietat. Multa sunt sic digna ridet, ne gravitate addeantur. Contra Valentini. c. vi. See also Pasca's Provinciale, Letter 22.

¹ Gilpin's Life of Latimer, p. 12.

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until West and his train had taken their places. "A new audience," thought he; 'and besides, an audience worthy of greater honour calls for a new theme. Leaving, therefore, the subject I had proposed, I will take up one that relates to the episcopal charge, and will preach on these words: *Christus existens Pontifex futurorum bonorum.*" (Hebrews ix. 11.) Then describing Jesus Christ, Latimer represented him as the "true and perfect pattern unto all other bishops."¹ There was not a single virtue pointed out in the divine bishop that did not correspond with some defect in the Romish bishops. Latimer's caustic wit had a free course at their expense; but there was so much gravity in his sallies, and so lively a Christianity in his descriptions, that every one must have felt them to be the cries of a Christian conscience rather than the sarcasms of an ill-natured disposition. Never had bishop been taught by one of his priests like this man. "Alas!" said many, "our bishops are not of that breed: they are descended from Annas and Caiaphas." West was not more at his ease than Buckingham had been formerly. He stifled his anger, however; and after the sermon, said to Latimer with a gracious accent: "You have excellent talents, and if you would do one thing I should be ready to kiss your feet."².....What humility in a bishop!....."Preach in this same church," continued West, "a sermon.....against Martin Luther. That is the best way of checking heresy." Latimer understood the prelate's meaning, and replied calmly: "If Luther preaches the word of God, I cannot oppose him. But if he teaches the contrary, I am ready to attack him."³—"Well, well, Master Latimer," exclaimed the bishop, "I perceive that you smell somewhat of the pan."⁴.....One day or another you will repent of that merchandise."

West having left Cambridge in great irritation against that rebellious clerk, hastened to convoke his chapter, and forbade Latimer to preach either in the university or in the diocese. "All that will live godly shall suffer persecution," Saint Paul had said; Latimer was now experiencing the truth of the saying. It was not enough that the name of heretic had been given him by the priests and their friends, and that the passers-by insulted him in the streets;.....the work of God was violently checked. "Behold then," he exclaimed with a bitter sigh, "the use of the episcopal office.....to hinder the preaching of Jesus Christ!" Some few years later he sketched, with his usual caustic irony, the portrait of a certain bishop, of whom Luther also used frequently to speak: "Do you know," said Latimer, "who is the most diligentest bishop and prelate in all England?.....I see you listening and hearkening that

I should name him.....I will tell you.....It is the devil. He is never out of his diocese; ye shall never find him out of the way; call for him when you will, he's ever at home. He is ever at his plough. Ye shall never find him idle, I warrant you. Where the devil is resident—there away with books and up with candles; away with bibles and up with beads; away with the light of the gospel and up with the light of candles, yea at noondays; down with Christ's cross, up with purgatory pickpurse; away with clothing the naked, the poor, and impotent, up with decking of images and gay garnishing of stocks and stones; down with God's traditions and his most holy word.....Oh! that our prelates would be as diligent to sow the corn of good doctrine as Satan is to sow cockle and darnel!"⁵ Truly may it be said, "There was never such a preacher in England as he is."⁶

The reformer was not satisfied with merely speaking; he acted. "Neither the menacing words of his adversaries nor their cruel imprisonments," says one of his contemporaries,⁷ "could hinder him from proclaiming God's truth." Forbidden to preach in the churches, he went about from house to house. He longed for a pulpit however, and this he obtained. A haughty prelate had in vain interdicted his preaching; Jesus Christ, who is above all bishops, is able, when one door is shut, to open another. Instead of one great preacher there were soon two at Cambridge.

An Augustine monk named Robert Barnes, a native of the county of Norfolk, and a great scholar, had gone to Louvain to prosecute his studies. Here he received the degree of doctor of divinity, and having returned to Cambridge, was nominated prior of his monastery in 1523. It was his fortune to reconcile learning and the gospel in the university; but by leaning too much to learning he diminished the force of the word of God. A great crowd collected every day in the Augustine convent to hear his lectures upon Terence, and in particular upon Cicero. Many of those who were offended by the simple Christianity of Bilney and Latimer, were attracted by this reformer of another kind. Coleman, Coverdale, Field, Cambridge, Barley, and many other young men of the university, gathered round Barnes, and proclaimed him "the restorer of letters."⁸

But the classics were only a preparatory teaching. The masterpieces of antiquity having aided Barnes to clear the soil, he opened before his class the epistles of St Paul. He did not understand their divine depth, like Stafford; he was not, like him, anointed with the Holy Ghost; he differed

¹ Latimer's Sermons (Park. Soc. vol. i. p. 70. Sermon of the Plough. ² Ibid. 72.

³ He adds: Whosoever he had once preached, he valiantly defended the same. Bacon, vol. ii. p. 424.

⁴ The great restorer of good learning. Strype, i. p. 682; Foxe, Acts, v. p. 665.

⁵ Strype's Eccles. Mem. iii. p. 340.

⁶ I will kneel down and kiss your foot. Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. 270.

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from him on several of the apostle's doctrines, on justification by faith, and on the new creature; but Barnes was an enlightened and liberal man, not without some degree of piety, and desirous, like Stafford, of substituting the teaching of Scripture for the barren disputations of the school. But they soon came into collision, and Cambridge long remembered that celebrated discussion in which Barnes and Stafford contended with so much renown, employing no other weapons than the word of God, to the great astonishment of the blind doctors, and the great joy of the clear-sighted, says the chronicler.¹

Barnes was not as yet thoroughly enlightened, and the friends of the gospel were astonished that a man, a stranger to the truth, should deal such heavy blows against error. Bilney, whom we continually meet with when any secret work, a work of irresistible charity, is in hand,—Bilney, who had converted Latimer, undertook to convert Barnes; and Stafford, Arthur, Thistel of Pembroke, and Fooke of Benet's, earnestly prayed God to grant his assistance. The experiment was difficult: Barnes had reached that *juste milieu*, that "golden mean" of the humanists, that intoxication of learning and glory, which render conversion more difficult. Besides, could a man like Bilney really dare to instruct the restorer of antiquity? But the humble bachelor of arts, so simple in appearance, knew, like David of old, a secret power by which the Goliath of the university might be vanquished. He passed days and nights in prayer; and then urged Barnes openly to manifest his convictions without fearing the reproaches of the world. After many conversations and prayers, Barnes was converted to the gospel of Jesus Christ.² Still, the prior retained something undecided in his character, and only half relinquished that middle state with which he had begun. For instance, he appears to have always believed in the efficacy of sacerdotal consecration to transform the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. His eye was not single, and his mind was often agitated and driven to and fro by contrary thoughts: "Alas!" said this divided character one day, "I confess that my cogitations be innumerable."³

Barnes, having come to a knowledge of the truth, immediately displayed a zeal that was somewhat imprudent. Men of the least decided character, and even those who are destined to make a signal fall, are often those who begin their course with the greatest ardour. Barnes seemed prepared at this time to withstand all England. Being now united to Latimer by a tender Christian affection, he was indignant that the powerful voice of his friend should be lost to the church. "The

bishop has forbidden you to preach," he said to him, "but my monastery is not under episcopal jurisdiction. You can preach there." Latimer went into the pulpit at the Augustine's, and the church could not contain the crowd that flocked to it. At Cambridge, as at Wittenberg, the chapel of the Augustine monks was used for the first struggles of the gospel. It was here that Latimer delivered some of his best sermons.

A very different man from Latimer, and particularly from Barnes, was daily growing in influence among the English reformers: this was Fryth. No one was more humble than he, and on that very account no one was stronger. He was less brilliant than Barnes, but more solid. He might have penetrated into the highest departments of science, but he was drawn away by the deep mysteries of God's word; the call of conscience prevailed over that of the understanding.¹ He did not devote the energy of his soul to difficult questions; he thirsted for God, for his truth, and for his love. Instead of propagating his particular opinions and forming divisions, he clung only to the faith which saves, and advanced the dominion of true unity. This is the mark of the great servants of God. Humble before the Lord, mild before men, and even in appearance somewhat timid, Fryth in the face of danger displayed an intrepid courage. "My learning is small," he said, "but the little I have I am determined to give to Jesus Christ for the building of his temple."²

Latimer's sermons, Barnes's ardour, and Fryth's firmness, excited fresh zeal at Cambridge. They knew what was going on in Germany and Switzerland; shall the English, ever in front, now remain in the rear? Shall not Latimer, Bilney, Stafford, Barnes, and Fryth do what the servants of God are doing in other places?

A secret ferment announced an approaching crisis: every one expected some change for better or for worse. The evangelicals, confident in the truth, and thinking themselves sure of victory, resolved to fall upon the enemy simultaneously on several points. The Sunday before Christmas, in the year 1525, was chosen for this great attack. While Latimer should address the crowds that continued to fill the Augustine chapel, and others were preaching in other places, Barnes was to deliver a sermon in one of the churches in the town. But nothing compromises the gospel so much as a disposition turned towards outward things. God, who grants his blessing only to undivided hearts, permitted this general assault, of which Barnes was to be the hero, to be marked by a defeat. The prior, as he went into the pulpit, thought only of Wolsey. As the representative of the popedom in England, the

¹ Marvellous in the sight of the great blind doctors. *Page. Acta*, v. p. 416.
² Bilney converted Dr Barnes to the gospel of Jesus Christ. *Ibid.* iv. p. 224.

¹ Notwithstanding his other manifold and singular gifts and ornaments of the mind, in him most pregnant. *Fryth and Fryth's Works*, iii. p. 72.
² That is very small, notwithstanding that little. *Ibid.* iii. p. 72.

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cardinal was the great obstacle to the Reformation. Barnes preached from the epistle or the day: *Rejoice in the Lord alway.*¹ But instead of announcing Christ and the joy of the Christian, he imprudently declaimed against the luxury, pride, and diversions of the churchmen, and everybody understood that he aimed at the cardinal. He described those magnificent palaces, that brilliant suite, those scarlet robes, and pearls, and gold, and precious stones, and all the prelate's ostentation, so little in keeping (said he) with the stable of Bethlehem. Two fellows of King's College, Robert Ridley and Walter Preston, relations of Tonstall, bishop of London, who were intentionally among the congregation, voted down in their tablets the prior's imprudent expressions.

The sermon was scarcely over when the storm broke out. "These people are not satisfied with propagating monstrous heresies," exclaimed their enemies, "but they must find fault with the powers that be. To-day they attack the cardinal, to-morrow they will attack the king!" Ridley and Preston accused Barnes to the vice-chancellor. All Cambridge was in commotion. What! Barnes the Augustine prior, the restorer of letters, accused as a Lollard!.....The gospel was threatened with a danger more formidable than a prison or a scaffold. The friends of the priests, knowing Barnes's weakness, and even his vanity, hoped to obtain of him a disavowal that would cover the evangelical party with shame. "What!" said these dangerous counsellors to him, "the noblest career was open to you, and would you close it?.....Do, pray, explain away your sermon." They alarmed, they flattered him; and the poor prior was near yielding to their solicitations. "Next Sunday you will read this declaration," they said to him. Barnes ran over the paper put into his hands, and saw no great harm in it. However he desired to show it to Bilney and Stafford. "Beware of such weakness," said these faithful men. Barnes then recalled his promise, and for a season the enemies of the gospel were silent.

Its friends worked with increased energy. The fall from which one of their companions had so narrowly escaped inspired them with fresh zeal. The more indecision and weakness Barnes had shown, the more did his brethren flee to God for courage and firmness. It was reported, moreover, that a powerful ally was coming across the sea, and that the Holy Scriptures, translated into the vulgar tongue, were at last to be given to the people. Wherever the word was preached, there the congregation was largest. It was the seed-time of the church; all were busy in the fields to prepare the soil and trace the furrows. Seven colleges at least were in full ferment: Pembroke, St John's,

Queens', King's, Caius, Benet's and Peter's house. The gospel was preached at the Augustines', at Saint Mary's, (the University church,) and in other places, and when the bells rang to prayers, the streets were alive with students issuing from the colleges, and hastening to the sermon.¹

There was at Cambridge a house called the White Horse, so situated as to permit the most timid members of King's, Queens', and St John's Colleges, to enter at the rear without being perceived. In every age Nicodemus has had his followers. Here those persons used to assemble who desired to read the Bible and the works of the German reformers. The priests, looking upon Wittenberg as the focus of the Reformation, named this house Germany: the people will always have their bywords. At first the frequenters of the White Horse were called sophists; and now, whenever a group of "fellows" was seen walking in that direction, the cry was, "There are the Germans going to Germany."—"We are not Germans," was the reply, "neither are we Romans." The Greek New Testament had made them Christians. The gospel-meetings had never been more fervent. Some attended them to communicate the new life they possessed; others to receive what God had given to the more advanced brethren. The Holy Spirit united them all, and thus, by the fellowship of the saints, were real churches created. To these young Christians the word of God was the source of so much light, that they imagined themselves transported to that heavenly city of which the Scriptures speak, *which had no need of the sun, for the glory of God did lighten it.* "So oft as I was in the company of these brethren," said a youthful student of St John's, "methought I was quietly placed in the new glorious Jerusalem."²

Similar things were taking place at Oxford. In 1524 and 1525, Wolsey had successively invited thither several Cambridge fellows, and although only seeking the most able, he found that he had taken some of the most pious. Besides John Clark, there were Richard Cox, John Fryer, Godfrey Harman, W. Betts, Henry Sumner, W. Baily, Michael Drumm, Th. Lawny, and, lastly, the excellent John Fryth. These Christians, associating with Clark, with his faithful Dalaber, and with other evangelicals of Oxford, held meetings, like their Cambridge brethren, at which God manifested his presence. The bishops made war upon the gospel; the king supported them with all his power; but the word had gained the victory; there was no longer any doubt. The church was born again in England.

The great movement of the sixteenth century had begun more particularly among the younger doctors and students at Oxford and Cambridge. From them it was necessary that

¹ Phillips's iv. 47.

¹ Fleeted together in open street. *Sturges, Mem. i. p. 222.*
² *Ibidem, ii. p. 222.*

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it should be extended to the people, and for that end the New Testament, hitherto read in Latin and in Greek, must be circulated in English. The voices of these youthful evangelists were heard, indeed, in London and in the provinces; but their exhortations would have been insufficient, if the mighty hand which directs all things had not made this Christian activity coincide with that holy work for which it had set Tyndale apart. While all was agitation in England, the waves of ocean were bearing from the continent to the banks of the Thames those Scriptures of God, which, three centuries later, multiplied by thousands and by millions, and

translated into a hundred and fifty tongues, were to be wafted from the same banks to the ends of the world. If in the fifteenth century, and even in the early years of the sixteenth, the English New Testament had been brought to London, it would only have fallen into the hands of a few Lollards. Now, in every place, in the parsonages, the universities, and the palaces, as well as in the cottages of the husbandmen and the shops of the tradesmen, there was an ardent desire to possess the Holy Scriptures. The fiat bar was about to be uttered over the chaos of the church, and light to be separated from darkness by the word of God.

BOOK XIX.

THE ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT AND THE COURT OF ROME.

CHAPTER I.

Church and State essentially distinct—Their fundamental Principles—What restores Life to the Church—Separation from Rome necessary—Reform and Liberty—The New Testament crosses the Sea—is hidden in London—Garret's Preaching and Zeal—Dissemination of Scripture—What the People find in it—The Effects it produces—Tyndale's Explanations—Roper, More's Son-in-law—Garret carries Tyndale's Testament to Oxford—Henry and his Valet—The Supplication of the Beggars—Two Sorts of Heresies—Evils caused by Priests—More's Supplications of the Souls in Purgatory.

THE Church and the State are essentially distinct. They both receive their task from God, but that task is different in each. The task of the church is to lead men to God; the task of the state is to secure the earthly development of a people in conformity with its peculiar character. There are certain bounds, traced by the particular spirit of each nation within which the state should confine itself; while the church, whose limits are co-extensive with the human race, has a universal character, which raises it above all national differences. These two distinctive features should be maintained. A state which aims at universality loses itself; a church whose mind and aim are sectarian falls away. Nevertheless, the church and the state, the two poles of social life, while they are in many respects opposed to one another, are far from excluding each other absolutely. The church has need of that justice, order, and liberty, which the state is bound to maintain; but the state has especial need of the church. If Jesus can do without kings to establish his kingdom, kings cannot do without Jesus, if they would have their kingdoms prosper. Justice, which is the fundamental principle of the state, is continually fettered in its pro-

gress by the internal power of sin; and as force can do nothing against this power, the state requires the gospel in order to overcome it. That country will always be the most prosperous where the church is the most evangelical. These two communities having thus need one of the other, we must be prepared, whenever a great religious manifestation takes place in the world, to witness the appearance on the scene not only of the little ones, but of the great ones also, of the state. We must not then be surprised to meet with Henry VIII., but let us endeavour to appreciate accurately the part he played.

If the Reformation, particularly in England, happened necessarily to be mixed up with the state, with the world even, it originated neither in the state nor in the world. There was much worldliness in the age of Henry VIII., passions, violence, festivities, a trial, a divorce; and some historians call that the *history of the Reformation in England*. We shall not pass by in silence these manifestations of the worldly life; opposed as they are to the Christian life, they are in history, and it is not our business to tear them out. But most assuredly they are not the Reformation. From a very different quarter proceeded the divine light which then rose upon the human race.

To say that Henry VIII. was the reformer of his people is to betray our ignorance of history. The kingly power in England by turns opposed and favoured the reform in the church; but it opposed before it favoured, and much more than it favoured. This great transformation was begun and extended by its own strength, by the Spirit from on high

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When the church has lost the life that is secular to it, it must again put itself in communication with its creative principle, that with the word of God. Just as the buckets, a wheel employed in irrigating the meadows have no sooner discharged their reviving waters, than they dip again into the ream to be re-filled, so every generation, bid of the Spirit of Christ, must return to the divine source to be again filled up. The imitative words which created the church have been preserved for us in the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles; and the humble reading of these divine writings will create every age the communion of saints. God as the father of the Reformation, not Henry VIII. The visible world which then glittered with such brightness; those princes and courts, those noblemen, and trials and laws, far from effecting a reform, were calculated to stifle it. But the light and the warmth came from heaven, and the new creation was completed.

In the reign of Henry VIII. a great number of citizens, priests, and noblemen possessed that degree of cultivation which favours the action of the holy books. It was sufficient for this divine seed to be scattered in the well-prepared soil for the work of germination to be accomplished.

A time not less important also was approaching—that in which the action of the apostom was to come to an end. The hour had not yet struck. God was first creating within by his word a spiritual church, before he broke without by his dispensations the bonds which had so long fastened England to the power of Rome. It was his good pleasure first to give truth and life, and then liberty. It has been said that if the pope had consented to a reform of abuses and doctrines, on condition of his keeping his position, the religious revolution would not have been satisfied at that price, and that after demanding *reform*, the next demand would have been for *liberty*. The only reproach that can be made to this assertion is, that it is superabundantly true. Liberty was an integral part of the Reformation, and one of the changes imperatively required was to withdraw religious authority from the pope, and restore it to the word of God. In the sixteenth century there was a great outpouring of the Christian life in France, Italy, and Spain; it is attested by martyrs without number, and history shows that to transform these three great nations, all that the gospel wanted was liberty.¹ "If we had set to work six months later," said a grand inquisitor of Spain who had dyed himself in the blood of the saints, "it would have been too late: pain would have been lost to the Roman church." We may therefore believe that if Italy, France, and Spain had had some generous king to check the myrmidons of the

pope, those three countries, carried along by the renovating power of the gospel, would have entered upon an era of liberty and faith.

The struggles of England with the papedom began shortly after the dissemination of the English New Testament by Tyndale. The epoch at which we are arrived accordingly brings in one view before our eyes both the Testament of Jesus Christ and the court of Rome. We can thus study the men (the reformers and the Romanists) and the works they produce, and arrive at a just valuation of the two great principles which dispute the possession of authority in the church.

It was about the close of the year 1525; the English New Testament was crossing the sea; five pious Hanseatic merchants had taken charge of the books. Captivated by the Holy Scriptures they had taken them on board their ships, hidden them among their merchandise; and then made sail from Antwerp for London.

Thus those precious pages were approaching England, which were to become its light and the source of its greatness. The merchants, whose zeal unhappily cost them dear, were not without alarm. Had not Cocchiolus caused orders to be sent to every port to prevent the entrance of the precious cargo they were bringing to England? They arrived and cast anchor; they lowered the boat to reach the shore; what were they likely to meet there? Tonstall's agents, no doubt, and Wolsey's, and Henry's, ready to take away their New Testaments! They landed and soon again returned to the ship; boats passed to and fro, and the vessel was unloaded. No enemy appeared; and no one seemed to imagine that these ships contained so great a treasure.

Just at the time this invaluable cargo was ascending the river, an invisible hand had dispersed the preventive guard. Tonstall, bishop of London, had been sent to Spain; Wolsey was occupied in political combinations with Scotland, France, and the Empire; Henry VIII., driven from his capital by an unhealthy winter, was passing the Christmas holidays at Eltham; and even the courts of justice, alarmed by an extraordinary mortality, had suspended their sittings. God, if we may so speak, had sent his angel to remove the guards.

Seeing nothing that could stop them, the five merchants, whose establishment was at the Steelyard in Thames Street, hastened to conceal their precious charge in their warehouses. But who will receive them? Who will undertake to distribute these Holy Scriptures in London, Oxford, Cambridge, and all England? It is a little matter that they have crossed the sea. The principal instrument God was about to use for their dissemination was an humble servant of Christ.

In Honey Lane, a narrow thoroughfare

¹ Gudder's Martyrology. Gonzalez, Mart. Hisp. Moravia. Spain. A'Orto. Ref. in Spain.

adjoining Cheapside, stood the old church of All Hallows, of which Robert Forman was rector. His curate was a plain man of lively imagination, delicate conscience, and timid disposition, but rendered bold by his faith, to which he was to become a martyr. Thomas Garret, for that was his name, having believed in the gospel, earnestly called his hearers to repentance;¹ he urged upon them that works, however good they might be in appearance, were by no means capable of justifying the sinner, and that faith alone could save him.² He maintained that every man had the right to preach the word of God;³ and called those bishops pharisees, who persecuted christian men. Garret's discourses, at once so quickening and so gentle, attracted great crowds; and to many of his hearers, the street in which he preached was rightly named Honey Lane, for there they found the *honey out of the rock*.⁴ But Garret was about to commit a fault still more heinous in the eyes of the priests than preaching faith. The Hanse merchants were seeking some sure place where they might store up the New Testaments and other books sent from Germany; the curate offered his house, stealthily transported the holy deposit thither, hid them in the most secret corners, and kept a faithful watch over this sacred library.⁵ He did not confine himself to this. Night and day he studied the holy books; he held gospel meetings, read the word and explained its doctrines to the citizens of London. At last, not satisfied with being at once student, librarian, and preacher, he became a trader, and sold the New Testament to laymen, and even to priests and monks, so that the Holy Scriptures were dispersed over the whole realm.⁶ This humble and timid priest was then performing alone the biblical work of England.

And thus the word of God, presented by Erasmus to the learned in 1517 was given to the people by Tyndale in 1526. In the parsonages and in the convent cells, but particularly in shops and cottages, a crowd of persons were studying the New Testament. The clearness of the Holy Scriptures struck each reader. None of the systematic or aprioristic forms of the school were to be found there: it was the language of human life which they discovered in those divine writings: here a conversation, there a discourse; here a narrative, and there a comparison; here a command, and there an argument; here a parable, and there a prayer. It was not all doctrine or all history;

but these two elements mingled together made an admirable whole. Above all, the life of our Saviour, so divine and so human, had an inexpressible charm which captivated the simple. One work of Jesus Christ explained another, and the great facts of the redemption, birth, death, and resurrection of the Son of God, and the sending of the Holy Ghost, followed and completed each other. The authority of Christ's teaching, so strongly contrasting with the doubts of the schools, increased the clearness of his discourses to his readers; for the more certain a truth is, the more distinctly it strikes the mind. Academical explanations were not necessary to those noblemen, farmers, and citizens. It is to me, for me, and of me that this book speaks, said each one. It is I whom all these promises and teachings concern. This *fall* and this *restoration*.....they are mine. That old *death* and this new *life*.....I have passed through them. That *flesh* and that *spirit*.....I know them. This *law* and this *grace*, this *faith*, these *works*, this *slavery*, this *glory*, this *Christ* and this *Belial*.....all are familiar to me. It is my own history that I find in this book. Thus by the aid of the Holy Ghost each one had in his own experience a key to the mysteries of the Bible. To understand certain authors and certain philosophers, the intellectual life of the reader must be in harmony with theirs; so must there be an intimate affinity with the holy books to penetrate their mysteries. "The man that has not the Spirit of God," said a reformer, "does not understand one jot or tittle of the Scripture."¹ Now that this condition was fulfilled, the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

Such at that period were the hermeneutics of England. Tyndale had set the example himself by explaining many of the words which might stop the reader. "The New Testament!" we may suppose some farmer saying, as he took up the book; "what Testament is that?" "Christ," replied Tyndale in his prologue, "commanded his disciples before his death to publish over all the world his *last will*, which is to give all his goods unto all that repent and believe." He bequeaths them his righteousness to blot out their sins—his salvation to overcome their condemnation; and this is why that document is called the *Testament of Jesus Christ*.

"The *law* and the *gospel*," said a citizen of London, in his shop; "what is that?" "They are two *keys*," answered Tyndale. "The *law* is the key which shuts up all men under condemnation, and the *gospel* is the key which opens the door and lets them out.

¹ Earnestly laboured to call us to repentance. Bacon, *III*, p. 111.

² Quod opera nostra quantumvis bona in specie nihil continent ad justificationem nec ad meritum, sed sola fides. Foxe, *Acts*, v. p. 428.

³ Every man may preach the word of God. *Ibid*.

⁴ Psalm lxxvii. 16.

⁵ Having the said books in his custody. Foxe, *Acts*, v. p. 428.

⁶ Dispersing abroad of the said books within this realm. *Ibid*, p. 428. See also Strype, *Crommer's Mem.* p. 81.

¹ Nullus homo unum iota in Scripturis sacris videt, nisi qui spiritum Dei habet. Luther, de servo arbitrio, *Writ. II*, p. 624.

² Tyndale and Fryth's Works (ed. Russell), vol. II, p. 40. The "Pathway unto the Holy Scripture" is the prologue to the quarto Testament, with a few changes of little importance.

Or, if you like it, they are two salves. The law, sharp and biting, driveth out the disease and killeth it; while the gospel, soothing and soft, softens the wound and brings life."¹ Every one understood and read, or rather devoured the inspired pages; and the hearts of the elect (to use Tyndale's words), warmed by the love of Jesus Christ, began to melt like wax.²

This transformation was observed to take place even in the most catholic families. Roper, More's son-in-law, having read the New Testament, received the truth. "I have no more need," said he, "of auricular confession, of vigils, or of the invocation of saints. The ears of God are always open to hear us. Faith alone is necessary to salvation. I believe.....and I am saved.....Nothing can deprive me of God's favour."³

The amiable and zealous young man desired to do more. "Father," said he one day to Sir Thomas, "procure for me from the king, who is very fond of you, a license to preach. God hath sent me to instruct the world." More was uneasy. Must this new doctrine, which he detests, spread even to his children? He exerted all his authority to destroy the work begun in Roper's heart. "What," said he with a smile, "is it not sufficient that we that are your friends should know that you are a fool, but you would proclaim your folly to the world? Hold your tongue; I will debate with you no longer." The young man's imagination was struck, but his heart had not been changed. The discussions having ceased, the father's authority being restored, Roper became less fervent in his faith, and gradually he returned to popery, of which he was afterwards a zealous champion.

The humble curate of All Hallows having sold the New Testament to persons living in London and its neighbourhood, and to many pious men who would carry it to the farthest parts of England, formed the resolution to introduce it into the University of Oxford, that citadel of traditional catholicism. It was there he had studied, and he felt towards that school the affection which a son bears to his mother: he set out with his books.⁴ Terror occasionally seized him, for he knew that the word of God had many deadly enemies at Oxford; but his inexhaustible zeal overcame his timidity. In concert with Dalaber, he stealthily offered the mysterious book for sale; many students bought it, and Garret carefully entered their names in his register. This was in January 1526; an incident disturbed this Christian activity.

One morning when Edmund Moddis, one of Henry's valets de chambre, was in attendance on his master, the prince, who was

much attached to him, spoke to him of the new books come from beyond the sea. "If your grace," said Moddis, "would promise to pardon me and certain individuals, I would present you a wonderful book which is dedicated to your majesty."¹ "Who is the author?" "A lawyer of Gray's Inn, named Simon Fish, at present on the continent." "What is he doing there?" "About three years ago, Mr Row, a fellow-student of Gray's Inn, composed for a private theatre a drama against my lord the cardinal." The king smiled; when his minister was attacked, his own yoke seemed lighter. "As no one was willing to represent the character employed to give the cardinal his lesson," continued the valet, "Master Fish boldly accepted it. The piece produced a great effect; and my lord being informed of this impertinence, sent the police one night to arrest Fish. The latter managed to escape, crossed the sea, joined one Tyndale, the author of some of the books so much talked of; and, carried away by his friend's example, he composed the book of which I was speaking to your grace." "What's the name of it?" "*The Supplication of the Beggars*." "Where did you see it?"—"At two of your tradespeople's, George Elyot and George Robinson; if your grace desires it, they shall bring it you." The king appointed the day and the hour.

The book was written for the king, and everybody read it but the king himself. At the appointed day, Moddis appeared with Elyot and Robinson, who were not entirely without fear, as they might be accused of proselytism even in the royal palace. The king received them in his private apartments.² "What do you want," he said to them. "Sir," replied one of the merchants, "we are come about an extraordinary book that is addressed to you." "Can one of you read it to me?"—"Yes, if it so please your grace," replied Elyot. "You may repeat the contents from memory," rejoined the king....."but, no, read it all; that will be better. I am ready." Elyot began,

"THE SUPPLICATION OF THE BEGGARS."

"To the king our sovereign lord,—

"Most lamentably complaineth of their woeful misery, unto your highness, your poor daily bedcamen, the wretched hideous monsters, on whom scarcely, for horror, any eye dare look; the foul unhappy sort of lepers and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only by alms; how that their number is daily sore increased, that all the alms of all the well-disposed people of this your realm are not half enough to sustain them, but that for very constraint they die for hunger.

"And this most pestilent mischief is come

¹ Tyndale and Fryth's Works (ed. Russell), vol. II. p. 508.

² Ibid. p. 509.

³ More's Life, p. 134.

⁴ And brought with him Tyndale's first translation of the New Testament in English. Foxe, Acts, v. p. 481.

¹ His grace should see such a book as it was a marvel to hear of. Foxe, Acts, iv. p. 608.

² Ibid.

upon your said poor bedesmen, by the reason that there hath, in the time of your noble predecessors, craftily crept into this your realm, another sort, not of impotent, but of strong, puissant, and counterfeit, holy and idle beggars and vagabonds, who by all the craft and wiliness of Satan are now increased not only into a great number, but also into a kingdom."

Henry was very attentive: Elyot continued:

"These are not the shepherds, but the ravenous wolves going in shepherds' clothing, devouring the flock: bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners, and sumners.....The goodliest lordships, manors, lands, and territories are theirs. Besides this, they have the tenth part of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grass, wood, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese, and chickens. Over and besides, the tenth part of every servant's wages, the tenth part of wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese, and butter. The poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights [i. e. absolution] at Easter.....Finally what get they in a year? Summa totalis: L.430,333, 6s. 8d. sterling, whereof not four hundred years past they had not a penny.....

"What subjects shall be able to help their prince, that be after this fashion yearly polled? What good Christian people can be able to succour us poor lepers, blind, sore, and lame, that be thus yearly oppressed?.....The ancient Romans had never been able to have put all the whole world under their obedience, if they had had at home such an idle sort of cormorants."

No subject could have been found more likely to captivate the king's attention. "And what doth all this greedy sort of sturdy idle holy thieves with their yearly exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing, but translate all rule, power, lordship, authority, obedience, and dignity, from your grace unto them. Nothing, but that all your subjects should fall into disobedience and rebellion.....Priests and doves make foul houses; and if you will ruin a state, set up in it the pope with his monks and clergy.....Send these sturdy loobies abroad in the world to take them wives of their own, and to get their living with their labour in the sweat of their faces.....Then shall your commons increase in riches; then shall matrimony be much better kept; then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people be translated from you."

When Elyot had finished reading, the king was silent, sunk in thought. The true cause of the ruin of the state had been laid before him: but Henry's mind was not ripe for these important truths. At last he said, with an uneasy manner: "If a man who desires to pull down an old wall, begins at the bottom, I fear the upper part may chance to fall on his

head."¹ Thus then, in the king's eyes, first by attacking the priests was disturbing the foundations of religion and society. After this royal verdict, Henry rose, took the bulls locked it up in his desk, and forbade the merchants to reveal to any one the fact of their having read it to him.

Shortly after the king had received this copy, on Wednesday the 2d of February, the feast of Candlemas, a number of persons, including the king himself, were to take part in the procession, bearing wax tapers in their hands. During the night this famous invective was scattered about all the streets through which the procession had to pass. The cardinal ordered the pamphlet to be seized, and immediately waited upon the king. The latter put his hand under his robe, and with a smile took out the so much dreaded work, and then, as if satisfied with this proof of independence, he gave it up to the cardinal.

While Wolsey replied to Fish by confession, Sir Thomas More with greater liberality, desiring that press should reply to press, published *The Supplications of the Souls in Purgatory*. "Suppress," said they, "the pious stipends paid to the monks, and then Luther's gospel will come in, Tyndale's testament will be read, heresy will preach, laws will be neglected, the saints will be blasphemed, God will be offended, virtue will be mocked, of vice will run riot, and England will be peopled with beggars and thieves." The Souls in Purgatory then call the author of the Beggars' Supplication "a goose, an ass, a mad dog." Thus did superstition degrade More's noble genius. Notwithstanding the abuse of the souls in purgatory, the New Testament was daily read more and more in England.

CHAPTER II.

The two Authorities—Commencement of the Search—Ret at Oxford—His Flight—His Return and Imprisonment—Fecapies and takes refuge with Dunsen—Garret and Dalaber at Prayer—The Magnificat—Surprise amongst Doctors—Clark's Advice—Fraternal Love at night—Alarm of Dunsen—His Arrest and Examination—He is tortured—Garret and twenty Fellows imprisoned in the Cellar—Condemnation and Humiliation.

WOLSEY did not stop with Fish's book. It was not that "miserable pamphlet" only that it was necessary to hunt down; the New Testament in English had entered the kingdom by surprise; there was the danger. The gospellers, who presumed to emancipate man from the priests, and put him in absolute dependence on God, did precisely the reverse of what Rome demands.² The cardinal hastened to assemble the bishops, and these (part-

¹ The upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head. *POPE ACTS*, iv. p. 464.

² Supplication of the Souls in Purgatory. *MORE'S WORKS*, i. p. 100.

³ Actus meritorius est in potestate hominis. *Dunsen's Sentent.* lib. i. dist. 17.

ularly Warham and Tonstall, who had long enjoyed the jests launched against superstition) took the matter seriously when they were shown that the New Testament was circulating throughout England. These priests believed with Wolsey, that the authority of the pope and of the clergy was a dogma to which all others were subordinate. They saw in the reform an uprising of the human mind, a desire of thinking for themselves, of judging freely the doctrines and institutions, which the nations had hitherto received humbly from the hands of the priests. The new doctors justified their attempt at enfranchisement by substituting a new authority for the old. It was the New Testament that compromised the absolute power of Rome. It must be seized and destroyed, said the bishops. London, Oxford, and above all Cambridge, those three haunts of heresy, must be carefully searched. Definitive orders were issued on Saturday, 3d February 1526, and the work began immediately.

The first visit of the inquisitors was to Honey Lane, to the house of the curate of All Hallows. They did not find Garret: they sought after him at Monmouth's, and throughout the city, but he could not be met with. "He is gone to Oxford to sell his detestable wares," the inquisitors were informed, and they set off after him immediately, determined to burn the evangelist and his books; "so burning hot," says an historian, "was the charity of these holy fathers."²

On Tuesday, the 6th of February, Garret was quietly selling his books at Oxford, and carefully noting down his sales in his register, when two of his friends ran to him exclaiming, "Fly! or else you will be taken before the cardinal, and thence.....to the Tower." The poor curate was greatly agitated. "From whom did you learn that?"—"From Master Cole, the clerk of the assembly, who is deep in the cardinal's favour." Garret, who saw at once that the affair was serious, hastened to Anthony Dalaber, who held the stock of the Holy Scriptures at Oxford; others followed him; the news had spread rapidly, and those who had bought the book were seized with alarm, for they knew by the history of the Lollards what the Romish clergy could do. They took counsel together. The brethren, "for so did we not only call one another, but were in deed one to another," says Dalaber,³ decided that Garret should change his name: that Dalaber should give him a letter for his brother, the rector of Stalbridge, in Dorsetshire, who was in want of a curate; and that, once in this parish, he should seek the first opportunity of crossing the sea. The rector was in truth a "mad papist" (it is Dalaber's expression), but that did not alter their resolution. They knew of no other resource. Anthony wrote to him hurriedly; and, on the morning of the

7th of February, Garret left Oxford without being observed.

Having provided for Garret's safety, Dalaber next thought of his own. He carefully concealed in a secret recess of his chamber, at St Alban's Hall, Tyndale's Testament, and the works of Luther, *Ecclampadius*, and others, on the word of God. Then, disgusted with the scholastic sophisms which he heard in that college, he took with him the New Testament and the Commentary on the Gospel of St Luke, by Lambert of Avignon, the second edition of which had just been published at Strasburg,¹ and went to Gloucester college, where he intended to study the civil law, not caring to have anything more to do with the church.

During this time, poor Garret was making his way into Dorsetshire. His conscience could not bear the idea of being, although for a short time only, the curate of a bigoted priest,—of concealing his faith, his desires, and even his name. He felt more wretched, although at liberty, than he could have been in Wolsey's prisons. It is better, he said within himself, to confess Christ before the judgment seat, than to seem to approve of the superstitious practices I detest. He went forward a little, then stopped—and then resumed his course. There was a fierce struggle between his fears and his conscience. At length, after a day and a half spent in doubt, his conscience prevailed; unable to endure any longer the anguish that he felt, he retraced his steps, returned to Oxford, which he entered on Friday evening, and lay down calmly in his bed. It was barely past midnight when Wolsey's agents, who had received information of his return, arrived, and dragged him from his bed,² and delivered him up to Dr Cottisford, the commissary of the university. The latter locked him up in one of his rooms, while London and Higdon, dean of Frideswide, "two arch papists" (as the chronicler terms them), announced this important capture to the cardinal. They thought popery was saved, because a poor curate had been taken.

Dalaber, engaged in preparing his new room at Gloucester college, had not perceived all this commotion.³ On Saturday, at noon, having finished his arrangements, he double-locked his door, and began to read the Gospel according to St Luke. All of a sudden he hears a knock. Dalaber made no reply; it is no doubt the commissary's officers. A louder knock was given; but he still remained silent. Immediately after, there was a third knock, as if the door would be beaten in. "Perhaps somebody wants me," thought Dalaber. He laid his book aside, opened the door, and to his great surprise saw Garret, who, with alarm in every feature, exclaimed, "I am a lost man! They have caught me!"

¹ He was searched for through all London. *Poss. Ast.*
v. p. 421. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid.

¹ In *Novum Evangelium Commentarii*, nunc secundo re-
cogniti et locupletati. Argentorati, 1522.
² *Poss. v. p. 422.* ³ Ibid.

Dalaber, who thought his friend was with his brother at Stalbridge, could not conceal his astonishment, and at the same time he cast an uneasy glance on a stranger who accompanied Garret. He was one of the college servants who had led the fugitive curate to Dalaber's new room. As soon as this man had gone away, Garret told Anthony everything: "Observing that Dr Cottisford and his household had gone to prayers, I put back the bolt of the lock with my finger.....and here I am."..... "Alas! Master Garret," replied Dalaber, "the imprudence you committed in speaking to me before that young man has ruined us both!" At those words, Garret, who had resumed his fear of the priests, now that his conscience was satisfied, exclaimed with a voice interrupted by sighs and tears:¹ "For mercy's sake, help me! Save me!" Without waiting for an answer, he threw off his frock and hood, begged Anthony to give him a sleeved coat, and thus disguised, he said: "I will escape into Wales, and from there, if possible, to Germany and Luther."

Garret checked himself; there was something to be done before he left. The two friends fell on their knees and prayed together; they called upon God to lead his servant to a secure retreat. That done, they embraced each other, their faces bathed with tears, and unable to utter a word.²

Silent on the threshold of his door, Dalaber followed both with eyes and ears his friend's retreating footsteps. Having heard him reach the bottom of the stairs, he returned to his room, locked the door, took out his New Testament, and placing it before him, read on his knees the tenth chapter of the Gospel of St Matthew, breathing many a heavy sigh..... *Ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake.....but fear them not; the very hairs of your head are all numbered.* This reading having revived his courage, Anthony, still on his knees, prayed fervently for the fugitive and for all his brethren: "O God, by thy Holy Spirit endue with heavenly strength this tender and newborn little flock in Oxford."³ Christ's heavy cross is about to be laid on the weak shoulders of thy poor sheep. Grant that they may bear it with godly patience and unflinching zeal!"

Rising from his knees, Dalaber put away his book, folded up Garret's hood and frock, placed them among his own clothes, locked his room door, and proceeded to the Cardinal's College (now Christ Church,) to tell Clark and the other brethren what had happened.⁴ They were in chapel: the evening service had begun; the dean and canons, in full costume, were chanting in the choir. Dalaber stopped at the door listening to the majestic sounds of the organ at which Taverner presided, and to the harmonious strains of the choristers. They were singing

the *Magnificat*: *My soul doth magnify the Lord.....He hath helped his servant Israel.* It seemed to Dalaber that they were singing Garret's deliverance. But his voice could not join in their song of praise. "Alas!" he exclaimed, "all my singing and music is turned into sighing and musing."⁵

As he listened, leaning against the entrance into the choir, Dr Cottisford, the university commissary, arrived with hasty step, "bare headed, and as pale as ashes." He passed Anthony without noticing him, and going straight to the dean appeared to announce some important and unpleasant news. "I know well the cause of his sorrow," thought Dalaber as he watched every feature. The commissary had scarcely finished his report when the dean arose, and both left the choir with undisguised confusion. They had only reached the middle of the anti-chapel when Dr London ran in, puffing and chafing and stamping, "like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey."⁶ All three stopped, questioned each other, and deplored their misfortune. Their rapid and eager movements indicated the liveliest emotion; London above all could not restrain himself. He attacked the commissary, and blamed him for his negligence, so that at last Cottisford burst into tears. "Deeds, not tears," said the fanatical London; and forthwith they despatched officers and spies along every road.

Anthony having left the chapel hurried to Clark's to tell him of the escape of his friend. "We are walking in the midst of wolves and tigers," replied Clark; "prepare for persecution. *Prudentia serpentina et simplicitas columbina* (the wisdom of serpents and the harmlessness of doves) must be our motto. O God, give us the courage these evil times require." All in the little flock were delighted at Garret's deliverance. Sumner and Betts, who had come in, ran off to tell it to the other brethren in the college,⁷ and Dalaber hastened to Corpus Christi. All these pious young men felt themselves to be soldiers in the same army, travellers in the same company, brothers in the same family. Fraternal love nowhere shone so brightly in the days of the Reformation as among the Christians of Great Britain. This is a feature worthy of notice.

Fitzjames, Udal, and Diet were met together in the rooms of the latter, at Corpus Christi college, when Dalaber arrived. They ate their frugal meal, with downcast eyes and broken voices, conversing of Oxford, of England, and of the perils hanging over them.⁸ Then rising from table they fell on their knees, called upon God for aid, and separated. Fitzjames taking Dalaber with him to St Alban's Hall. They were afraid that

¹ With deep sighs and plenty of tears. Foxe, v. p. 423.
² That we all bewet both our faces. Ibid. 424.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Foxe, v. p. 423.

⁶ Ibid. p. 424.

⁷ To tell unto our other brethren; (for there were shew else in that college.) Ibid.

⁸ Considering our state and peril at hand. Ibid.

the servant of Gloucester college had betrayed him.

The disciples of the gospel at Oxford passed the night in great anxiety. Garret's flight, the rage of the priests, the dangers of the rising church, the roaring of a storm that filled the air and re-echoed through the long cloisters—all impressed them with terror. On Sunday the 11th of February, Dalaber, who was stirring at five in the morning, set out for his room in Gloucester college. Finding the gates shut, he walked up and down beneath the walls in the mud, for it had rained all night. As he paced to and fro along the solitary street in the obscure dawn, a thousand thoughts alarmed his mind. It was known, he said to himself, that he had taken part in Garret's flight; he would be arrested, and his friend's escape would be revenged on him.¹ He was weighed down by sorrow and alarm; he sighed heavily;² he imagined he saw Wolsey's commissioners demanding the names of his accomplices, and pretending to draw up a proscription list at his dictation; he recollected that on more than one occasion cruel priests had extorted from the Lollards the names of their brethren, and terrified at the possibility of such a crime, he exclaimed; "O God, I swear to thee that I will accuse no man,..... I will tell nothing but what is perfectly well known."³

At last, after an hour of anguish, he was able to enter the college. He hastened in, but when he tried to open his door, he found that the lock had been picked. The door gave way to a strong push, and what a sight met his eyes! his bedstead overturned, the blankets scattered on the floor, his clothes all confusion in his wardrobe, his study broken into and left open. He doubted not that Garret's dress had betrayed him; and he was gazing at this sad spectacle in alarm, when a monk who occupied the adjoining rooms came and told him what had taken place: "The commissary and two proctors, armed with swords and bills, broke open your door in the middle of the night. They pierced your bed-straw through and through to make sure Garret was not hidden there;⁴ they carefully searched every nook and corner, but were not able to discover any traces of the fugitive." At these words Dalaber breathed again.....but the monk had not ended. "I have orders," he added, "to send you to the prior." Anthony Dunstan, the prior, was a fanatical and avaricious monk; and the confusion into which this message threw Dalaber was so great, that he went just as he was, all bespattered with mud, to the rooms of his superior.

The prior, who was standing with his face towards the door, looked at Dalaber from

head to foot as he came in. "Where did you pass the night?" he asked. "At St Alban's Hall with Fitzjames." The prior with a gesture of incredulity continued: "Was not Master Garret with you yesterday?"—"Yes."—"Where is he now?"—"I do not know." During this examination, the prior had remarked a large double gilt silver ring on Anthony's finger, with the initials A. D.¹ "Show me that," said the prior. Dalaber gave him the ring, and the prior believing it to be of solid gold, put it on his own finger, adding with a cunning leer: "This ring is mine: it bears my name. A is for *Anthony*, and D for *Dunstan*." "Would to God," thought Dalaber, "that I were as well delivered from his company, as I am sure of being delivered of my ring."

At this moment the chief beadle, with two or three of the commissary's men, entered and conducted Dalaber to the chapel of Lincoln college, where three ill-omened figures were standing beside the altar: they were Cottisford, London, and Higdon. "Where is Garret?" asked London; and pointing to his disordered dress, he continued: "Your shoes and garments covered with mud prove that you have been out all night with him. If you do not say where you have taken him, you will be sent to the Tower."—"Yes," added Higdon, "to *Little ease* [one of the most horrible dungeons in the prison], and you will be put to the torture, do you hear?" Then the three doctors spent two hours attempting to shake the young man by flattering promises and frightful threats; but all was useless. The commissary then gave a sign, the officers stepped forward, and the judges ascended a narrow staircase leading to a large room situated above the commissary's chamber. Here Dalaber was deprived of his purse and girdle, and his legs were placed in the stocks, so that his feet were almost as high as his head.² When that was done, the three doctors devoutly went to mass.

Poor Anthony, left alone in this frightful position, recollected the warning Clark had given him two years before. He groaned heavily and cried to God:³ "O Father! that my suffering may be for thy glory, and for the consolation of my brethren! Happen what may, I will never accuse one of them." After this noble protest, Anthony felt an increase of peace in his heart; but a new sorrow was reserved for him.

Garret, who had directed his course westwards, with the intention of going to Wales, had been caught at Hinksey, a short distance from Oxford. He was brought back, and thrown into the dungeon in which Dalaber had been placed after the torture. Their gloomy presentiments were to be more than fulfilled.

In fact Wolsey was deeply irritated at seeing the college [Christ Church], which

¹ My musing head being full of forecasting cares. Foxe, v. p. 624.

² My sorrowful heart flowing with doleful sighs. Ibid.

³ I fully determined in my conscience before God that I would accuse no man. Ibid.

⁴ With bills and swords thrustured through my bed-straw. Ibid. p. 622.

¹ Then had he spied on my fore-finger a big ring of silver, very well double-gilted. Foxe, v. p. 622. ² Ibid. p. 624.

he had intended should be "the most glorious in the world," made the haunt of heresy, and the young men, whom he had so carefully chosen, become distributors of the New Testament. By favouring literature, he had had in view the triumph of the clergy, and literature had on the contrary served to the triumph of the gospel. He issued his orders without delay, and the university was filled with terror. John Clark, John Fryth, Henry Sumner, William Betts, Richard Taverner, Richard Cox, Michael Drumm, Godfrey Harman, Thomas Lawney, Radley, and others besides of Cardinal's College: Udal, Diet, and others of Corpus Christi; Eden and several of his friends of Magdalene; Goodman, William Bayley, Robert Ferrar, John Salisbury of Gloucester, Barnard, and St Mary's Colleges; were seized and thrown into prison. Wolsey had promised them glory; he gave them a dungeon, hoping in this manner to save the power of the priests, and to repress that awakening of truth and liberty which was spreading from the continent to England.

Under Cardinal's College there was a deep cellar sunk in the earth, in which the butler kept his salt fish. Into this hole these young men, the choice of England, were thrust. The dampness of this cave, the corrupted air they breathed, the horrible smell given out by the fish, seriously affected the prisoners, already weakened by study. Their hearts were bursting with groans, their faith was shaken, and the most mournful scenes followed each other in this foul dungeon. The wretched captives gazed on one another, wept, and prayed. This trial was destined to be a salutary one to them: "Alas!" said Fryth on a subsequent occasion, "I see that besides the word of God, there is indeed a second purgatory.....but it is not that invented by Rome; it is the cross of tribulation to which God has nailed us."¹

At last the prisoners were taken out one by one and brought before their judges; two only were released. The first was Betts, afterwards chaplain to Anne Boleyn: they had not been able to find any prohibited books in his room, and he pleaded his cause with great talent. The other was Taverner; he had hidden Clark's books under his school-room floor, where they had been discovered; but his love for the arts saved him: "Pshaw! he is only a musician," said the cardinal.

All the rest were condemned. A great fire was kindled at the top of the market-place;² a long procession was marshalled, and these unfortunate men were led out, each bearing a fagot. When they came near the fire, they were compelled to throw into it the heretical books that had been found in their

rooms, after which they were taken back to their noisome prison. There seemed to be a barbarous pleasure in treating these young and generous men so vilely. In other countries also, Rome was preparing to stifle in the flames the noblest geniuses of France, Spain, and Italy. Such was the reception letters and the gospel met with from popery in the sixteenth century. Every plant of God's must be beaten by the wind even at the risk of its being uprooted: if it receives only the gentle rays of the sun, there is reason to fear that it will dry up and wither before it produces fruit. *Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone.* There was to arise one day a real church in England, for the persecution had begun.

We have to contemplate still further trials.

CHAPTER III.

Persecution at Cambridge—Barnes arrested—A grand Search—Barnes at Wolsey's Palace—Interrogated by the Cardinal—Conversation between Wolsey and Barnes—Barnes threatened with the Stake—His Fall and public Penance—Richard Bayfield—His Faith and Imprisonment—Visits Cambridge—John Tyndale—The Confessors in the Cellar at Oxford—Four of them die—The rest liberated.

CAMBRIDGE, which had produced Latimer, Bilney, Stafford, and Barnes, had at first appeared to occupy the front rank in the English reformation. Oxford by receiving the crown of persecution seemed now to have outstripped the sister university. And yet Cambridge was to have its share of suffering. The investigation had begun at Oxford on Monday the 5th of February, and on the very same day two of Wolsey's creatures, Dr Capon, one of his chaplains, and Gibson, a sergeant-at-arms, notorious for his arrogance, left London for Cambridge. Submission was the pass-word of popery. "Yes, submission," was responded from every part of Christendom by men of sincere piety and profound understanding; "submission to the legitimate authority against which Roman-catholicism has rebelled." According to their views the traditionalism and pelagianism of the Romish church had set up the supremacy of fallen reason in opposition to the divine supremacy of the word and of grace. The external and apparent sacrifice of self which Roman catholicism imposes,—obedience to a confessor or to the pope, arbitrary penance, ascetic practices, and celibacy,—only served to create, and so to strengthen and perpetuate, a delusion as to the egotistic preservation of a sinful personality. When the Reformation proclaimed liberty, so far as regarded ordinances of human invention, it was with the view of bringing man's heart and life into subjection to their real Sovereign. The reign of God was commencing; that of the

¹ God nalleth us to the cross to heal our infirmities. Tyndale and Fryth's Works, iii. p. 91 (ed. Russell).

² There was made a great fire upon the top of Carfax. Foxe, v. p. 426.

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must needs come to an end. No man save two masters. Such were the im- truths which gradually dawned upon rld, and which it became necessary to ash without delay.

the day after their arrival in Cam- on Tuesday the 6th of February, and Gibson went to the convocation where several of the doctors were ; together. Their appearance caused anxiety among the spectators, who upon the strangers with distrust. On n Gibson moved forward, put his hand nes, and arrested him in the presence friends.¹ The latter were frightened, is was what the sergeant wanted. "!" said they, "the prior of the Au- es, the restorer of letters in Cam- arrested by a sergeant!" This was

Wolsey's agents were to seize the some from Germany, and their owners; Latimer, Stafford, Arthur, and their , were all to be imprisoned, for they ed the New Testament. Thirty mem- the university were pointed out as ed; and some miserable wretches, ad been bribed by the inquisitors, to show the place in every room where hibited books were hidden. But while cessary preparations were making for arch, Bilney, Latimer, and their col- , being warned in time, got the books d; they were taken away not only by rs but by the windows, even by the nd anxious inquiry was made for sure in which they could be concealed.

work was hardly ended, when the ancclor of the university, the ser- t-arms, Wolsey's chaplain, the proc- ed the informers began their rounds. pened the first room, entered, searched, and nothing. They passed on to the there was nothing. The sergeant was hed, and grew angry. On reaching the om, he ran directly to the place that een pointed out,—still there was . The same thing occurred every- never was inquisitor more mortified. ed not lay hands on the persons of ngelical doctors: his orders bore that : to seize the books and *their owners*. no books were found, there could be no rs. Luckily there was one man (the 'the Augustines) against whom there rticular charges. The sergeant pro- compensate himself at Barnes's ex- or his useless labours.

next day Gibson and Capon set out ndon with Barnes. During this ul journey the prior, in great agita- t one time determined to brave all d, and at another trembled like a leaf. their journey was ended; the chaplain prisoner at Parnell's house, close by

the stocks.¹ Three students (Coverdale, Goodwin, and Field) had followed their master to cheer him with their tender affection.

On Thursday (8th February) the sergeant conducted Barnes to the cardinal's palace at Westminster; the wretched prior, whose en- thusiasm had given way to dejection, waited all day before he could be admitted. What a day! Will no one come to his assistance? Doctor Gardiner, Wolsey's secretary, and Fox, his steward, both old friends of Barnes, passed through the gallery in the evening, and went up to the prisoner, who begged them to procure him an audience with the cardinal. When night had come, these offi- cers introduced the prior into the room, where their master was sitting, and Barnes, as was customary, fell on his knees before him. "Is this the Doctor Barnes who is accused of heresy?" asked Wolsey, in a haughty tone, of Fox and Gardiner. They replied in the affirmative. The cardinal then turning to Barnes, who was still kneeling, said to him ironically, and not without reason: "What, master doctor, had you not sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people; but my golden shoes, my poleaxes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses, did so sore offend you, that you must make us a laugh- ing-stock, *ridiculum caput*, amongst the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon more fit to be preach- ed on a stage than in a pulpit; for at the last you said I wore a pair of red gloves—I should say *bloody* gloves (quoth you)..... Eh! what think you, master doctor?" Barnes, wishing to elude these embarrassing questions, answered vaguely: "I spoke nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conscience and according to the old doctors." He then presented to the cardinal a statement of his teaching.

Wolsey received the papers with a smile: "Oh, ho!" said he as he counted the six sheets, "I perceive you intend to stand to your articles and to show your learning." "With the grace of God," said Barnes. Wolsey then began to read them, and stopped at the sixth article, which ran thus: "I will never believe that one man may, by the law of God, be bishop of two or three cities, yea, of a whole country, for it is contrary to St Paul, who saith: *I have left thee behind, to set in every city a bishop*." Barnes did not quote correctly, for the apostle says: "*to ordain elders in every city*."² Wolsey was displeased at this thesis: "Ah! this touches me," he said: "Do you think it wrong (seeing the ordinance of the church) that one bishop should have so many cities underneath him?" "I know of no ordinance of the church," Barnes replied, "as concerning this thing, but Paul's saying only."

Although this controversy interested the

¹ Foxe, v. p. 414.

² *Kai παντασθης κατὰ πόλιν επισκοπίζων.* Titus i. 6.

only arrested Barnes openly in the convocation make all others afraid. Foxe, v. p. 414.

cardinal, the personal attack of which he had to complain touched him more keenly.

"Good," said Wolsey; and then with a condescension hardly to be expected from so proud a man, he deigned almost to justify himself. "You charge me with displaying a royal pomp; but do you not understand that, being called to represent his majesty, I must strive by these means to strike terror into the wicked?"—"It is not your pomp or your poleaxes," Barnes courageously answered, "that will save the king's person..... God will save him, who said: *Per me reges regnant.*" Barnes, instead of profiting by the cardinal's kindness to present an humble justification, as Dean Colet had formerly done to Henry VIII., dared preach him a second sermon to his face. Wolsey felt the colour mount to his cheeks. "Well, gentlemen," said he, turning to Fox and Gardiner, "you hear him! Is this the wise and learned man of whom you spoke to me?"

At these words both steward and secretary fell on their knees, saying: "My lord, pardon him for mercies sake."—"Can you find ten or even six doctors of divinity willing to swear that you are free from heresy?" asked Wolsey. Barnes offered twenty honest men, quite as learned as himself, or even more so. "I must have doctors in divinity, men as old as yourself." "That is impossible," said the prior. "In that case you must be burnt," continued the cardinal. "Let him be taken to the Tower." Gardiner and Fox offering to become his sureties, Wolsey permitted him to pass the night at Parnell's.

"It is no time to think of sleeping," said Barnes as he entered the house, "we must write." Those harsh and terrible words, *you must be burnt*, resounded continually in his ears. He dictated all night to his three young friends a defence of his articles.

The next day he was taken before the chapter, at which Clarke, bishop of Bath, Standish, and other doctors were present. His judges laid before him a long statement, and said to him: "Promise to read this paper in public, without omitting or adding a single word." It was then read to him. "I would die first," was his reply. "Will you abjure or be burnt alive?" said his judges; "take your choice." The alternative was dreadful. Poor Barnes, a prey to the deepest agony, shrank at the thought of the stake; then, suddenly his courage revived, and he exclaimed: "I would rather be burnt than abjure." Gardiner and Fox did all they could to persuade him. "Listen to reason," said they craftily: "your articles are true; that is not the question. We want to know whether by your death you will let error triumph, or whether you would rather remain to defend the truth, when better days may come."

They entreated him; they put forward the most plausible motives; from time to time they uttered the terrible words, *burnt alive!*

His blood froze in his veins; he knew not what he said or did.....they placed a paper before him—they put a pen in his hand—his head was bewildered, he signed his name with a deep sigh. This unhappy man was destined at a later period to be a faithful martyr of Jesus Christ; but he had not yet learnt to "resist even unto blood." Barnes had fallen.

On the following morning (Sunday, 11th February) a solemn spectacle was preparing at St Paul's. Before daybreak, all were astir in the prison of the poor prior; and at eight o'clock, the knight-marshal with his tipstaves, and the warden of the Fleet prison, with his billmen, conducted Barnes to St Paul's, along with four of the House merchants who had first brought to London the New Testament of Jesus Christ in English. The fifth of these pious merchants held an immense taper in his hands. A persevering search had discovered that it was these men to whom England was indebted for the so much dreaded book; their warehouses were surrounded and their persons arrested. On the top of St Paul's steps was a platform, and on the platform a throne, and on the throne the cardinal, dressed in scarlet—like a "bloody antichrist," says the chronicler. On his head glittered the hat of which Barnes had spoken so ill; around him were thirty-six bishops, abbots, priors, and all his doctors, dressed in damask and satin; the vast cathedral was full. The bishop of Rochester having gone into a pulpit placed at the top of the steps, Barnes and the merchants, each bearing a fagot, were compelled to kneel and listen to a sermon intended to cure these poor creatures of that taste for insurrection against popery which was beginning to spread in every quarter. The sermon ended, the cardinal mounted his mule, took his station under a magnificent canopy, and rode off. After this Barnes and his five companions walked three times round a fire, lighted before the cross at the north gate of the cathedral. The dejected prior, with downcast head, dragged himself along, rather than walked. After the third turn, the prisoners threw their fagots into the flames; some "heretical" books also were flung in; and the bishop of Rochester having given absolution to the six penitents, they were led back to prison to be kept there during the lord cardinal's pleasure. Barnes could not weep now; the thought of his relapse, and of the effects so guilty an example might produce, had deprived him of all moral energy. In the month of August, he was led out of prison and confined in the Augustine convent.

Barnes was not the only man at Cambridge upon whom the blow had fallen. Since the year 1520, a monk named Richard Bayfield had been an inmate of the abbey of Bury & Edmunds. His affability delighted every traveller. One day, when engaged as chamberlain in receiving Barnes, who had come to

visit Dr Ruffam, his fellow-student at Louvain, two men entered the convent. They were pious persons, and of great consideration in London, where they carried on the occupation of brick-making, and had risen to be wardens of their guild. Their names were Maxwell and Stacy, men "well grafted in the doctrine of Christ," says the historian, who had led many to the Saviour by their conversation and exemplary life. Being accustomed to travel once a-year through the counties to visit their brethren, and extend a knowledge of the gospel, they used to lodge, according to the usages of the time, in the convents and abbeys. A conversation soon arose between Barnes, Stacy, and Maxwell, which struck the lay-brother. Barnes, who had observed his attention, gave him, as he was leaving the convent, a New Testament in Latin, and the two brick-makers added a New Testament in English, with *The Wicked Manumon* and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*. The lay-brother ran and hid the books in his cell, and for two years read them constantly. At last he was discovered, and reprimanded; but he boldly confessed his faith. Upon this the monks threw him into prison, set him in the stocks, put a gag in his mouth, and cruelly whipped him, to prevent his speaking of grace.¹ The unhappy Bayfield remained nine months in this condition.

When Barnes repeated his visit to Bury at a later period, he did not find the amiable chamberlain at the gates of the abbey. Upon inquiry he learnt his condition, and immediately took steps to procure his deliverance. Dr Ruffam came to his aid: "Give him to me," said Barnes, "I will take him to Cambridge." The prior of the Augustines was at that time held in high esteem; his request was granted, in the hope that he would lead back Bayfield to the doctrines of the church. But the very reverse took place: intercourse with the Cambridge brethren strengthened the young monk's faith. On a sudden his happiness vanished. Barnes, his friend and benefactor, was carried to London, and the monks of Bury St Edmonds, alarmed at the noise this affair created, summoned him to return to the abbey. But Bayfield, resolving to submit to their yoke no longer, went to London, and lay concealed at Maxwell and Stacy's. One day, having left his hiding-place, he was crossing Lombard Street, when he met a priest named Pierson and two other religious of his order, with whom he entered into a conversation which greatly scandalized them. "You must depart forthwith," said Maxwell and Stacy to him on his return. Bayfield received a small sum of money from them, went on board a ship, and as soon as he reached the continent, hastened to find Tyndale. During this time scenes of a very different nature from those which had taken place at Cambridge, but not less heart-rending, were passing at Oxford.

¹ Foxe, iv. p. 361.

The storm of persecution was raging there with more violence than at Cambridge. Clark and the other confessors of the name of Christ were still confined in their underground prison. The air they breathed, the food they took (and they ate nothing but salt fish), the burning thirst this created, the thoughts by which they were agitated, all together combined to crush these noble-hearted men. Their bodies wasted day by day: they wandered like spectres up and down their gloomy cellar. Those animated discussions in which the deep questions then convulsing Christendom were so eloquently debated were at an end; they were like shadow meeting shadow. Their hollow eyes cast a vague and haggard glance on one another, and after gazing for a moment, they passed on without speaking. Clark, Sumner, Bayley, and Goodman, consumed by fever, feebly crawled along, leaning against their dungeon walls. The first, who was also the eldest, could not walk without the support of one of his fellow-prisoners. Soon he was quite unable to move, and lay stretched upon the damp floor. The brethren gathered round him, sought to discover in his features whether death was not about to cut short the days of him who had brought many of them to the knowledge of Christ. They repeated to him slowly the words of Scripture, and then knelt down by his side and uttered a fervent prayer.

Clark, feeling his end draw near, asked for the communion. The jailers conveyed his request to their master; the noise of the bolts was soon heard, and a turnkey, stepping into the midst of the disconsolate band, pronounced a cruel *no*!² On hearing this, Clark looked towards heaven, and exclaimed with a father of the church: *Credo et manducasti, Believe, and thou hast eaten*.³ He was lost in thought: he contemplated the crucified Son of God; by faith he ate and drank the flesh and blood of Christ, and experienced in his inner life the strengthening action of the Redeemer. Men might refuse him the host, but Jesus had given him his body; and from that hour he felt strengthened by a living union with the King of heaven.

Not alone did Clark descend into the shadowy valley: Sumner, Bayley, and Goodman were sinking rapidly. Death, the gloomy inhabitant of this foul prison, had taken possession of these four friends.⁴ Their brethren addressed fresh solicitations to the cardinal, at that time closely occupied in negotiations with France, Rome, and Venice.⁵ He found means, however, to give a moment to the Oxford martyrs; and just as these Christians were praying over their four dying compa-

¹ Foxe, v. p. 6.

² Not be suffered to receive the communion, being in prison. Ibid. p. 43.

³ Ibid. *Habe fidem et tecum est quem non vides*, says Augustine in another place. See Sermon 225, 272. Tract. 26. Evangel. John.

⁴ Taking their death in the same prison. Foxe, v. p. 6.

⁵ State Papers, i. p. 109.

CHAPTER IV.

Luther's Letter to the King—Henry's Anger—His Reply—Luther's Resolution—Persecutions—Barney's escape—The claimations against the New Testament—W. Ruyter's pamphlet—Third Edition of the New Testament—The triumph of Law and Liberty—Hackett attacks the *Trilogia*—Hackett's Complaints—A Seizure—The Year 1525 in England.

nions, the commissioner came and informed them, that "his lordship, of his great goodness, permitted the sick persons to be removed to their own chambers." Litters were brought, on which the dying men were placed and carried to their rooms;¹ the doors were closed again upon those whose lives this frightful dungeon had not yet attacked.

It was the middle of August. The wretched men who had passed six months in the cellar were transported in vain to their chambers and their beds; several members of the university ineffectually tried by their cares and their tender charity to recall them to life. It was too late. The severities of popery had killed these noble witnesses. The approach of death soon betrayed itself; their blood grew cold, their limbs stiff, and their bedimmed eyes sought only Jesus Christ, their everlasting hope. Clark, Sumner, and Bayley died in the same week. Goodman followed close upon them.²

This unexpected catastrophe softened Wolsey. He was cruel only as far as his interest and the safety of the church required. He feared that the death of so many young men would raise public opinion against him, or that these catastrophes would damage his college; perhaps even some sentiment of humanity may have touched his heart. "Set the rest at liberty," he wrote to his agents, "but upon condition that they do not go above ten miles from Oxford." The university beheld these young men issue from their living tomb pale, wasted, weak, and with faltering steps. At that time they were not men of mark; it was their youth that touched the spectators' hearts; but in after-years they all occupied an important place in the church. They were Cox, who became Bishop of Ely, and tutor to Edward the Prince Royal; Drumm, who under Cranmer became one of the six preachers at Canterbury; Udal, afterwards master of Westminster and Eton schools; Salisbury, dean of Norwich, and then bishop of Sodor and Man, who in all his wealth and greatness often recalled his frightful prison at Oxford as a title to glory; Ferrar, afterwards Cranmer's chaplain, bishop of St David's, and a martyr even unto death, after an interval of thirty years; Fryth, Tyndale's friend, to whom this deliverance proved only a delay; and several others. When they came forth from their terrible dungeon, their friends ran up to them, supported their faltering steps, and embraced them amidst floods of tears. Fryth quitted the university not long after and went to Flanders.³ Thus was the tempest stayed which had so fearfully ravaged Oxford. But the calm was of no long duration; an unexpected circumstance became perilous to the cause of the Reformation.

HENRY was still under the impression of the famous *Supplication of the Beggars*, when Luther's interference increased his anger. The letter which, at the advice of Christiern, king of Denmark, this reformer had written to him in September 1525, had miscarried. The Wittenberg doctor hearing nothing of it, had boldly printed it, and sent a copy to the king. "I am informed," said Luther, "that your Majesty is beginning to favour the gospel,¹ and to be disgusted with the perverse race that fights against it in your noble kingdom.....It is true that, according to Scripture, the kings of the earth take counsel together against the Lord, and we cannot, consequently, expect to see them favourable to the truth. How fervently do I wish that this miracle may be accomplished in the person of your Majesty."²

We may imagine Henry's wrath as he read this letter. "What!" said he, "does this apostate monk dare print a letter addressed to us, without having even sent it, or at the least without knowing if we have ever received it?.....And as if that were not enough, he insinuates that we are among his partisans.....He wins over also one or two wretches, born in our kingdom, and engages them to translate the New Testament into English, adding thereto certain prefaces and poisonous glosses." Thus spoke Henry. The idea that his name should be associated with that of the Wittenberg monk called all the blood into his face. He will reply right royally to such unblushing impudence. He summoned Wolsey forthwith. "Here!" said he, pointing to a passage concerning the prelate, "here I read what is said of you!" And then he read aloud: *Illud monstrum et publicum odium Dei et hominum, cardinalis Eboracensis, pestis illa regni tui.* You see, my lord, you are a monster, an object of hatred, both to God and man, the scourge of my kingdom! The king had hitherto allowed the bishops to do as they pleased, and observed a sort of neutrality. He now determined to lay it aside and begin a crusade against the gospel of Jesus Christ, but he must first answer this impertinent letter. He consulted Sir Thomas More, shut himself in his closet, and dictated to his secretary a reply to the reformer: "You are ashamed of the book you have written against me," he said, "I would counsel you to be ashamed of all that you have written. They are full of disgusting errors and frantic heresies; and are sup-

¹ Foxe, v. p. 25.

² *Ibid.*

³ Tyndale and Fryth's Works, iii. p. 75 (edit. Russell).

¹ Majestatem tuam cupias favere Evangelio. Cuthbert, p. 136.

² Hunc miraculo in Majestate tua quam opto ex totis meculis. *Ibid.* p. 137.

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sorted by the most audacious obstinacy. Your venomous pen mocks the church, insults the fathers, abuses the saints, despises the apostles, dishonours the holy virgin, and blasphemes God, by making him the author of evil.....And after all that, you claim to be an author whose like does not exist in the world!"

"You offer to publish a book in my praise.....I thank you!.....You will praise me most by abusing me; you will dishonour me beyond measure if you praise me. I say with Seneca: *Tam turpe tibi sit laudari a turibus, quam si lauderis ob turpia.*"¹

This letter, written by the king of the English to the king of the heretics,² was immediately circulated throughout England bound up with Luther's epistle. Henry, by publishing it, put his subjects on their guard against the unfaithful translations of the New Testament, which were besides about to be burnt everywhere. "The grapes seem beautiful," he said, "but beware how you wet your lips with the wine made from them, for the adversary hath mingled poison with it."

Luther, agitated by this rude lesson, tried to excuse himself. "I said to myself, *There are twelve hours in the day.* Who knows? perhaps I may find one lucky hour to gain the King of England. I therefore laid my humble epistle at his feet; but alas! the swine have torn it. I am willing to be silent..... As regards my doctrine, I cannot impose silence on it. It must cry aloud, it must bite. If any king imagines he can make me retract my faith, he is a dreamer. So long as one drop of blood remains in my body, I shall say so. Emperors, kings, the devil, and even the whole universe, cannot frighten me when faith is concerned. I claim to be proud, very proud, exceedingly proud. If my doctrine had no other enemies than the King of England, Duke George, the pope and his allies, all these soap-bubbles.....one little prayer would long ago have worsted them all. Where are Pilate, Herod, and Caiaphas now? Where are Nero, Domitian, and Maximilian? Where are Arius, Pelagius, and Janes?—Where are they?.....Where all usurpers and all our tyrants will soon be.—But Christ? Christ is the same always."

"For a thousand years the Holy Scriptures have not shone in the world with so much brightness as now."³ I wait in peace or my last hour; I have done what I could. Princes, my hands are clean from your blood; it will fall on your own heads."

Bowing before the supreme royalty of Jesus Christ, Luther spoke thus boldly to

King Henry, who contested the rights of the word of God.

A letter written against the reformer was not enough for the bishops. Profiting by the wound Luther had inflicted on Henry's self-esteem, they urged him to put down this revolt of the human understanding, which threatened (as they averred) both the papedom and the monarchy. They commenced the persecution. Latimer was summoned before Wolsey, but his learning and presence of mind procured his dismissal. Bilney also, who had been ordered to London, received an injunction not to preach *Luther's doctrines*. "I will not preach Luther's doctrines, if there are any peculiar to him," he said; "but I can and I must preach the doctrine of Jesus Christ, although Luther should preach it too." And finally Garret, led into the presence of his judges, was seized with terror, and fell before the cruel threats of the bishop. When restored to liberty, he fled from place to place,⁴ endeavouring to hide his sorrow, and to escape from the despotism of the priests, awaiting the moment when he should give his life for Jesus Christ.

The adversaries of the Reformation were not yet satisfied. The New Testament continued to circulate, and depots were formed in several convents. Barnes, a prisoner in the Augustine monastery in London, had regained his courage, and loved his Bible more and more. One day about the end of September, as three or four friends were reading in his chamber, two simple peasants, John Tybail and Thomas Milles, natives of Bumpstead in Essex, came in. "How did you come to a knowledge of the truth?" asked Barnes. They drew from their pockets some old volumes containing the Gospels, and a few of the Epistles in English. Barnes returned them with a smile. "They are nothing," he told them, "in comparison with the new edition of the New Testament,"⁵ a copy of which the two peasants bought for three shillings and two-pence. "Hide it carefully," said Barnes. When this came to the ears of the clergy, Barnes was removed to Northampton to be burnt at the stake; but he managed to escape; his friends reported that he was drowned; and while strict search was making for him during a whole week along the sea-coast, he secretly went on board a ship, and was carried to Germany. "The cardinal will catch him even now," said the bishop of London, "whatever amount of money it may cost him." When Barnes was told of this, he remarked, "I am a poor simple wretch, not worth the tenth penny they will give for me. Besides, if they burn me, what will they gain by it?.....The sun and the moon, fire and water, the stars and the elements—yes, and also stones shall defend this cause against them, rather than the

¹ *Testes ante haberi postulas, quantos nec hodie quisquam sit.* Cochleus, p. 137.

² Let it be as disgraceful to you to be praised by the vile, as if you were praised for vile deeds.

³ *Res Anglorum Regi hereticorum scribit.* Strype, Mem. p. 51. The title of the pamphlet was *Litterarum quibus scribitur Fr. Hieronimo VIII. etc. etc. respondit ad quendam epistolam M. Lutheri ad se missam.*

⁴ Als in tausend Jahren nicht gewesen ist. Luth. Opp. ix. p. 591.

⁵ Foxe, v. p. 428.

⁶ Which books he did little regard, and made a twit of. In Tybail's Confession in Bible Annals, l. p. 124.

truth should perish." Faith had returned to Barnes's feeble heart.

His escape added fuel to the wrath of the clergy. They proclaimed, throughout the length and breadth of England, that the Holy Scriptures contained an *infectious poison*,¹ and ordered a general search after the word of God. On the 24th of October 1526, the bishop of London enjoined on his archdeacons to seize all translations of the New Testament in English with or without glosses; and, a few days later, the archbishop of Canterbury issued a mandate against all the books which should contain "any particle of the New Testament."² The primate remembered that a spark was sufficient to kindle a large fire.

On hearing of this order, William Roy, a sarcastic writer, published a violent satire, in which figured *Judas* (Standish), *Pilate* (Wolsey), and *Caiaphas* (Tonstall.) The author exclaimed with energy:

God, of his goodness, grudged not to die,
Man to deliver from deadly damnation;
Whose will is, that we should know perfectly
What he here hath done for our salvation.
O cruel Caiaphas! full of crafty conspiracy,
How durst thou give them false judgment
To burn God's word—the Holy Testament.³

The efforts of Caiaphas and his colleagues were indeed useless: the priests were undertaking a work beyond their strength. If by some terrible revolution all social forms should be destroyed in the world, the living church of the elect, a divine institution in the midst of human institutions, would still exist by the power of God, like a rock in the midst of the tempest, and would transmit to future generations the seeds of Christian life and civilisation. It is the same with the word, the creative principle of the church. It cannot perish here below. The priests of England had something to learn on this matter.

While the agents of the clergy were carrying out the archiepiscopal mandate, and a merciless search was making everywhere for the New Testaments from Worms, a new edition was discovered, fresh from the press, of a smaller and more portable, and consequently more dangerous size. It was printed by Christopher Eyndhoven of Antwerp, who had consigned it to his correspondents in London. The annoyance of the priests was extreme, and Hackett, the agent of Henry VIII. in the low Countries, immediately received orders to get this man punished. "We cannot deliver judgment without inquiry into the matter," said the lords of Antwerp; "we will therefore have the book translated into Flemish." "God forbid," said Hackett in alarm, "What! would you also on your side of the ocean translate this book into the

language of the people?" "Well then said one of the judges, less conscientious than his colleagues, "let the king of England send us a copy of each of the books he has burnt, and we will burn them likewise." Hackett wrote to Wolsey for them, and soon as they arrived the court met again. Eyndhoven's counsel called upon the procurator to point out the *heresies* contained in the volume. The margrave (an officer of the imperial government) shrank from the task, and said to Hackett, "I give up the business!" The charge against Eyndhoven was dismissed.

Thus did the Reformation awaken in Europe the slumbering spirit of law and liberty. By enfranchising thought from the yoke of popery, it prepared the way for other enfranchisements; and by restoring the authority of the word of God, it brought back the reign of the law among nations long the prey of turbulent passions and arbitrary power. There, as at all times, religious society forestalled civil society, and gave it those two great principles of order and liberty, which popery compromises or annuls. It was not in vain that the magistrates of a Flemish city, enlightened by the first dawn of the Reformation, set so noble an example; the English who were very numerous in the Hansa Town thus learnt once more the value of that civil and religious liberty which is the time-honoured right of England, and of which they were in after-years to give other nations so much needed lessons.

"Well then," said Hackett, who was annoyed at their setting the law above his master's will, "I will go and buy all these books and send them to the cardinal, that he may burn them." With these words he left the court. But his anger evaporating, he set off for Malines to complain to the regent and her council of the Antwerp decision. "What!" said he, "you punish those who circulate false money, and you will not punish still more severely the man who does it?—in this case, he is the printer." "Be that as it just the point in dispute," they replied: "we are not sure the money is false."—"How can it be otherwise?" answered Henry's agent, "since the bishops of England have declared it so?" The imperial government, which was not very favourable disposed towards England, ratified Eyndhoven's acquittal, but permitted Hackett to burn all the copies of the New Testament he could seize. He hastened to profit by the concession, and began hunting after the Holy Scriptures, while the priests eagerly came to his assistance. In their view, as well as in that of their English colleagues, the supreme decision in matter of faith rested not with the word of God but with the pope; and the best means of securing this privilege to the pontiff was to reduce the Bible to ashes.

¹ Libri pestiferum virus in se continentes, in promiscuam provincie Cant. multitudinem sunt dispersi. Wilkins, Concilia, iii. p. 706.

² Vel aliquam ejus particulam. Ibid.

³ A Satyre of W. Roy, printed in the Harl. Misc., vol. ix. p. 7, (ed. 1867).

¹ My choier was descended. Anderson's Annals of the Bible, i. p. 128.

Notwithstanding these trials, the year 1526 was a memorable one for England. The English New Testament had been circulated from the shores of the Channel to the borders of Scotland, and the Reformation had begun in that island by the word of God. The revival of the sixteenth century was in no country less than in England the emanation of a royal mandate. But God, who had disseminated the Scriptures over Britain, in defiance of the rulers of the nation, was about to make use of their passions to remove the difficulties which opposed the final triumph of his plans. We here enter upon a new phase in the history of the Reformation; and having studied the work of God in the faith of the little ones, we proceed to contemplate the work of man in the intrigues of the great ones of the earth.

CHAPTER V.

Wolsey desires to be revenged—The divorce suggested—Henry's sentiments towards the queen—Wolsey's first steps—Longland's Proceedings—Refusal of Margaret of Valois—Objection of the Bishop of Tarbes—Henry's Un easiness—Catherine's Alarm—Mission to Spain.

WOLSEY, mortified at not being able to obtain the pontifical throne, to which he had so ardently aspired, and being especially irritated by the ill-will of Charles V., meditated a plan which, entirely unsuspected by him, was to lead to the enfranchisement of England from the papal yoke. "They laugh at me, and thrust me into the second rank," he had exclaimed. "So be it! I will create such a confusion in the world as has not been seen for ages.....I will do it, even should England be swallowed up in the tempest!"¹ Desirous of exciting imperishable hatred between Henry VIII. and Charles V., he had undertaken to break the marriage which Henry VII. and Ferdinand the Catholic had planned to unite for ever their families and their crowns. His hatred of Charles was not his only motive. Catherine had reproached him for his dissolute life,² and he had sworn to be revenged. There can be no doubt about Wolsey's share in the matter. "The first terms of the divorce were put forward by me," he told the French ambassador. "I did it," he added, "to cause a lasting separation between the houses of England and Burgundy."³ The best informed writers of the sixteenth century, men of the most opposite parties, Pole, Polydore Virgil, Tyndale, Meteren, Pallavicini, Sanders, and Koper, More's son-in-law, all agree in pointing to Wolsey as the instigator of that divorce, which has be-

come so famous.⁴ He desired to go still farther, and after inducing the king to put away his queen, he hoped to prevail on the pope to depose the emperor.⁵ It was not his passion for Anne Boleyn, as so many of the Romish fabulists have repeated; but the passion of a cardinal for the triple crown which gave the signal of England's emancipation. Offended pride is one of the most active principles of human nature.

Wolsey's design was a strange one, and difficult of execution, but not impossible. Henry was living apparently on the best terms with Catherine; on more than one occasion Erasmus had spoken of the royal family of England as the pattern of the domestic virtues. But the most ardent of Henry's desires was not satisfied; he had no son; those whom the queen had borne him had died in their infancy, and Mary alone survived. The deaths of these little children, at all times so heart-rending, were particularly so in the palace of Greenwich. It appeared to Catherine that the shade of the last Plantagenet, immolated on her marriage altar, came forth to seize one after another the heirs she gave to the throne of England, and to carry them away to his tomb. The queen shed tears almost unceasingly, and implored the divine mercy, while the king cursed his unhappy fate. The people seemed to share in the royal sorrow; and men of learning and piety (Longland was among their number)⁶ declared against the validity of the marriage. They said that "the papal dispensations had no force when in opposition to the law of God." Yet hitherto Henry had rejected every idea of a divorce.⁷

The times had changed since 1509. The king had loved Catherine: her reserve, mildness, and dignity, had charmed him. Greedy of pleasure and applause, he was delighted to see his wife content to be the quiet witness of his joys and of his triumphs. But gradually the queen had grown older, her Spanish gravity had increased, her devout practices were multiplied, and her infirmities, become more frequent, had left the king no hope of having a son. From that hour, even while continuing to praise her virtues, Henry grew cold towards her person, and his love by degrees changed into repugnance. And then he thought that the death of his children might be a sign of God's anger. This idea had taken hold of him, and induced him to occupy apartments separate from the queen's.⁸

¹ Instigator et auctor concilii existimabatur (Pole, Apology). He was furious mad, and imagined this divorcement between the king and the queen (Tyndale's Works, i. p. 365. See also Sanders, 7 and 9; Polyd. Virg. p. 63; Meteren, Hist. of the Low Countries, p. 30; Pallavicini, Conc. Trident. i. p. 24, etc. A contrary assertion of Wolsey's has been adduced against these authorities in the Pamphlet, No. 42, p. 33; but a slight acquaintance with his history soon teaches us that veracity was the least of his virtues.

² Le Grand, Hist. du divorce, Preuves, p. 63, 64.

³ Jam pridem conjugium regium, veluti infirmum. Polyd. Virg. p. 66.

⁴ That matrimony which the king at first seemed not disposed to annul. Strype, i. p. 148.

⁵ Burnet, vol. i. p. 2; (London, 1841), Letter from Grænanus to Bucer. Strype, i. p. 148.

¹ Sandoval, l. p. 358. Ranke, Deutsche Gesch. iii. p. 17.

² Males oedra! more. Polyd. Virg. p. 63.

³ Le Grand, Hist. du divorce, Preuves, p. 102.

Wolsey judged the moment favourable for beginning the attack. It was in the latter months of 1526, when calling Longland, the king's confessor, to him, and concealing his principal motive, he said: "You know his majesty's anguish. The stability of his crown and his everlasting salvation seem to be compromised alike. To whom can I unloose myself, if not to you, who must know the inmost secrets of his soul?" The two bishops resolved to awaken Henry to the perils incurred by his union with Catherine;¹ but Longland insisted that Wolsey should take the first steps.

The cardinal waited upon the king, and reminded him of his scruples before the betrothal; he exaggerated those entertained by the nation, and speaking with unusual warmth, he entreated the king to remain no longer in such danger:² "The holiness of your life and the legitimacy of your succession are at stake."—"My good father," said Henry, "you would do well to consider the weight of the stone that you have undertaken to move."³ The queen is a woman of such exemplary life that I have no motive for separating from her."

The cardinal did not consider himself beaten; three days later he appeared before the king accompanied by the bishop of Lincoln. "Most mighty prince," said the confessor, who felt bold enough to speak after the cardinal, "you cannot, like Herod, have your brother's wife."⁴ I exhort and conjure you, as having the care of your soul,⁵ to submit the matter to competent judges." Henry consented, and perhaps not unwillingly.

It was not enough for Wolsey to separate Henry from the emperor; he must, for greater security, unite him to Francis I. The King of England shall repudiate the aunt of Charles V., and then marry the sister of the French king. Proud of the success he had obtained in the first part of his plan, Wolsey entered upon the second. "There is a princess," he told the king, "whose birth, graces, and talents charm all Europe. Margaret of Valois, sister of King Francis, is superior to all of her sex, and no one is worthier of your alliance."⁶ Henry made answer that it was a serious matter, requiring deliberate examination. Wolsey, however, placed in the king's hands a portrait of Margaret, and it has been imagined that he even privily caused her sentiments to be sounded. Be that as it may, the sister of Francis I. having learnt that she was pointed at as the future queen of England, rebelled at the idea of taking from an innocent woman a crown she had won so nobly. "The

French king's sister knows too much of Christ to consent unto such wickedness," said Tyndale.⁷ Margaret of Valois replied: "Let me hear no more of a marriage that can be effected only at the expense of Catherine of Aragon's happiness and life."⁸ The woman who was destined in future years to fill the throne of England was then residing at Margaret's court. Shortly after this, on the 24th of January 1527, the sister of Francis I. married Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre.

Henry VIII., desirous of information with regard to his favourite's suggestion, commissioned Fox, his almoner, P'ace, dean of St Paul's, and Wakefield, professor of Hebrew at Oxford, to study the passages of Leviticus and Deuteronomy which related to marriage with a brother's wife. Wakefield, who had no wish to commit himself, asked whether Henry was *for* or *against* the divorce.⁹ P'ace replied to this servile hebraist that the king wanted nothing but the truth.

But who would take the first public step in an undertaking so hazardous? Every one shrank back; the terrible emperor alarmed them all. It was a French bishop that hazarded the step; bishops meet us at every turn in this affair of the divorce, with which bishops have so violently reproached the Reformation. Henry, desirous of excusing Wolsey, pretended afterwards that the objections of the French prelate had preceded those of Longland and the cardinal. In February 1527, Francis I. had sent an embassy to London, at the head of which was Gabriel de Grammont, bishop of Tarbes, with the intention to procure the hand of Mary of England. Henry's ministers having inquired whether the engagement of Francis with the queen dowager of Portugal did not oppose the commission with which the French bishop was charged, the latter answered: "I will ask you in turn what has been done to remove the impediments which opposed the marriage of which the Princess Mary is issue."¹⁰ They laid before the ambassador the dispensation of Julius II., which he returned, saying, that the bull was not *sufficient*, seeing that such a marriage was forbidden *jure divino*;¹¹ and he added: "Have you English a different gospel from ours?"¹²

The king, when he heard these words as he informs us himself, was filled with fear

¹ Works (ed. Russell), vol. i. p. 464.

² *Principes illa, mulier optima, noluerit quicquam adire de nuptiis, que suprema non possunt conjunctura esse inter-bibit Catharinæ casu aique adeo interitu.* Polyd. Virg. p. 67.

³ *Utrum staret ad se an contra te?* Le Grand, France.

⁴ What had been here provided for taking away the impediment of that marriage. (State Papers, i. p. 128.) Le Grand (vol. i. p. 17), discredits the objections of the bishop of Tarbes; but this letter from Wolsey to Henry VIII. establishes them incontrovertibly. And besides, Du Bellay, in a letter afterwards quoted by Le Grand himself, states the matter still more strongly than Wolsey.

⁵ Wherewith the pope could not dispense, *etiam ad maximam causam.* Wolsey to Henry VIII., dated 24th July. State Papers, vol. i. p. 128.

⁶ *Anthus, qui tuo imperio subest, hoc solum evangelium colere quod nos colimus.* Sanders, i.

⁷ *Quamprimum regi patefaciendum.* Polyd. Virg. p. 68.

⁸ *Vide ut iter oral ne se patitur in tanto versari discrimine.* Ibid.

⁹ *Hunc pater, vide bene quale saxum suo loco jacere movere cunctis.* Ibid.

¹⁰ Like another Herodes. More's Life, p. 129.

¹¹ *Ipsæ cui de salute animæ tam cura est, horret, repugnat, perperat.* Polyd. Virg. p. 68.

¹² *Mulier præter cæteras digna matrimonio tuo.* Ibid.

and horror.¹ Three of the most respected bishops of Christendom united to accuse him of incest! He began to speak of it to certain individuals: "The scruples of my conscience have been terribly increased (he said) since the bishop spoke of this matter before my council in exceedingly plain words."² There is no reason to believe that these terrible troubles of which the king speaks were a mere invention on his part. A disputed succession might again plunge England into civil war. Even if no pretenders should spring up, might they not see a rival house, a French prince for instance, wedded to Henry's daughter, reigning over England? The king, in his anxiety, had recourse to his favourite author, Thomas Aquinas, and this *angel of the schools* declared his marriage unlawful. Henry next opened the Bible, and found this threat against the man who took his brother's wife: "He shall be childless!" The denunciation increased his trouble, for he had no heir. In the midst of this darkness a new perspective opened before him. His conscience might be unbound; his desire to have a younger wife might be gratified; he might have a son! The king resolved to lay the matter before a commission of lawyers, and this commission soon wrote volumes.³

During all this time Catherine, suspecting no evil, was occupied in her devotions. Her heart, bruised by the death of her children and by the king's coldness, sought consolation in prayer both privately and in the royal chapel. She would rise at midnight and kneel down upon the cold stones, and never missed any of the canonical services. But one day (probably in May or June 1527) some officious person informed her of the rumours circulating in the city and at court. Bursting with anger and alarm, and all in tears, she hastened to the king, and addressed him with the bitterest complaints.⁴ Henry was content to calm her by vague assurances; but the unfeeling Wolsey, troubling himself still less than his master about Catherine's emotion, called it, with a smile, "a short tragedy."

The offended wife lost no time: it was necessary that the emperor should be informed promptly, surely, and accurately of this unprecedented insult. A letter would be insufficient, even were it not intercepted. Catherine therefore determined to send her servant Francis Philip, a Spaniard, to her nephew; and to conceal the object of his journey, they proceeded, after the *tragedy*, to play a *comedy* in the Spanish style. "My mother is sick and desires to see me," said Philip. Catherine begged the king to refuse her servant's

prayer; and Henry, divining the stratagem, resolved to employ trick against trick.⁵ "Philip's request is very proper," he made answer, and Catherine, *from regard to her husband*, consented to his departure. Henry meantime had given orders that, "notwithstanding any safe conduct, the said Philip should be arrested and detained at Calais, in such a manner, however, that no one should know whence the stoppage proceeded."

It was to no purpose that the queen indulged in a culpable dissimulation; a poisoned arrow had pierced her heart, and her words, her manners, her complaints, her tears, the numerous messages she sent, now to one and now to another, betrayed the secret which the king wished still to conceal.⁶ Her friends blamed her for this publicity; men wondered what Charles would say when he heard of his aunt's distress; they feared that peace would be broken; but Catherine, whose heart was "rent in twain," was not to be moved by diplomatic considerations. Her sorrow did not check Henry; with the two motives which made him eager for a divorce—the scruples of his conscience and the desire of an heir—was now combined a third still more forcible. A woman was about to play an important part in the destinies of England.

CHAPTER VI.

Anne Boleyn appointed Maid of Honour to Catherine—Lord Percy becomes attached to her—Wolsey separates them—Anne enters Margaret's household—Rings of Rome—Cromwell—Wolsey's intercession for the Popedom—He demands the Hand of Bende of France for Henry—Failure—Anne reappears at Court—Repels the King's Advances—Henry's Letter—He resolves to accelerate the Divorce—Two Motives which induce Anne to refuse the Crown—Wolsey's Opposition.

ANNE BOLEYN, who had been placed by her father at the court of France, had returned to England with Sir Thomas, then ambassador at Paris, at the time that an English army made an incursion into Normandy (1522). It would appear that she was presented to the queen about this period, and appointed one of Catherine's maids of honour. The following year was a memorable one to her from her first sorrow.

Among the young noblemen in the cardinal's household was Lord Percy, eldest son of the Earl of Northumberland. While Wolsey was closeted with the king, Percy was accustomed to resort to the queen's apartments, where he passed the time among her ladies. He soon felt a sincere passion for Anne, and the young maid of honour, who had been cold to the addresses of the gentle-

¹ *Quæ oratio quanto metu ac horrore animum nostrum turbaverit.* Henry's speech to the Lord Mayor and common council at his palace of Bridewell, 8th November 1526. Hall, p. 754; Wilkins, Concil. iii. p. 714.

² De Bellay's letter in *Le Grand. France*, p. 218.

³ *Ro as the books excrecent in magna volumina.* Wolsey to Henry VIII. State Papers, vol. i. p. 260.

⁴ The queen hath broken with your grace thereof. *Ibid.*

⁵ The king's highness knowing great collusion and dissimulation between them, doth also dissemble. Knight to Wolsey, State Papers, vol. i. p. 284.

⁶ By her behaviour, manner, words, and messages sent to diverse, hath published, divulged, &c. *Ibid.* p. 284.

men at the court of Francis replied to the affections of the heir of Northumberland. The two young people already indulged in day-dreams of a quiet, elegant, and happy life in their noble castles of the north; but such dreams were fated to be of short duration.

Wolsey hated the Norfolks, and consequently the Boleyns. It was to counterbalance their influence that he had been first introduced at court. He became angry, therefore, when he saw one of his household suing for the hand of the daughter and niece of his enemies. Besides, certain partisans of the clergy accused Anne of being friendly to the Reformation.¹.....It is generally believed that even at this period Wolsey had discovered Henry's eyes turned complacently on the young maid of honour, and that this induced him to thwart Percy's love; but this seems improbable. Of all the women in England, Anne was the one whose influence Wolsey would have had most cause to fear, and he really did fear it; and he would have been but too happy to see her married to Percy. It has been asserted that Henry prevailed on the cardinal to thwart the affection of the two young people; but in that case did he confide to Wolsey the real motive of his opposition? Did the latter entertain criminal intentions? Did he undertake to yield up to dishonour the daughter and niece of his political adversaries? This would be horrible, but it is possible, and may even be deduced from Cavendish's narrative; yet we will hope that it was not so. If it were, Anne's virtue successfully baffled the infamous plot.

But be that as it may, one day when Percy was in attendance upon the cardinal, the latter rudely addressed him: "I marvel at your folly, that you should attempt to contract yourself with that girl without your father's or the king's consent. I command you to break with her." Percy burst into tears, and besought the cardinal to plead his cause. "I charge you to resort no more into her company," was Wolsey's cold reply,² after which he rose up and left the room. Anne received an order at the same time to leave the court. Proud and bold, and ascribing her misfortune to Wolsey's hatred, she exclaimed as she quitted the palace, "I will be revenged for this insult." But she had scarcely taken up her abode in the gothic halls of Hever Castle, when news still more distressing overwhelmed her. Percy was married to Lady Mary Talbot. She wept long and bitterly, and vowed against the young nobleman who had deserted her a contempt equal to her hatred of the cardinal. Anne was reserved for a more illustrious, but more unhappy fate.

This event necessarily rendered her residence in this country far from attractive to

Anne Boleyn. "She did not stay long in England," says Burnet, following Camden: "she served queen Claude of France till her death, and after that she was taken into service by King Francis' sister." Anne Boleyn, lady-in-waiting to Margaret of Valois, was consoled at last. She indulged in gaieties with all the vivacity of her age, and glittered among the youngest and the fairest at all the court festivities.

In Margaret's house she met the most enlightened men of the age, and her understanding and heart were developed simultaneously with the graces. She began to read, without thoroughly understanding it, the holy book in which her mistress (as Rostone informs us) found consolation and repose, and to direct a few light and pious thoughts to that "mild Emmanuel" to whom Margaret addressed such beautiful verses.

At last Anne returned definitively to England. It has been asserted that the queen-regent, fearing that Henry after the battle of Pavia would invade France, had sent Anne to London to dissuade him from it. But it was a stronger voice than hers which stopped the king of England. "Remain quiet," wrote Charles V. to him: "I have the stag in my net, and we have only to think of sharing the spoils." Margaret of Valois having married the king of Navarre at the end of January 1527, and quitted Paris and her brother's court, it is supposed that Sir Thomas Boleyn, who was unwilling that his daughter should take up her abode in the Pyrenees, recalled her to England probably in the winter or spring of the same year. "There is not the least evidence that she came to it earlier," says a modern author.³ She appeared once more at court, and the niece of the Duke of Norfolk soon eclipsed her companions, "by her excellent gesture and behaviour,"⁴ as we learn from a contemporary unfriendly to the Boleyns. All the court was struck by the regularity of her features, the expression of her eyes, the gentleness of her manners, and the majesty of her carriage.⁵ "She was a beautiful creature," says an old historian, "well proportioned, courteous, amiable, very agreeable, and a skilful musician."⁶

While entertainments were following close upon each other at the court of Henry VIII., a strange rumour filled all England with surprise. It was reported that the imperialist soldiers had taken Rome by assault, and that some Englishmen were among those who had mounted the breach. One Thomas Cromwell was specially named⁷—the man who nearly twenty years before had obtained certain indulgences from Julius II., by offering

¹ Meteren's Hist. of the Low Countries, folio, 2.
² Cavendish's Wolsey, p. 123. Cavendish was present at this conversation.

³ Turner, Hist. Henry VIII. II. p. 106.

⁴ Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, p. 120.

⁵ Memoirs of Sir Thomas Wyatt, in Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, p. 124.

⁶ Meteren's Hist. of the Low Countries, folio, 2.

⁷ Foxe, vol. v. p. 365.

him some jars of English confectionary. This soldier carried with him the New Testament of Erasmus, and he is said to have learned it by heart during the campaign. Being gay, brave, and intelligent, he entertained, from reading the gospel and seeing Rome, a great aversion for the policy, superstitions, and disorders of the popedom. The day of the 7th May 1527 decided the tenor of his life. To destroy the papal power became his dominant idea. On returning to England he entered the cardinal's household.

However, the captive pope and cardinals wrote letters "filled with tears and groans."¹ Full of zeal for the papacy, Wolsey ordered a public fast. "The Emperor will never release the pope, unless he be compelled," he told the king. "Sir, God has made you *defender of the faith*; save the church and its head!"—"My Lord," answered the king with a smile, "I assure you that this war between the emperor and the pope is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominions."

But Wolsey would not be discouraged; and, on the 3d of July, he passed through the streets of London, riding a richly caparisoned mule, and resting his feet on gilt stirrups, while twelve hundred gentlemen accompanied him on horseback. He was going to entreat Francis to aid his master in saving Clement VII. He had found no difficulty in prevailing upon Henry; Charles talked of carrying the pope to Spain, and of permanently establishing the apostolic see in that country.² Now, how could they obtain the divorce from a *Spanish* pope? During the procession, Wolsey seemed oppressed with grief, and even shed tears,³ but he soon raised his head and exclaimed: My heart is inflamed, and I wish that it may be said of the pope *per secula sempiterna*.

"*Reddit Henrici octavi virtute serena.*"

Desirous of forming a close union between France and England for the accomplishment of his designs, he had cast his eyes on the princess Renée, daughter of Louis XII., and sister-in-law to Francis I., as the future wife of Henry VIII. Accordingly the treaty of alliance between the two crowns having been signed at Amiens on the 18th of August (1527), Francis, with his mother and the cardinal, proceeded to Compiègne, and there Wolsey, styling Charles the most obstinate defender of Lutheranism,⁴ promising "perpetual conjunction on the one hand [between France and England], and perpetual *disjunction* on the other" [between England and Germany],⁵ demanded Renée's hand for King

Henry. Staffileo, dean of Rota, affirmed that the pope had been able to permit the marriage between Henry and Catherine only by an error of the keys of St. Peter.⁶ This avowal, so remarkable on the part of the dean of one of the first jurisdictions of Rome, induced Francis' mother to listen favourably to the cardinal's demand. But whether this proposal was displeasing to Renée, who was destined on a future day to profess the pure faith of the Gospel with greater earnestness than Margaret of Valois, or whether Francis was not over-anxious for a union that would have given Henry rights over the duchy of Brittany, she was promised to the son of the Duke of Ferrara. It was a check to the cardinal; but it was his ill fortune to receive one still more severe on his return to England.

The daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, (who had been created Viscount Rochford in 1525,) was constantly at court, "where she flourished in great estimation and favour," says Cavendish, "having always a private indignation against the cardinal for breaking off the pre-contract made between Lord Percy and her," little suspecting that Henry had had any share in it.⁷ Her beauty, her graceful carriage, her black hair, oval face, and bright eyes, her sweet voice in singing, her skill and dignity in the dance, her desire to please which was not entirely devoid of coquetry, her sprightliness, the readiness of her repartees, and above all the amiability of her character, won every heart. She brought to Greenwich and to London the polished manners of the court of Francis I. Every day (it was reported) she invented a new style of dress, and set the fashion in England. But to all these qualities, she added modesty, and even imposed it on others by her example. The ladies of the court, who had hitherto adopted a different fashion (says her greatest enemy), covered the neck and bosom as she did,⁸ and the malicious, unable to appreciate Anne's motives, ascribed this modesty on the young lady's part to a desire to hide a secret deformity.⁹ Numerous admirers once more crowded round Anne Boleyn, and among others, one of the most illustrious noblemen and poets of England, Sir Thomas Wyatt, a follower of Wickliffe. He, however, was not the man destined to replace the son of the Percies.

Henry, absorbed in anxiety about his divorce from Catherine, had become low-spirited and melancholy. The laughter, songs, repartees, and beauty of Anne Boleyn struck

¹ *Nil clavis errantia. State Papers, i. p. 272.*

² For all this while she knew nothing of the king's intended purpose, said one of his adversaries. Cavendish's Wolsey, p. 129.

³ *Ad illius luctationem relique regie ancille collit et paucioris superora, que antea nuda gestabant, operire ceperunt. Sanders, p. 16.*

⁴ See Sanders, *ibid.* It is useless to write Sanders' stories. We refer our readers to Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, to Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII., to Wyatt, and others. We need only read Sanders to estimate at their true value these *colossus*, as these writers term them, of the man whom they style the *Roman legatory*.

¹ *Plenas lacrymarum et miserie. State Papers, vol. i. p. 227.*

² The see apostolic should perpetually remain in Spain. *Ibid.* p. 227.

³ I saw the lord cardinal weep very tenderly. Cavendish, p. 161.

⁴ *Omnia maxime dolens et heresia Lutheriana fautor acerrimus. State Papers, i. p. 274.*

⁵ De Bailly to Montmorency. Le Grand, Preuves, i. p. 164.

and captivated him, and his eyes were soon fixed complacently on the young maid of honour. Catherine was more than forty years old, and it was hardly to be expected that so susceptible a man as Henry would have made, as Job says, a *covenant with his eyes not to think upon a maid*. Desirous of showing his admiration, he presented Anne, according to usage, with a costly jewel; she accepted and wore it, and continued to dance, laugh, and chatter as before, without attaching particular importance to the royal present. Henry's attentions became more continuous; and he took advantage of a moment when he found Anne alone to declare his sentiments. With mingled emotion and alarm, the young lady fell trembling at the king's feet, and exclaimed, bursting into tears: "I think, most noble and worthy king, your majesty speaks these words in mirth to prove me..... I will rather lose my life than my virtue."¹ Henry gracefully replied, that he should at least continue to hope. But Anne, rising up, proudly made answer: "I understand not, most mighty king, how you should retain any such hope; your wife I cannot be, both in respect of mine own unworthiness, and also because you have a queen already. Your mistress I will not be." Anne kept her word. She continued to show the king, even after this interview, all the respect that was due to him; but on several occasions she proudly, violently even, repelled his advances.² In this age of gallantry, we find her resisting for nearly six years all the seductions Henry scattered round her. Such an example is not often met with in the history of courts. The books she had read in Margaret's palace gave her a secret strength. All looked upon her with respect; and even the queen treated her with politeness. Catherine showed, however, that she had remarked the king's preference. One day, as she was playing at cards with her maid of honour, while Henry was in the room, Anne frequently holding the king, she said: "My Lady Anne, you have good hap to stop ever at a king; but you are not like others, you will have all or none." Anne blushed: from that moment Henry's attentions acquired more importance; she resolved to withdraw from them, and quitted the court with Lady Rochford.

The king, who was not accustomed to resistance, was extremely grieved: and having learnt that Anne would not return to the court either with or without her mother, sent a courier to Dover with a message and a letter for her. If we recollect the manners of the age of Henry VIII. and how far the men, in their relations with the gentler sex, were strangers to that reserve which society now imposes upon them, we cannot but be struck by the king's respectful tone: He writes thus in French:—

"As the time seems to me very long since I heard from you or concerning your health, the great love I have for you has constrained me to send this bearer to be better informed both of your health and pleasure; particularly, because since my last parting with you, I have been told that you have entirely changed the mind in which I left you, and that you neither mean to come to court with your mother nor any other way; which report, if true, I cannot enough marvel at, being persuaded in my own mind that I have never committed any offence against you; and it seems hard, in return for the great love I bear you, to be kept at a distance from the person and presence of the woman in the world that I value the most. And if you love me with as much affection as I hope you do, I am sure the distance of our two persons would be equally irksome to you, though this does not belong so much to the mistress as to the servant.

"Consider well, my mistress, how greatly your absence afflicts me. I hope it is not your will that it should be so; but if I heard for certain that you yourself desired it, I could but mourn my ill-fortune, and strive by degrees to abate of my great folly.

"And so for lack of time I make an end of this rude letter, beseeching you to give the bearer credence in all he will tell you from me. Written by the hand of your entire servant,
"H. R."

The word *servant* (*serviteur*) employed in this letter explains the sense in which Henry used the word *mistress*. In the language of chivalry, the latter term expressed a person to whom the lover had surrendered his heart.

It would seem that Anne's reply to this letter was the same she had made to the king from the very first; and Cardinal Pole mentions more than once her obstinate refusal of an adulterous love.³ At last Henry understood Anne's virtue; but he was far from abating of his great folly, as he had promised. That tyrannical selfishness, which the prince often displayed in his life, was shown particularly in his amours. Seeing that he could not attain his end by illegitimate means, he determined to break, as quickly as possible, the bonds which united him to the queen. Anne's virtue was the third cause of Henry's divorce.

His resolution being once taken, it must needs be carried out. Henry having succeeded in bringing Anne back to court, pro-

¹ Pamphleteer, No. 45, p. 247. It is difficult to fix the order and chronology of Henry's letters to Anne Boleyn. This is the second in the Vatican Collection, but it appears as if to be of older date. It is considered as written in May 1526; we are inclined to place it in the autumn of '25. The originals of these letters, chiefly in old French, are still preserved in the Vatican, having been stolen from the royal cabinet and conveyed thither.

² *Conquiliis enim tua fieri pudica mulier nolabas, utroquebat. Illa cuius amore rex deperibat, pertinaciter negabat sui corporis potestatem. Pons ad Rezem, p. 56.* Cardinal Pole is a far more trustworthy authority than Sanders.

³ *Riccone MSS., No. 2495; Turner's Hist. Eng. II. p. 196.*
⁴ *Tanto vehementius preces regis illa repulsi.* Sanders, p. 17.

CHAPTER VII.

Bilney's Preaching—His Arrest—Arthur's Preaching and Imprisonment—Bilney's Examination—Contest between the Judge and the Prisoner—Bilney's Weakness and Fall—His Torments—Two Wives—Arrival of the Fourth Edition of the New Testament—Joy among the Believers.

private interview with her, offered her up, and seizing her hand, took off one of her rings. But Anne, who would not be his mistress, refused also to be his queen, the glory of a crown could not dazzle her. Wyatt, and two motives in particular, counterbalanced all the prospects of a union which were set before her eyes. It was her respect for the queen: would I injure a princess of such great rank," she exclaimed.¹ The second was that a union with "one that was her king," would not give her that of heart and that liberty which she enjoyed by marrying a man of the same rank as herself.²

he noblemen and ladies of Henry's household whispered to one another that Anne would certainly become queen of England. They were tormented by jealousy; others, however, were delighted at the prospect of advancement. Wolsey's enemies in the court were charmed at the thought of the favourite. It was at the very moment when all these emotions were so agitating the court that the cardinal, returning from his embassy to Francis, remained in London, where an unexpected accident took him.

Henry was expressing his grief to Henry that he failed in obtaining either Margaret or Anne for him, when the king interrupted him: "Console yourself, I shall marry Anne," he said. The cardinal remained speechless. What would become of him, if he placed the crown of England on the head of the daughter and niece of his great-grandfather? What would become of the throne if a second Anne of Bohemia should ascend it? Wolsey threw himself at the feet of his master, and entreated him to abandon so fatal a project.³ It was then that he remained (as he afterwards wrote) for an hour or two on his knees before the king in his privy chamber,⁴ but without persuading Henry to give up his design. He was persuaded that if he continued openly to oppose Henry's will, he would for ever lose his office. He dissembled his vexation, waiting for an opportunity to get rid of this unfortunate by some intrigue. He began by writing to the pope, informing him that a lady, brought up by the queen of Navarre, consequently tainted by the Lutheranism, had captivated the king's affections, and from that hour Anne Boleyn became the object of the hatred and calumnies of the court. But at the same time, to conceal his intentions, Wolsey received Henry at a magnificent entertainment, at which he shone all the ladies of the court.

WHILE these passions were agitating Henry's palace, the most moving scenes, produced by Christian faith, were stirring the nation. Bilney, animated by that courage which God sometimes gives to the weakest men, seemed to have lost his natural timidity, and preached for a time with an energy quite apostolic. He taught that all men should first acknowledge their sins and condemn them, and then hunger and thirst after that righteousness which Jesus Christ gives.¹ To this testimony borne to the truth, he added his testimony against error. "These five hundred years," he added, "there hath been no good pope; and in all the times past we can find but fifty: for they have neither preached nor lived well, nor conformably to their dignity; wherefore, unto this day, they have borne the keys of simony."²

As soon as he descended from the pulpit, this pious scholar, with his friend Arthur, visited the neighbouring towns and villages. "The Jews and Saracens would long ago have become believers," he once said at Wilsdon, "had it not been for the idolatry of Christian men in offering candles, wax, and money to stocks and stones." One day when he visited Ipswich, where there was a Franciscan convent, he exclaimed: "The cowl of St Francis wrapped round a dead body hath no power to take away sins..... *Eccis agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi.*" (John i. 29.) The poor monks, who were little versed in Scripture, had recourse to the *Almanac* to convict the *Bible* of error. "St Paul did rightly affirm," said Friar John Brusierd, "that there is but one mediator of God and man, because as yet there was no saint canonized or put into the calendar."—"Let us ask of the Father in the name of the Son," rejoined Bilney, "and he will give unto us."—"You are always speaking of the Father and never of the saints," replied the friar; "you are like a man who has been looking so long upon the sun, that he can see nothing else."³ As he uttered these words the monk seemed bursting with anger. "If I did not know that the saints would take everlasting vengeance upon you, I would surely wish these nails of mine be your death."⁴ Twice in fact did two monks pull him out of his pulpit. He was arrested and taken to London.

Arthur, instead of fleeing, began to visit the flocks which his friend had converted. "Good people," said he, "if I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the gospel,

re she bore even to the queen whom she served, also a personage of great virtue." Wyatt, *Mem. of*

¹ Ibid.
² Persuasion to the contrary, made to the king by Anne Cavendish. p. 24.
³ Ibid. p. 305.
⁴ Hist. of the Low Countries, folio, 20.

¹ Ut omnes primum peccata sua agnoscant et damnent, deinde contriti et altissimi iustitiam illam. Foxe, iv. p. 604.
² Ibid. p. 627.
³ Ibid. p. 628.
⁴ Ibid. p. 628.

there are seven thousand more that would preach it as I do now. Therefore, good people! good people!" (and he repeated these words several times in a sorrowful voice) "think not that if these tyrants and persecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the gospel therefore is to be forsaken. Every Christian man, yea every layman, is a priest. Let our adversaries preach by the authority of the cardinal; others by the authority of the university; others by the pope's; we will preach by the authority of God. It is not the man who brings the word that saves the soul, but the word which the man brings. Neither bishops nor popes have the right to forbid any man to preach the gospel; and if they kill him he is not a heretic but a martyr."¹ The priests were horrified at such doctrines. In their opinion, there was no God out of their church, no salvation out of their sacrifices. Arthur was thrown into the same prison as Bilney.

On the 27th of November 1527 the cardinal and the archbishop of Canterbury, with a great number of bishops, divines, and lawyers, met in the chapter-house of Westminster, when Bilney and Arthur were brought before them. But the king's prime minister thought it beneath his dignity to occupy his time with miserable heretics. Wolsey had hardly commenced the examination, when he rose, saying: "The affairs of the realm call me away; all such as are found guilty, you will compel them to abjure, and those who rebel you will deliver over to the secular power." After a few questions proposed by the bishop of London, the two accused men were led back to prison.

Abjuration or death—that was Wolsey's order. But the conduct of the trial was confided to Tonstall; Bilney conceived some hope.² "Is it possible," he said to himself, "that the bishop of London, the friend of Erasmus, will gratify the monks?.....I must tell him that it was the Greek Testament and his learned master that led me to the faith." Upon which the humble evangelist having obtained paper and ink, set about writing to the bishop from his gloomy prison those admirable letters which have been transmitted to posterity. Tonstall, who was not a cruel man, was deeply moved, and then a strange struggle took place: a judge wishing to save the prisoner, the prisoner desiring to give up his life. Tonstall, by acquitting Bilney, had no desire to compromise himself. "Submit to the church," said the bishop, "for God speaks only through it." But Bilney, who knew that God speaks in the Scriptures, remained inflexible. "Very well, then," said Tonstall, taking up the prisoner's eloquent letters, "in discharge of my conscience I shall lay these letters before the court." He hoped,

perhaps, that they would touch his colleagues but he was deceived. He determined, therefore, to make a fresh attempt. On the 13th December, Bilney was brought again before the court. "Abjure your errors," said Tonstall. Bilney refusing by a shake of the head, the bishop continued: "Retire into the next room and consider." Bilney withdrew, and returning shortly after with joy beaming in his eyes, Tonstall thought he had gained the victory. "You will return to the church, then?" said he..... The doctor answered calmly: "*Fiat judicium in nomine Domini.*" "Be quick," continued the bishop, "this is the last moment, and you will be condemned." "*Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus.*" answered Bilney, "*exultemus et letemur in eo!*" (Is. cxviii. 24). Upon this Tonstall took off his cap, and said: "*In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.....Ersurgit Deus et dissipatur inimici ejus!*" (Is. lxviii. 1). Then making the sign of the cross on his forehead and on his breast, he gave judgment: "Thomas Bilney, I pronounce thee convicted of heresy." He was about to name the penalty..... but hope restrained him; he stopped: "For the rest of the sentence we take deliberation until to-morrow." Thus was the struggle prolonged between two men, one of whom desired to walk to the stake, the other to wait the way as it were with his own body.

"Will you return to the unity of the church?" asked Tonstall the next day. "I hope I was never separated from the church," answered Bilney. "Go and consult with some of your friends," said the bishop, who was resolved to save his life; "I will give you till one o'clock in the afternoon." In the afternoon Bilney made the same answer. "I will give you two nights' respite to deliberate," said the bishop; "on Saturday at one o'clock in the forenoon, the court will expect a plain definitive answer." Tonstall reckoned on the night with its dreams, its anguish, and its terrors, to bring about Bilney's recantation.

This extraordinary struggle occupied many minds both in court and city. Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII. watched with interest the various phases of this tragic history. What will happen? was the general question. Will he give way? Shall we see him live or die? One day and two nights still remained; everything was tried to shake the Cambridge doctor. His friends crowded to his prison; he was overwhelmed with arguments and examples; but an inward struggle, far more terrible than those without, agitated the pious Bilney. "Whoever will save his soul must lose it," Christ had said. That selfish love of his soul, which is found even in the advanced Christian,—that self, which after his conversion had been not absorbed, but overruled by the spirit of God, gradually recovered strength in his heart, in the presence of

¹ Foxe, iv. p. 222.

² Golliger's Church History, vol. ii. p. 26.

³ In talen nunc me judicium inclinare gratulor. Foxe, iv. p. 222.

⁴ Let judgment be done in the name of the Lord.

disgrace and death. His friends who wished to save him, not understanding that the fallen Bilney would be Bilney no longer, conjured him with tears to have pity on himself: and by these means his firmness was overcome. The bishop pressed him, and Bilney asked himself: "Can a young soldier like me know the rules of war better than an old soldier like Tonstall? Or can a poor silly sheep know his way to the fold better than the chief pastor of London?"¹ His friends quitted him neither night nor day, and entangled by their fatal affection, he believed at last that he had found a compromise which would set his conscience at rest. "I will preserve my life," he said, "to dedicate it to the Lord." This delusion had scarcely laid hold of his mind before his views were confused, his faith was veiled, the Holy Ghost departed from him, God gave him over to his carnal thoughts, and under the pretext of being useful to Jesus Christ for many years, Bilney disobeyed him at the present moment. Being led before the bishops on the morning of Saturday the 7th of December, at nine o'clock, he fell.....(Arthur had fallen before him), and whilst the false friends who had misled him hardly dared raise their eyes, the living church of Christ in England uttered a cry of anguish. "If ever you come in danger," said Latimer, "for God's quarrel, I would advise you, above all things, to abjure all your friendships; leave not one unabjured. It is they that shall undo you, and not your enemies. It was his very friends that brought Bilney to it."²

On the following day (Sunday, 8th December) Bilney was placed at the head of a procession, and the fallen disciple, bareheaded, with a sagot on his shoulders, stood in front of St Paul's cross, while a priest from the pulpit exhorted him to repentance; after which he was led back to prison.

What a solitude for the wretched man! At one time the cold darkness of his cell appeared to him as a burning fire; at another he fancied he heard accusing voices crying to him in the silence of the night. Death, the very enemy he had wished to avoid, fixed his icy glance upon him and filled him with fear. He strove to escape from the horrible spectre, but in vain. Then the friends who had dragged him into this abyss, crowded round and endeavoured to console him; but if they gave utterance to any of Christ's gentle promises, Bilney started back with affright and shrank to the farthest part of the dungeon, with a cry "as though a man had run him through the heart with a sword."³ Having denied the word of God, he could no longer endure to hear it. The curse of the Apocalypse: *Ye mountains, hide me from the wrath of the Lamb!* was the only passage of Scripture in harmony with his soul. His mind wandered, the blood froze in his veins, he

sank under his terrors; he lost all sense, and almost his life, and lay motionless in the arms of his astonished friends. "God," exclaimed those unhappy individuals who had caused his fall, "God, by a just judgment, delivers up to the tempests of their conscience all who deny his truth."

This was not the only sorrow of the church. As soon as Richard Bayfield, the late chamberlain of Bury, had joined Tyndale and Fryth, he said to them: "I am at your disposal; you shall be my head and I will be your hand; I will sell your books and those of the German reformers in the Low Countries, France, and England." It was not long indeed before he returned to London. But Pierson, the priest whom he had formerly met in Lombard Street, found him again, and accused him to the bishop. The unhappy man was brought before Tonstall. "You are charged," said the prelate, "with having asserted that praise is due to God alone, and not to saints or creatures."⁴ Bayfield acknowledged the charge to be true. "You are accused of maintaining that every priest may preach the word of God by the authority of the gospel without the license of the pope or cardinals." This also Bayfield acknowledged. A penance was imposed on him; and then he was sent back to his monastery with orders to show himself there on the 25th of April. But he crossed the sea once more, and hastened to join Tyndale.

The New Testaments, however, sold by him and others remained in England. At that time the bishops subscribed to suppress the Scriptures, as so many persons have since done to circulate them; and, accordingly, a great number of the copies brought over by Bayfield and his friends were bought up.⁵ A scarcity of food was ere long added to the scarcity of the word of God; for as the cardinal was endeavouring to foment a war between Henry and the emperor, the Flemish ships ceased to enter the English ports. It was in consequence of this that the lord mayor and aldermen of London hastened to express their apprehensions to Wolsey almost before he had recovered from the fatigues of his return from France. "Fear nothing," he told them; "the king of France assured me, that if he had three bushels of wheat, England should have two of them." But none arrived, and the people were on the point of breaking out into violence, when a fleet of ships suddenly appeared off the mouth of the Thames. They were German and Flemish vessels laden with corn, in which the worthy people of the Low Countries had also concealed the New Testament. An Antwerp bookseller, named John Ruimond or Kuremond, from his birthplace, had printed a fourth edition more beautiful than the previous ones. It was enriched with references and engravings on wood, and each page bordered with

¹ Foxe, iv. p. 638.

² Latimer's Sermons (Parker Society), p. 228.

³ Ibid.

⁴ That all laud and praise should be given to God alone, Foxe, iv. p. 642.

⁵ Anderson, Annals of the Bible, i. p. 138.

red lines. Raimond himself had embarked on board one of the ships with five hundred copies of his New Testament.¹ About Christmas 1527, the book of God was circulated in England along with the bread that nourishes the body. But certain priests and monks having discovered the Scriptures among the sacks of corn, they carried several copies to the bishop of London, who threw Raimond into prison. The greater part, however, of the new edition escaped him. The New Testament was read everywhere, and even the court did not escape the contagion. Anne Boleyn, notwithstanding her smiling face often withdrew to her closet at Greenwich or at Hampton Court, to study the gospel. Frank, courageous, and proud, she did not conceal the pleasure she found in such reading; her boldness astonished the courtiers, and exasperated the clergy. In the city things went still farther: the New Testament was explained in frequent conventicles, particularly in the house of one Russell, and great was the joy among the faithful. "It is sufficient only to enter London," said the priests, "to become a heretic!" The Reformation was taking root among the people before it arrived at the upper classes.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Papacy intercepts the Gospel.—The King consults Sir Thomas More.—Ecclesiastical Conferences about the Divorce.—The Universities.—Clark.—The Sun of Kent.—Wolsey decides to do the King's Will.—Mission to the Pope.—Four Documents.—Embarrassment of Charles V.—Francis Philip at Madrid.—Dictress and Resolution of Charles.—He turns away from the Reformation.—Conference at the Castle of St Angelo.—Knight arrives in Italy.—His Flight.—Treaty between the Pope and the Emperor.—Escape of the Pope.—Confusion of Henry VIII.—Wolsey's Orders.—His Entreaties.

THE sun of the word of God, which daily grew brighter in the sky of the sixteenth century, was sufficient to scatter all the darkness in England; but popery, like an immense wall, intercepted its rays. Britain had hardly received the Scriptures in Greek and Latin, and then in English, before the priests began to make war upon them with indefatigable zeal. It was necessary that the wall should be thrown down in order that the sun might penetrate freely among the Anglo-Saxon people. And now events were ripening in England, destined to make a great breach in popery. The negotiations of Henry VIII. with Clement VII. play an important part in the Reformation. By showing up the Court of Rome, they destroyed the respect which the people felt for it; they took away that *power and strength*, as Scripture says, which the monarchy had given it; and the throne of the pope once fallen in England, Jesus Christ uplifted and strengthened his own.

Henry, ardently desiring an heir, and thinking that he had found the woman that

would ensure his own and England's happiness, conceived the design of severing ties that united him to the queen, and this view he consulted his most faithful counsellors about the divorce. There one in particular whose approval he covet, this was Sir Thomas More. One day Erasmus's friend was walking with his sister in the beautiful gallery at Hampton Court, giving him an account of a matter he had just executed on the continent; the king suddenly interrupted him: "My ring with the queen," he said, "is con to the laws of God, of the church, a nature." He then took up the Bible pointed out the passages in his favour, "I am not a theologian," said More, somewhat embarrassed; "your majesty should ex a council of doctors."

Accordingly, by Henry's order, Wa assembled the most learned canonists at Hampton Court; but weeks passed before they could agree.² Most of quoted in the king's favour those pas in Leviticus (xviii. 16; xx. 21.) which bid a man to take his brother's wife.³ Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and the opponents of the divorce, replied according to Deuteronomy (xxv. 5.) a woman is left a widow without children; brother-in-law ought to take her to multiply his brother's name in the land. "This law concerned the Jews only," replied the partisans of the divorce; they added its object was "to maintain the inheritance distinct, and the genealogies intact, until coming of Christ. The Judaical dispensation has passed away; but the law of Moses, which is a moral law, is binding upon men in all ages."

To free themselves from their embarrassment, the bishops demanded that the eminent universities should be consulted, and commissioners were forthwith despatched to Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Orléans, Toulouse, Louvain, Padua, and Bologna, furnished with money to reward the doctors for the time and trouble this action would cost them. This caused little delay, and every means was now tried to divert the king from his purpose.

Wolsey, who was the first to suggest the idea of a divorce, was now thoroughly alarmed. It appeared to him that a noble daughter of the Boleyns would hurl from the post he had so laboriously won; this made him vent his ill-humour about him, at one time threatening War and at another persecuting Pace. But in order to oppose Henry openly, he summoned from Paris, Clarke, bishop of Bath and Wells, at that time ambassador to the French

¹ Laid the Bible open before me, and showed the words. More to Cromwell, Strype, l. i. d. part. p. 197.
² Consulting from day to day, and time to time. id. ib. p. 229.
³ Ex his deest-ethis assessor quod Papa non potest penetrare in prima gradum affinitatis. Burnett's Brief Records, p. 6 (London, 1813.)

he latter entered into his views, and after cautiously preparing the way, he ventured to say to the king: "The progress of the inquiry will be so slow, your majesty, that it will take more than seven years to bring it to an end!"—"Since my patience has already held out for eighteen years," the king replied coldly, "I am willing to wait four or five more."¹

As the political party had failed, the clerical party set in motion a scheme of another kind. A young woman, Elizabeth Barton, known as the *holy maid of Kent*, had been subject from childhood to epileptic fits. The priest of her parish, named Masters, had persuaded her that she was inspired of God, and confederating with one Bocking, a monk of Canterbury, he turned the weakness of the prophetess to account. Elizabeth wandered over the country, passing from house to house, and from convent to convent; on a sudden her limbs would become rigid, her features distorted; violent convulsions shook her body, and strange unintelligible sounds fell from her lips, which the amazed bystanders received as revelations from the Virgin and the saints. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, Abel, the queen's ecclesiastical agent, and even Sir Thomas More, were among the number of Elizabeth's partisans. Rumours of the divorce having reached the saint's ears, an angel commanded her to appear before the cardinal. As soon as she stood in his presence, the colour fled from her cheeks, her limbs trembled, and falling into an ecstasy, she exclaimed: "Cardinal of York, God has placed three swords in our hand: the spiritual sword, to range the church under the authority of the pope; the civil sword, to govern the realm; and the sword of justice, to prevent the divorce of the king.....If you do not wield these three swords faithfully, God will lay it sore to your charge."² After these words the prophetess withdrew.

But other influences were then dividing Wolsey's breast: hatred, which induced him to oppose the divorce; and ambition, which reboded his ruin in this opposition. At last ambition prevailed, and he resolved to make his objections forgotten by the energy of his tal.

Henry hastened to profit by this change. Declare the divorce yourself," said he to Wolsey; "has not the pope named you his vicar-general?"³ The cardinal was not anxious to raise himself so high. "If I were to decide the affair," said he, "the queen could appeal to the pope; we must therefore first apply to the holy father for special

powers, or persuade the queen to retire to a nunnery. And if we fail in either of these expedients, we will obey the voice of conscience, even in despite of the pope."¹ It was arranged to begin with the more regular attempt, and Gregory Da Casale, secretary Knight, and the prothonotary Gambara, were appointed to an extraordinary mission at the pontifical court. Casale was Wolsey's man, and Knight was Henry's. Wolsey told the envoys: "You will demand of the pope, 1stly, a *commission* authorizing me to inquire into this matter; 2dly, his promise to pronounce the nullity of Catherine's marriage with Henry, if we should find that her marriage with Arthur was consummated; and 3dly, a *dispensation* permitting the king to marry again." In this manner Wolsey hoped to make sure of the divorce without damaging the papal authority. It was insinuated that false representations, with regard to the consummation of the first marriage, had been sent from England to Julius II., which had induced the pontiff to permit the second. The pope being deceived as to the *fact*, his infallibility was untouched. Wolsey desired something more; knowing that no confidence could be put in the good faith of the pontiff, he demanded a fourth instrument by which the pope should bind himself *never to recall the other three*; he only forgot to take precautions in case Clement should withdraw the fourth. "With these four snares, skilfully combined," said the cardinal, "I shall catch the hare; if he escapes from one, he will fall into the other." The courtiers anticipated a speedy termination of the affair. Was not the emperor the declared enemy of the pontiff? Had not Henry, on the contrary, made himself *protector of the Clementine league*? Could Clement hesitate, when called upon, to choose between his jailer and his benefactor?

Indeed, Charles V., at this moment, was in a very embarrassing position. It is true, his guards were posted at the gates of the castle of St Angelo, where Clement was a prisoner, and people in Rome said to one another with a smile: "Now indeed it is true, *Papa non potest errare*."² But it was not possible to keep the pope a prisoner in Rome; and then what was to be done with him? The viceroy of Naples proposed to Alençon, the governor of St Angelo, to remove Clement to Gaeta; but the affrighted colonel exclaimed: "Heaven forbid that I should drag after me the very body of God!" Charles thought one time of transporting the pontiff to Spain; but might not an enemy's fleet carry him off on the road? The pope in prison was far more embarrassing to Charles than the pope at liberty.

It was at this critical time that Francis Philip, Queen Catherine's servant, having

¹ Since his patience had already held out for eighteen years. Collier, ii. p. 24.

² Strype, vol. i. part i. p. 279.

³ When Napoleon, from similar motives, desired to separate from Josephine, fearing the unwillingness of the pope & Henry did, he entertained, like him, the desire of doing through the pontiff and of getting his marriage annulled the French bishops. As he was more powerful, he succeeded.

¹ Quid possit clam fieri quoad forum conscientie. Collier, ii. p. 24.

² The pope cannot err,—a play upon the double meaning of the word *errare*.

escaped the snares laid by Henry VIII. and Wolsey, arrived at Madrid, where he passed a whole day in conference with Charles V. This prince was at first astonished, shocked even, by the designs of the king of England. The curse of God seemed to hang over his house. His mother was a lunatic; his sister of Denmark expelled from her dominions; his sister of Hungary made a widow by the battle of Mohacz; the Turks were encroaching upon his territories; Lautrec was victorious in Italy, and the catholics, irritated by the pope's captivity, detested his ambition. This was not enough. Henry VIII. was striving to divorce his aunt, and the pope would naturally give his aid to this criminal design. Charles must choose between the pontiff and the king. The friendship of the king of England might aid him in breaking the league formed to expel him from Italy, and by sacrificing Catherine he would be sure to obtain his support; but placed between reasons of state and his aunt's honour, the emperor did not hesitate; he even renounced certain projects of reform that he had at heart. He suddenly decided for the pope, and from that very hour followed a new course.

Charles, who possessed great discernment, had understood his age; he had seen that concessions were called for by the movement of the human mind, and would have desired to carry out the change from the middle ages to modern times by a carefully managed transition. He had consequently demanded a council to reform the church and weaken the Romish dominion in Europe. But very different was the result. If Charles turned away from Henry, he was obliged to turn towards Clement; and after having compelled the head of the church to enter a prison, it was necessary to place him once more upon the throne. Charles V. sacrificed the interests of Christian society to the interests of his own family. This divorce, which in England has been looked upon as the ruin of the popedom, was what saved it in continental Europe.

But how could the emperor win the heart of the pontiff, filled as it was with bitterness and anger? He selected for this difficult mission a friar of great ability, De Angelis, general of the Spanish Observance, and ordered him to proceed to the castle of St Angelo under the pretext of negotiating the liberation of the holy father. The cordelier was conducted to the strongest part of the fortress, called the Rock, where Clement was lodged; and the two priests brought all their craft to bear on each other. The monk, assisted by the artful Moncade, adroitly mingled together the pope's deliverance and Catherine's marriage. He affirmed that the emperor wished to open the gates of the pontiff's prison, and had already given the order;¹

and then he added immediately: "The emperor is determined to maintain the rights of his aunt, and will never consent to the divorce."²—"If you are a good shepherd to me," wrote Charles to the pope with his own hand on the 22d of November, "I will be a good sheep to you." Clement smiled as he read these words; he understood his position; the emperor had need of the priest, Charles was at his captive's feet; Clement was saved! The divorce was a rope fallen from the skies, which could not fail to drag him out of the pit; he had only to cling to it quietly in order to reascend his throne. Accordingly from that hour Clement appeared less eager to quit the castle than Charles to liberate him. "So long as the divorce is in suspense," thought the crafty De' Medici, "I have two great friends; but as soon as I declare for one, I shall have a mortal enemy in the other." He promised the monk to come to no decision in the matter without informing the emperor.

Meantime Knight, the envoy of the impatient monarch, having heard, as he crossed the Alps, that the pope was at liberty, hastened on to Parma, where he met Gambara: "He is not free yet," replied the protonotary; "but the general of the Franciscans hopes to terminate his captivity in a few days." Continue your journey," he added. Knight could not do so without great danger. He was told at Foligno, sixty miles from the metropolis, that if he had not a safe-conduct he could not reach Rome without exposing his life; Knight halted. Just then a messenger from Henry brought him despatches more pressing than ever; Knight started again with one servant and a guide. At Monte Rotondo he was nearly murdered by the inhabitants; but on the next day (25th November), protected by a violent storm of wind and rain,³ Henry's envoy entered Rome at ten o'clock without being observed, and kept himself concealed.

It was impossible to speak with Clement, for the emperor's orders were positive. Knight, therefore, began to *practise* upon the cardinals; he gained over the Cardinal of Pisa, by whose means his despatches were laid before the pontiff. Clement after reading them laid them down with a smile of satisfaction.⁴ "Good!" said he, "here is the other coming to me now!" But night had hardly closed in before the Cardinal of Pisa's secretary hastened to Knight and told him: "Don Alereon is informed of your arrival; and the pope entreats you to depart immediately." This officer had scarcely left him, when the protonotary Gambara arrived in great agitation: "His holiness presses you to leave; as soon as he is at liberty, he will

¹ That in anywise he should not consent to the same. State Papers, vol. vii. p. 29.

² Quod speraret intra paucos dies auferre sua Sanctitati aqualorem et tenebras. State Papers, vol. vii. p. 4.

³ Very treibolous with wynde and rayne, and therefore more mete for our voyage. Ibid. p. 16.

⁴ Heponed the same saully, as Gambara showed unto me. Ibid. p. 17.

¹ La Censura. Volesta al come grandemente desidera la liberacione de nostro signor, così efficaciously la manda. Capituli, etc. Le Grand, iii. p. 64.

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o your master's request." Two hours s, two hundred Spanish soldiers surrounded the house in which Knight sealed himself, and searched it from bottom, but to no purpose; the English had escaped.¹

It's safety was not the true motive induced Clement to urge his departure. The very day on which the pope received message from the king of England signed a treaty with Charles V., giving him, under certain conditions, the powers. At the same time the pontiff, for greater security, pressed the French Laotrec to hasten his march to Rome to save him from the hands of the pope. Clement, a disciple of Machiavelli, gave the right hand to Charles and the Francis; and as he had not another ally, he made him the most positive ally. Each of the three princes could on the pope's friendship, and on the bonds.

8th of December (1527) was the day when Clement's imprisonment would terminate but he preferred owing his freedom to the king rather than to the emperor's ally. He therefore procured the dress of a man, and, on the evening before fixed for his deliverance, his ward ready much relaxed, he escaped from the castle, and, accompanied only by Louis who in his flight, he made his way to

Clement was experiencing all the man just escaped from prison, Henry prey to the most violent agitation. He ceased to love Catherine, he perceived himself that he was the victim of his ambition, a martyr to duty, and the man of conjugal sanctity. His very rayed his vexation, and even among conversation of the court, deep sighs escape from his bosom. He had interviews with Wolsey. "I regard thy of my soul above all things,"² he but I am concerned also for the peace of the kingdom. For a long while an unremitting has been gnawing at my soul,³ and my thoughts dwell upon my evil with unutterable sorrow.⁴ God, in thee, has taken away my sons, and if were in this unlawful union, he will be with still more terrible chastisement. My only hope is in the holy father," replied with a low bow: "Please your majesty, I am occupied with this business if it were my only means of winning

indeed he redoubled his exertions.

not passed out of Rome, by the space of two hours, hundred Spaniards invaded and searched the house.

Records, ii. p. 12.
 the prince et ante omnia ac animus sum quiescent
 a respiratione. Burnet's Reformation, ii. Records,
 Jam tempore introitus sum conscientia remota.

et cum molestis cordisque perturbationibus. Ibid.
 usque a Deo supplicium expetivit. Ibid. p. viii.

He wrote to Sir Gregory Da Casale on the 5th of December (1527): "You will procure an audience of the pope at any price. Disguise yourself, appear before him as the servant of some nobleman,¹ or as a messenger from the duke of Ferrara. Scatter money plentifully; sacrifice everything, provided you procure a secret interview with his holiness; ten thousand ducats are at your disposal. You will explain to Clement the king's scruples, and the necessity of providing for the continuance of his house and the peace of his kingdom. You will tell him that in order to restore him to liberty, the king is ready to declare war against the emperor, and thus show himself to all the world to be a true son of the church."

Wolsey saw clearly that it was essential to represent the divorce to Clement VII. as a means likely to secure the safety of the papedom. The cardinal, therefore, wrote again to Da Casale on the 6th of December. "Night and day, I revolve in my mind the actual condition of the church,² and seek the means best calculated to extricate the pope from the gulf into which he has fallen. While I was turning these thoughts over in my mind during a sleepless night.....one way suddenly occurred to me. I said to myself, the king must be prevailed upon to undertake the defence of the holy father. This was no easy matter, for his majesty is strongly attached to the emperor;³ however, I set about my task. I told the king that his holiness was ready to satisfy him; I staked my honour; I succeeded.....To save the pope, my master will sacrifice his treasures, subjects, kingdom, and even his life⁴.....I therefore conjure his holiness to entertain our just demand."

Never before had such pressing entreaties been made to a pope.

CHAPTER IX.

The English Envoys at Orvieto—Their Oration to the Pope—Clement gains time—The Envoys and Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor—Stratagem of the Pope—Knight discovers it and returns—The Transformations of Antichrist—The English obtain a new Document—Fresh Stratagem—Demand of a second Cardinal—legate—The Pope's new Expedition—End of the Campaign.

The envoys of the king of England appeared in the character of the saviours of Rome. This was doubtless no stratagem; and Wolsey probably regarded that thought as coming from heaven, which had visited him during the weary sleepless night. The zeal of his agents increased. The pope was hardly set at liberty, before Knight and Da Casale

¹ Mutato habitu et tanquam alienius minister. Burnet's Reformation, ii. Records, p. viii.

² Dique ac noctu mente volvens quo facto. State Papers, vol. vii. p. 12.

³ Ad deo tenaciter Cesari adhaerebat. Ibid.

⁴ Usque ad mortem. Ibid. p. 12.

appeared at the foot of the precipitous rock on which Orvieto is built, and demanded to be introduced to Clement VII. Nothing could be more compromising to the pontiff than such a visit. How could he appear on good terms with England, when Rome and all his states were still in the hands of Catherine's nephew? The pope's mind was utterly bewildered by the demand of the two envoys. He recovered however; to reject the powerful hand extended to him by England, was not without its danger; and as he knew well how to bring a difficult negotiation to a successful conclusion, Clement regained confidence in his skill, and gave orders to introduce Henry's ambassadors.

Their discourse was not without eloquence. "Never was the church in a more critical position," said they. "The unmeasured ambition of the kings who claim to dispose of spiritual affairs at their own pleasure (this was aimed at Charles V.) holds the apostolical bark suspended over an abyss. The only port open to it in the tempest is the favour of the august prince whom we represent, and who has always been the shield of the faith. But, alas! this monarch, the impregnable bulwark of your holiness, is himself the prey of tribulations almost equal to your own. His conscience torn by remorse, his crown without an heir, his kingdom without security, his people exposed once more to perpetual disorders.....Nay, the whole Christian world given up to the most cruel discord!.....Such are the consequences of a fatal union which God has marked with his displeasure.....There are also," they added in a lower tone, "certain things of which his majesty cannot speak in his letter.....certain incurable disorders under which the queen suffers, which will never permit the king to look upon her again as his wife.² If your holiness puts an end to such wretchedness by annulling his unlawful marriage, you will attach his majesty by an indissoluble bond. Assistance, riches, armies, crown, and even life—the king our master is ready to employ all in the service of Rome. He stretches out his hand to you, most holy father.....stretch out yours to him; by your union the church will be saved, and Europe will be saved with it."

Clement was cruelly embarrassed. His policy consisted in holding the balance between the two princes, and he was now called upon to decide in favour of one of them. He began to regret that he had ever received Henry's ambassadors. "Consider my position," he said to them, "and entreat the king to wait until more favourable events leave me at liberty to act."—"What!" replied Knight proudly, "has not your holiness promised to consider his majesty's

prayer? If you fail in your promise now, how can I persuade the king that you will keep it some future day?"¹ Da Casale thought the time had come to strike a decisive blow. "What evils," he exclaimed, "what inevitable misfortunes your refusal will create!.....The emperor thinks only of depriving the church of its power, and the king of England alone has sworn to maintain it." Then speaking lower, more slowly, and dwelling upon every word, he continued: "We fear that his majesty, reduced to such extremities.....of the two evils will choose the *least*,² and supported by the purity of his intentions, will do of his own authority..... what he now so respectfully demands..... What should we see then?.....I shudder at the thought.....Let not your holiness indulge in a false security which will inevitably drag you into the abyss.....Read all.....remark all.....divine all.....take note of all³.....Most holy father, this is a question of life and death." And Da Casale's tone said more than his words.

Clement understood that a positive refusal would expose him to lose England. Placed between Henry and Charles, as between the hammer and the forge, he resolved to gain time. "Well then," he said to Knight and Da Casale, "I will do what you ask; but I am not familiar with the *forms* these dispensations require.....I will consult the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* on the subject.....and then will inform you."

Knight and Da Casale, wishing to anticipate Clement VII., hastened to Lorenzo Pucci, cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and intimated to him that their master would know how to be grateful. The cardinal assured the deputies of his affection for Henry VIII., and they, in the fulness of their gratitude, laid before him the four documents which they were anxious to get executed. But the cardinal had hardly looked at the first—the proposal that Wolsey should decide the matter of the divorce in England—when he exclaimed: "Impossible!.....a bull in such terms would cover with eternal disgrace not only his holiness and the king, but even the cardinal of York himself." The deputies were confounded, for Wolsey had ordered them to ask the pope for nothing but his signature.⁴ Recovering themselves, they rejoined: "All that we require is a *competent* commission." On his part, the pope wrote Henry a letter, in which he managed to say nothing.⁵

Of the four required documents there were two on whose immediate despatch Knight and Da Casale insisted: these were the

¹ Perform the promise once broken. Burnet's *Ref. E. R.* cords, p. 211.

² Ex duobus malis minus malum eligit. *State Papers*, vii. p. 24.

³ Ut non gravemur, cuncta legere, et bene notare. *Ibid.* p. 18.

⁴ Alia nulla res esset opus, praterquam ejus Sanctissimæ signatura. *Ibid.* p. 22.

⁵ Charlesme in Christo illi, &c., dated 7th December 1527. *Ibid.* p. 27.

¹ Discordie crudelissime per omnem christianum orbem. *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 19.

² Nonnulla sunt secreta S.D.N. secreto exponenda et non credenda scripta.....ob morbos nonnullos quibus absque remedio regius laborat. *Ibid.*

commission to pronounce the divorce, and the *dispensation* to contract a second marriage. The *dispensation* without the *commission* was of no value; this the pope knew well; accordingly he resolved to give the *dispensation* only. It was as if Charles had granted Clement when in prison permission to visit his cardinals, but denied him liberty to leave the castle of St Angelo. It is in such a manner as this that a religious system transformed into a political system has recourse, when it is without power, to stratagem. "The *commission*," said the artful Medici to Knight, "must be corrected according to the style of our court; but here is the *dispensation*." Knight took the document; it was addressed to Henry VIII. and ran thus: "We accord to you, in case your marriage with Catherine shall be declared null,¹ free liberty to take another wife, provided she have not been the wife of your brother." The Englishman was duped by the Italian. "To my poor judgment," he said, "this document will be of use to us." After this Clement appeared to concern himself solely about Knight's health, and suddenly manifested the greatest interest for him. "It is proper that you should hasten your departure," said he, "for it is necessary that you should travel *at your ease*. Gambara will follow you post, and bring the *commission*." Knight thus mystified, took leave of the pope, who got rid of Da Casale and Gambara in a similar manner. He then began to breathe once more. There was no diplomacy in Europe which Rome, even in its greatest weakness, could not easily dupe.

It had now become necessary to elude the *commission*. While the king's envoys were departing in good spirits, reckoning on the document that was to follow them, the general of the Spanish Observance reiterated to the pontiff in every tone: "Be careful to give no document authorizing the divorce, and above all, do not permit this affair to be judged in Henry's states." The cardinals drew up the document under the influence of De Angelis, and made it a masterpiece of insignificance. If good theology ennobles the heart, bad theology, so fertile in subtleties, imparts to the mind a skill by no means common; and hence the most celebrated diplomatists have often been churchmen. The act being thus drawn up, the pope despatched three copies, to Knight, to Da Casale, and to Gambara. Knight was near Bologna when the courier overtook him. He was stupefied, and taking post-horses returned with all haste to Orvieto.² Gambara proceeded through France to England with the useless *dispensation* which the pope had granted.

Knight had thought to meet with more good faith at the court of the pope than with kings, and he had been outwitted. What

would Wolsey and Henry say of his folly? His wounded self-esteem began to make him believe all that Tyndale and Luther said of the popedom. The former had just published the *Obedience of a Christian Man*, and the *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, in which he represented Rome as one of the transformations of Antichrist. "Antichrist," said he in the latter treatise, "is not a man that should suddenly appear with wonders; he is a spiritual thing, who was in the Old Testament, and also in the time of Christ and the apostles, and is now, and shall (I doubt not) endure till the world's end. His nature is (when he is overcome with the word of God) to go out of the play for a season, and to disguise himself, and then to come in again with a new name and new raiment. The Scribes and Pharisees in the gospel were very Antichrists; popes, cardinals, and bishops have gotten their new names, but the thing is all one. Even so now, when we have uttered [vanquished] him, *he will change himself once more*, and turn himself into an angel of light. Already the beast, seeing himself now to be sought for, roareth and seeketh new holes to hide himself in, and changeth himself into a thousand fashions."³ This idea, paradoxical at first, gradually made its way into men's minds. The Romans, by their practices, familiarized the English to the somewhat coarse descriptions of the reformers. England was to have many such lessons, and thus by degrees learn to set Rome aside for the sake of her own glory and prosperity.

Knight and Da Casale reached Orvieto about the same time. Clement replied with sighs, "Alas! I am the emperor's prisoner. The imperialists are every day pillaging towns and castles in our neighbourhood."..... Wretch that I am! I have not a friend except the king your master, and he is far away.If I should do anything now to displease Charles, I am a lost man.....To sign the *commission* would be to sign an eternal rupture with him." But Knight and Da Casale pleaded so effectually with Cardinal Sanctorem Quatuor, and so pressed Clement, that the pontiff, without the knowledge of the Spaniard De Angelis, gave them a more satisfactory document, but not such as Wolsey required. "In giving you this *commission*," said the pope, "I am giving away my liberty, and perhaps my life. I listen not to the voice of prudence, but to that of affection only. I confide in the generosity of the king of England, he is the master of my destiny." He then began to weep,⁴ and seemed ready to faint. Knight, forgetting his vexation, promised Clement that the king would do everything to save him.— "Ah!" said the pope, "there is one effectual

¹ Tyndale, *Doctr. Tr.* p. 42, 43.

² The imperialists do daily spoil castles and towns about Rome.they have taken within three days two castles lying within six miles of this. Burnet's *Ref.* vol. ii. Records, p. xlii.

³ Cum suspiris et lacrymis. *Ibid.* p. xlii.

means."—"What is that?" inquired Henry's agents.—"M. Lautrec, who says daily that he will come, but never does," replied Clement, "has only to bring the French army promptly before the gates of Orvieto; then I could excuse myself by saying that he constrained me to sign the commission."¹—"Nothing is easier," replied the envoys, "we will go and hasten his arrival."

Clement was not even now at ease. The safety of the Roman church troubled him not less than his own.....Charles might discover the trick and make the popedom suffer for it. There was danger on all sides. If the English spoke of independence, did not the emperor threaten a reform?².....The catholic princes, said the papal councillors, are capable, without perhaps a single exception, of supporting the cause of Luther to gratify a criminal ambition.³ The pope reflected, and withdrawing his word, promised to give the commission when Lautrec was under the walls of Orvieto; but the English agents insisted on having it immediately. To conciliate all, it was agreed that the pope should give the required document at once, but as soon as the French army arrived, he should send another copy bearing the date of the day on which he saw Lautrec. "Beseech the king to keep secret the commission I give you,"⁴ said Clement VII. to Knight; "If he begins the process immediately he receives it, I am undone for ever."⁵ The pope thus gave permission to act, on condition of not acting at all. Knight took leave on the 1st of January 1528; he promised all the pontiff desired, and then, as if fearing some fresh difficulty, he departed the same day. Da Casale, on his side, after having offered the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor a gift of 4000 crowns, which he refused, repaired to Lautrec, to beg him to constrain the pope to sign a document which was already on its way to England.

But while the business seemed to be clearing at Rome, it was becoming more complicated at London. The king's project got wind, and Catherine gave way to the liveliest sorrow. "I shall protest," said she, "against the commission given to the cardinal of York. Is he not the king's subject, the vile flatterer of his pleasures?" Catherine did not resist alone; the people, who hated the cardinal, could not with pleasure see him invested with such authority. To obviate this inconvenience, Henry resolved to ask the pope for another cardinal, who should be empowered to terminate the affair in London with or without Wolsey.

The latter agreed to the measure: it is even possible that he was the first to suggest it, for he feared to bear alone the responsibility

of so hateful an inquiry. According on the 27th of December, he wrote to the king's agents at Rome: "Procure the envoy of a legate, and particularly of an able, *manageable* legate.....desirous of meriting king's favour." Campeggio for instance. I will earnestly request the cardinal who is to be selected, to travel with all diligence; you will assure him that the king will have liberally towards him."⁶

Knight reached Asti on the 10th of January, where he found letters with fresh orders. This was another check: at one time it was the pope who compels him to retrograde, another it is the king. Henry's unworldly valetudinarian secretary, a man very susceptible of fatigue, and already wearied by ten painful journeys, was in a very bad humour. He determined to per Gambara to carry the two documents to England; to commission Da Casale, who had left the pope's neighbourhood, to solicit despatch of the legate; and as regarded himself, to go and wait for further orders at Turin:—"If it be thought good unto the king's highness that I do return unto Orvieto, I shall do as much as my poor carcass may dure."⁷

When Da Casale reached Bologna, he pressed Lautrec to go and constrain the pontiff to sign the act which Gambara was ready bearing to England. On receiving new despatches he returned in all haste to Orvieto, and the pope was very much alarmed when he heard of his arrival. He had feared to grant a simple paper, destined to remain secret; and now he is required to send a priest of the church! Will Henry never be satisfied? "The mission you desire would be of dangers," he replied; "but we have discovered another means, alone calculated to finish this business. Mind you do not say that I pointed it out to you," added the pope in a mysterious tone; "but that it was suggested by Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor et Simonetta." Da Casale was all attention. "There is not a doctor in the world who can better decide on this matter, and on its most private circumstances, than the king himself." If therefore he sincerely believes that Catherine had really become his brother's wife, let him empower the cardinal of York to pronounce the divorce, and let him to another wife without any further ceremony; he can then afterwards demand the confirmation of the consistory. The affair being concluded in this way, I will take the responsibility upon myself."—"But," said Da Casale, somewhat dissatisfied with this new intrigue, "must fulfil my mission, and the king demand a legate."—"And whom shall I send," ask

¹ And by this colour he would cover the matter. Burnet's Hist., vol. II. Records, p. 31.

² Non potest huius sanctitas sibi persuadere ipsos principes (et forte aliqui jactant) assumptos sectam Lutheranam contra ecclesiam. State Papers, vol. p. 47.

³ Ibid. p. 38.

⁴ Is fully in your puissance with publishing of the commission to destroy for ever. Ibid.

¹ Eruditus, indifferens, tractabilis, de regia majestate bene merendi cupidus. State Papers, vol. p. 33.

² Regia majestas sumptus, labores, atque molestias hereticissime compenset. Ibid. p. 34.

³ Burnet's Hist., vol. II. Records, p. 31.

⁴ Nullus doctor in mundo est, qui de hac re melius cernere possit quam ipse rex. Burnet, II., Records, p. 33.

⁵ Aliam uxorem ducet. Ibid.

Clement. "Da Monte? he cannot move. De Cæsis? he is at Naples. Ara Cæli? he has the gout. Piccolomini? he is of the imperial party.....Campeggio would be the best, but he is at Rome, where he supplies my place, and cannot leave without peril to the church.".....And then with some emotion he added, "I throw myself into his majesty's arms. The emperor will never forgive what I am doing. If he hears of it he will summon me before his council; I shall have no rest until he has deprived me of my throne and my life."

Da Casale hastened to forward to London the result of the conference. Clement being unable to untie the knot, requested Henry to cut it. Will this prince hesitate to employ so easy a means, the pope (Clement declared it himself) being willing to ratify everything?

*Here closes Henry's first campaign in the territories of the papedom. We shall now see the results of so many efforts.

CHAPTER X.

Disappointment in England—War declared against Charles V.—Wolsey desires to get him deposed by the Pope—A new Scheme—Embassy of Fox and Gardiner—Their Arrival at Orvieto—Their first interview with Clement—The Pope reads a Treatise by Henry—Gardiner's Threats and Clement's Promises—The Modern Fabius—Fresh Interview and Menaces—The Pope has not the Key—Gardiner's Proposition—Difficulties and Delays of the Cardinal's Gardiner's last Blows—Reverses of Charles V. in Italy—The Pope's Terror and Concession—The Commission granted—Wolsey demands the Engagement—A Loophole—The Pope's Distress.

NEVER was disappointment more complete than that felt by Henry and Wolsey after the arrival of Gambara with the commission; the king was angry, the cardinal vexed. What Clement called the *sacrifice of his life* was in reality but a sheet of paper fit only to be thrown into the fire. "This commission is of no value,"¹ said Wolsey.—"And even to put it into execution," added Henry, "we must wait until the imperialists have quitted Italy! The pope is putting us off to the Greek calends."—"His holiness," observed the cardinal, "does not bind himself to pronounce the divorce; the queen will therefore appeal from our judgment."—"And even if the pope had bound himself," added the king, "it would be sufficient for the emperor to smile upon him, to make him retract what he had promised."—"It is all a cheat and a mockery," concluded both king and minister.

What was to be done next? The only way to make Clement ours, thought Wolsey, is to get rid of Charles; it is time his pride was brought down. Accordingly, on the

21st of January 1528, France and England declared hostilities against the emperor. When Charles heard of this proceeding he exclaimed: "I know the hand that has flung the torch of war into the midst of Europe. My crime is not having placed the cardinal of York on St Peter's throne."

A mere declaration of war was not enough for Wolsey; the bishop of Bayonne, ambassador from France, seeing him one day somewhat excited,² whispered in his ear: "In former times popes have deposed emperors for smaller offences." Charles's deposition would have delivered the king of France from a troublesome rival; but Du Bellay, fearing to take the initiative in so bold an enterprise, suggested the idea to the cardinal. Wolsey reflected: such a thought had never before occurred to him. Taking the ambassador aside to a window, he there swore *stoutly*, said Du Bellay, that he should be delighted to use all his influence to get Charles deposed by the pope. "No one is more likely than yourself," replied the bishop, "to induce Clement to do it."—"I will use all my credit," rejoined Wolsey, and the two priests separated. This bright idea the cardinal never forgot. Charles had robbed him of the tiara; he will retaliate by depriving Charles of his crown. *An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.* Staffileo, dean of the Rota, was then in London, and still burning with resentment against the author of the Sack of Rome, he favourably received the suggestions Wolsey made to him; and, finally, the envoy from John Zapolya, king elect of Hungary, supported the project. But the kings of France and England were not so easily induced to put the thrones of kings at the disposal of the priests. It appears, however, that the pope was sounded on the subject; and if the emperor had been beaten in Italy, it is probable that the bull would have been fulminated against him. His sword preserved his crown, and the plot of the two bishops failed.

The king's councillors began to seek for less heroic means. "We must prosecute the affair at Rome," said some.—"No," said others, "in England. The pope is too much afraid of the emperor to pronounce the divorce in person."—"If the pope fears the emperor more than the king of England," exclaimed the proud Tudor, "we shall find some other way to set him at ease."³ Thus, at the first contradiction, Henry placed his hand on his sword, and threatened to sever the ties which bound his kingdom to the throne of the Italian pontiff.

"I have hit it!" said Wolsey at length; "we must combine the two plans—judge the affair in London, and at the same time bind the pontiff at Rome." And then the able cardinal proposed the draft of a bull, by which

¹ Vocabit eum ad concilium, vel nihil aliud queret, nisi ut eum omni statu et vita prioret. Burnet, ii. Records, p. xxi.
² Nullius aut roboris vel affectus. State Papers, vii. p. 80.

¹ Du Bellay to Francis I. Le Grand, Preuves, p. 64.
² Burnet's Reformation, i. p. 50.

the pope, delegating his authority to two legates, should declare that the acts of that delegation should have a perpetual effect, notwithstanding any contrary decrees that might subsequently emanate from his infallible authority.¹ A new mission was decided upon for the accomplishment of this bold design.

Wolsey, annoyed by the folly of Knight and his colleagues, desired men of another stamp. He therefore cast his eyes on his own secretary, Stephen Gardiner, an active man, intelligent, supple, and crafty, a learned canonist, desirous of the king's favour, and, above all, a good Romanist, which at Rome was not without its advantage. Gardiner was in small the living image of his master; and hence the cardinal sometimes styled him *the half of himself*.² Edward Fox, the chief almoner, was joined with him—a moderate, influential man, a particular friend of Henry's, and a zealous advocate of the divorce. Fox was named first in the commission; but it was agreed that Gardiner should be the real head of the embassy. "Repeat without ceasing," Wolsey told them, "that his majesty cannot do otherwise than separate from the queen. Attack each one on his weak side. Declare to the pope that the king promises to defend him against the emperor; and to the cardinals that their services will be nobly rewarded."³ If that does not suffice, let the energy of your words be such as to excite a wholesome fear in the pontiff."

Fox and Gardiner, after a gracious reception at Paris (23d February), by Francis I., arrived at Orvieto on the 20th of March, after many perils, and with their dress in such disorder, that no one could have taken them for the ambassadors of Henry VIII. "What a city!" they exclaimed, as they passed through its streets; "what ruins, what misery! It is indeed truly called Orvieto (*urbs vetus*)!" The state of the town gave them no very grand idea of the state of the pope-dom, and they imagined that with a pontiff so poorly lodged, their negotiation could not be otherwise than easy. "I give you my house," said Da Casale, to whom they went, "my room and my own bed;" and as they made some objections, he added: "It is not possible to lodge you elsewhere; I have even been forced to borrow what was necessary to receive you."⁴ Da Casale, pressing them to change their clothes, which were still dripping (they had just crossed a river on their mules), they replied, that being obliged to travel post, they had not been able to bring a change of raiment. "Alas!" said Casale, "what is to be done? there are few persons in Orvieto who have more garments than one;"⁵ even the shopkeepers have no cloth for sale; this town is quite a prison. People

say the pope is at liberty here. A prent liberty indeed! Want, impure air, wretched lodging, and a thousand other inconveniences keep the holy father closer than when he was in the Castle of St Angelo. Accordingly, he told me the other day, it was better to be in captivity at Rome than at liberty here."⁶

In two days, however, they managed to procure some new clothing; and being now in a condition to show themselves, Henry's agents were admitted to an after-dinner audience on Monday the 22d of March (1527).

Da Casale conducted them to an old building in ruins. "This is where his holiness lives," he said. They looked at one another with astonishment, and crossing the rubbish lying about, passed through three chambers whose ceilings had fallen in, whose windows were curtainless, and in which thirty persons "*riff-raff*" were standing against the bare walls for a garnishment."⁷ This was the pope's court.

At length the ambassadors reached the pontiff's room, and placed Henry's letters in his hands. "Your holiness," said Gardiner "when sending the king a dispensation, was pleased to add, that if this document were sufficient, you would willingly give a better. It is that favour the king now desires." The pope with embarrassment strove to soften refusal. "I am informed," he said, "that the king is led on in this affair by a secret inclination, and that the lady he loves is from being worthy of him." Gardiner replied with firmness: "The king truly desires marry again after the divorce, that he may have an heir to the crown; but the woman he proposes to take is animated by the noble sentiments: the cardinal of York and all England do homage to her virtues."⁸ The pope appeared convinced. "Besides," continued Gardiner, "the king has written a book on motives of his divorce."—"Good! come and read it to me to-morrow," rejoined Clement.

The next day the English envoys hardly appeared, before Clement took Henry's book, ran over it as he walked up and down the room, and then seating himself on a bench covered with an old carpet, "not worth twenty pence," says an annalist, he read the book aloud. He counted the number of arguments, made objections as if Henry were present, and piled them one upon another without waiting for an answer. "The marriages forbidden in Leviticus," said he, in short and quick tone of voice, "are permitted in Deuteronomy; now Deuteronomy comes after Leviticus, we are bound by the latter. The honour of Catherine and the emperor at stake, and the divorce would give rise to a terrible war."⁹ The pope continued speaking, and whenever the Englishmen attempted to reply, he bade them be silent, and kept

¹ Non obstantibus quibuscunque decretis revocatoria presentis concessione continetur. Burnet, Records, ii. p. xvii.

² *Idem* ditiditum. *Ibid.* p. xv.
³ Money to present the cardinals. Strype's Mem. i. p. 137.
⁴ Borrowing of divers men so much as might furnish three beds. *Ibid.* p. 138.

Ibid.

¹ State Papers, vii. p. 63.

² Strype, i. p. 138.
³ The cardinal's judgment as to the good qualities of a gentleman. *Ibid.* p. 141.

⁴ Quia prestanti non hoc divortium magis allegat causam prebeat. Sanctorum, p. 24.

ending. "It is an excellent book," said however, in a courteous tone, when he had read: "I shall keep it to read over again at leisure." Gardiner then presenting a copy of the commission which Henry revoked, Clement made answer: "It is too good to look at it now; leave it with me."—"At we are in haste," added Gardiner.—"Yes, I know it," said the pope. All his attempts tended to protract the business.

On the 28th of March, the ambassadors were conducted to the room in which they slept; the cardinals *Sanctorum Quatuor De Monte*, as well as the councillor of the pope, Simonetta, were then with him. Chairs were arranged in a semicircle. "Be seated,"

Clement, who stood in the middle, said to Gardiner, now tell me what you want.—"There is no question between us of one of time. You promised to ratify the decree, as soon as it was pronounced; and require you to do before what you engage to do after. What is right on one day must be right on another." Then, raising his voice, the Englishman added: "If his majesty perceives that no more respect is paid him than to a common man, he will have cause to a remedy which I will not name, which will not fail in its effect."

The pope and his councillors looked at one another in silence; they had understood

The imperious Gardiner, remarking the effect which he had produced, then added in an absolute tone: "We have our instructions, and are determined to keep to them."—"I am ready to do every thing compatible with my honour," exclaimed Clement, in answer.—"What your honour would not permit you to grant," said the proud ambassador, "the honour of the king, my master, I do not permit him to ask." Gardiner's rage became more imperative every minute.

"Well, then," said Clement, driven to extremity, "I will do what the king demands, if the emperor is angry, I cannot help it." The interview, which had commenced with storm, finished with a gleam of sunshine. That bright gleam soon disappeared: Clement, who imagined he saw in Henry a hand at war with Rome, wished to play the orizer, the *Fabius Cunctator*. "*Bis dat cito dat*,"¹ said Gardiner sharply, who reviled this manœuvre.—"It is a question of time," replied the pope, "and as I am very urgent in these matters, I must give the decree of the canon law the necessary time to make it all clear."—"By his delays *Fabius Maximus* saved Rome," rejoined Gardiner: "you will destroy it by yours."²—

"Yes!" exclaimed the pope, "if I say the decree is right, I shall have to go back to Rome."—"When truth is concerned," said

the ambassador, "of what consequence are the opinions of men?" Gardiner was speaking at his ease, but Clement found that the castle of St Angelo was not without weight in the balance. "You may be sure that I shall do everything for the best," replied the modern *Fabius*. With these words the conference terminated.

Such were the struggles of England with the popedom—struggles which were to end in a definitive rupture. Gardiner knew that he had a skilful adversary to deal with; too cunning to allow himself to be irritated, he coolly resolved to frighten the pontiff: that was in his instructions. On the Friday before Palm Sunday, he was ushered into the pope's closet; there he found Clement attended by De Monte, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, Simonetta, Staffileo, Paul, auditor of the Rota, and Gambara. "It is impossible," said the cardinals, "to grant a decretal commission in which the pope pronounces *de jure* in favour of the divorce, with a promise of confirmation *de facto*." Gardiner insisted; but no persuasion, "neither dulce nor poy-nante,"³ could move the pontiff. The envoy judged the moment had come to discharge his strongest battery. "O perverse race," said he to the pontiff's ministers, "instead of being harmless as doves, you are as full of dissimulation and malice as serpents; promising every thing but performing nothing." England will be driven to believe that God has taken from you the key of knowledge, and that the laws of the popes, ambiguous to the popes themselves, are only fit to be cast into the fire.⁴ The king has hitherto restrained his people, impatient of the Romish yoke; but he will now give them the rein." A long and gloomy silence followed. Then the Englishman, suddenly changing his tone, softly approached Clement, who had left his seat, and conjured him in a low voice to consider carefully what justice required of him. "Alas!" replied Clement, "I tell you again, I am ignorant in these matters. According to the maxims of the canon law the pope carries all laws in the tablets of his heart;⁵ but unfortunately God has never given me the key that opens them." As he could not escape by silence, Clement retreated under cover of a jest, and heedlessly pronounced the condemnation of the popedom. If he had never received the famous key, there was no reason why other pontiffs should have possessed it. The next day he found another loophole; for when the ambassadors told him that the king would carry on the matter without him, he sighed, drew out his handkerchief, and said as he wiped his eyes: "Would to God that I were dead!" Clement employed tears as a political engine.

¹ medio semicirculi. *Stirpe*, Records, l. p. 81.
² vincum plebis. *Ibid.* p. 82.
³ any man looked on other and so stayed. *Ibid.*
⁴ gives twice who gives quickly.
⁵ *Fabio Maximo qui rem Romanam cunctando restitit.* *Stirpe*, p. 83.
⁶ *Maximo nomine captivitate.* *Ibid.* p. 84.

¹ *Stirpe*, Records, p. 114.
² *Pent enim dicitur et dissimulatione. Verbis omnia sollicitur, etiam nihil prestant.* *Ibid.* p. 85.
³ *Digna esse que mandentur famula iustitia jura.* *Ibid.*
⁴ *Pontifex habet omnia jura in scriptis pectoris.* *Ibid.* p. 86.
⁵ *Ibid.* p. 100.

"We shall not get the *decretal* commission," (that which pronounced the divorce) said Fox and Gardiner after this, "and it is not really necessary. Let us demand the *general* commission (authorizing the legates to pronounce it), and exact a promise that shall supply the place of the act which is denied us." Clement, who was ready to make all the promises in the world, swore to ratify the sentence of the legates without delay. Fox and Gardiner then presented to Simonetta a draft of the act required. The dean, after reading it, returned it to the envoys, saying, "It is very well, I think, except the end; show it to Sanctorem Quatuor." The next morning they carried the draft to that cardinal: "How long has it been the rule for the patient to write the prescription? I always thought it was the physician's business."—"No one knows the disease so well as the patient," replied Gardiner; "and this disease may be of such a nature that the doctor cannot prescribe the remedy without taking the patient's advice." Sanctorem Quatuor read the prescription, and then returned it, saying: "It is not bad, with the exception of the *beginning*. Take the draft to De Monte and the other councillors." The latter liked neither beginning, middle, nor end. "We will send for you this evening," said De Monte.

Three or four days having elapsed, Henry's envoys again waited on the pope, who showed them the draft prepared by his councillors. Gardiner remarking in it additions, retrenchments, and corrections, threw it disdainfully from him, and said coldly: "Your holiness is deceiving us; you have selected these men to be the instruments of your duplicity." Clement, in alarm, sent for Simonetta; and after a warm discussion,¹ the envoys, more discontented than ever, quitted the pope at one in the morning.

The night brings wisdom. "I only desire two little words more in the commission," said Gardiner next day to Clement and Simonetta. The pope requested Simonetta to wait upon the cardinals immediately; the latter sent word that they were at dinner, and adjourned the business until the morrow.

When Gardiner heard of this epicurean message, he thought the time had come for striking a decisive blow. A new tragedy began.² "We are deceived," exclaimed he, "you are laughing at us. This is not the way to gain the favour of princes. Water mixed with wine spoils it;³ your corrections nullify our document. These ignorant and suspicious priests have spelled over our draft as if a scorpion was hidden under every word.—You made us come to Italy," said he to Staffileo and Gambara, "like hawks

which the fowler lures by holding out to them a piece of meat;⁴ and now that we here, the bait has disappeared, and instead of giving us what we sought, you pretend to lull us to sleep by the sweet voice of sirens."⁵ Then, turning to Clement, English envoy added, "Your holiness have to answer for this." The pope sat and wiped away his tears. "It was a pleasure," continued Gardiner, whose became more threatening every minute, "that we should see with our own eyes the disposition of the people here. It is finished. Henry is not an ordinary prince; bear in mind that you are insulting the *fender of the faith*. . . . You are going to the favour of the only monarch who protects you, and the apostolical chair, already tottering, will fall into dust, and disappear amidst the applause of all Christendom."

Gardiner paused. The pope was mortified. The state of Italy seemed to confirm too strongly the sinister predictions of the envoy of Henry VIII. The imperial troops terrified and pursued by Lautrec, had abandoned Rome and retired on Naples. The French general was following up the wretched army of Charles V., decimated by pestilence and debauchery; Doria, at head of his galleys, had destroyed the Spanish fleet; Gaeta and Naples only were left to the imperialists; and Lautrec, who was hesitating the latter place, wrote to Henry on 26th of August that all would soon be over. The timid Clement VII. had attentively watched all these catastrophes. Accordingly, Gardiner had hardly denounced the danger which threatened the pope, before he turned pale with affright, rose from his seat, stretched out his arms in terror, as he had desired to repel some monster ready to devour him, and exclaimed, "Write, write! Insert whatever words you please." As said this, he paced up and down the room, raising his hands to heaven and sighing deeply, while Fox and Gardiner, standing motionless, looked on in silence. A tempestuous wind seemed to be stirring the depths of the abyss; the ambassadors waited until the storm was abated. At last Clement recovered himself,⁶ made a few trivial excuses, and dismissed Henry's ministers. It was an hour past midnight.

It was neither morality, nor religion, even the laws of the church which led Clement to refuse the divorce; ambition and fear were his only motives. He would have desired that Henry should first constrain the emperor to restore him his territories. The king of England, who felt himself unable to protect the pope against Charles, required however, this unhappy pontiff to provoke the emperor's anger. Clement reaped the fruit of that fatal system which had transferred

¹ The matter was good saving in the latter end. Strype, p. 172.

² The beginning pleased him not. Ibid. p. 103.

³ Increscente disputatione. Ibid. p. 104.

⁴ Here began a new tragedy. Ibid. p. 105.

⁵ Vinum conspicitur infuso aqua. Ibid.

⁶ Putantes sub omni verbo latere scorpionem. Ibid.

¹ Preterendare pugno carmen. Strype, p. 103.

² Dulcium solum tuncbat incantare. Ibid.

³ Composita affectibus. Ibid. p. 106.

urch of Jesus Christ into a pitiful com-
mon of policy and cunning.

the next day, the tempest having
rhly abated,¹ *Sanctorum Quatuor* cor-
the commission. It was signed, com-
by a leaden seal attached to a piece of
and then handed to Gardiner, who

The bull was addressed to Wolsey,
authorized him, in case he should
ledge the nullity of Henry's marriage,
nounce judicially the sentence of dis-
but without noise or display of judg-
for that purpose he might take any
1 bishop for his colleague."—"All
can do, you can do," said the pope.
are very doubtful," said the importu-
ardiner after reading the bull, "whe-
is commission, without the clauses of
ation and revocation, will satisfy his
7; but we will do all in our power to
1 to accept it."—"Above all, do not
of our altercations," said the pope.
er, like a discreet diplomatist, did not
to note down every particular in
in the letters whence these details are
id. "Tell the king," continued the
"that this commission is on my part
ration of war against the emperor,
at I now place myself under his
r's protection." The chief-almoner of
d departed for London with the pre-
ocurement.

one storm followed close upon another.
d not long quitted Orvieto when new
arrived from Wolsey, demanding the
of the acts previously requested,
; the engagement to ratify at Rome
er the commissioners might decide in
id. Gardiner was to set about it in
nd out of season; the verbal promise
pope counted for nothing; this docu-
must be had, whether the pope was ill,
or dead.² "*Ego et Rex meus*, his
and I command you;" said Wolsey;
divorce is of more consequence to us
venty popedoms."⁴ The English en-
newed their demand. "Since you
he decretal," he said, "there is the
reason why you should not refuse
gement." This application led to fresh
ion and fresh tears. Clement gave
ce more; but the Italians, more crafty
ardiner, reserved a loophole in the
nt through which the pontiff might

The messenger Thaddeus carried it
don; and Gardiner left Orvieto for
o confer with Campeggio.
ent was a man of penetrating mind,
hough he knew as well as any how to
a clever speech, he was irresolute and
and accordingly the commission had

divers tempests passed over. *Strype, Records, I.*

streptu et figura iudicii sententiam divortii iudi-
referendam. *Rymer, Fœdera, vi. para. ii. p. 95.*
isa mortis pontificis, quod Deus avertat. *Barnet,*
p. xxviii.
hing which the king's highness and I more esteem
nity papalities. *Ibid. p. xxv.*

divers tempests passed over. *Strype, Records, I.*

streptu et figura iudicii sententiam divortii iudi-
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isa mortis pontificis, quod Deus avertat. *Barnet,*
p. xxviii.

hing which the king's highness and I more esteem
nity papalities. *Ibid. p. xxv.*

not long been despatched before he repented.
Full of distress, he paced the ruined cham-
bers of his old palace, and imagined he saw
hanging over his head that terrible sword of
Charles the Fifth, whose edge he had already
felt. "Wretch that I am," said he; "cruel
wolves surround me; they open their jaws to
swallow me up.....I see none but ene-
mies around me. At their head is the em-
peror.....What will he do? Alas! I have
yielded that fatal commission which the
general of the Spanish observance had en-
joined me to refuse. Behind Charles come
the Venetians, the Florentines, the duke of
Ferrara.....They have cast lots upon my
vesture.".....Next comes the king of France,
who promises nothing, but looks on with
folded arms; or rather, what perfidy! calls
upon me at this critical moment to deprive
Charles V. of his crown.....And last, but not
least, Henry VIII., *the defender of the faith*,
indulges in frightful menaces against me.....
The emperor desires to maintain the queen
on the throne of England; the latter, to put
her away.....Would to God that Catherine
were in her grave! But, alas! she lives.....
to be the apple of discord dividing the two
greatest monarchies, and the inevitable cause
of the ruin of the popedom.....Wretched
man that I am! how cruel is my perplexity,
and around me I can see nothing but hor-
rible confusion."³

CHAPTER XI.

Fox's Report to Henry and Anne—Wolsey's Impression—He
demands the Decretal—One of the Cardinal's petty
Manœuvres—He sets his Conscience at Rest—Gardiner
fails at Rome—Wolsey's new Perfidy—The King's Anger
against the Pope—Sir T. More predicts Religious Liberty
—Immorality of Ultramontane Socialism—Erasmus in-
vited—Wolsey's last Flight—Energetic Efforts at Rome—
Clement grants all—Wolsey triumphs—Union of Rome
and England.

During this time Fox was making his way
to England. On the 27th of April he re-
ached Paris; on the 2d of May he landed at
Sandwich, and hastened to Greenwich, where
he arrived the next day at five in the even-
ing, just as Wolsey had left for London.
Fox's arrival was an event of great import-
ance. "Let him go to Lady Anne's apart-
ments," said the king, "and wait for me
there." Fox told Anne Boleyn of his and
Gardiner's exertions, and the success of their
mission, at which she expressed her very
great satisfaction. Indeed, more than a
year had elapsed since her return to England,
and she no longer resisted Henry's project.
"Mistress Anne always called me Master
Stephen," wrote Fox to Gardiner, "her
thoughts were so full of you." The king
appeared and Anne withdrew.

¹ Novo fœdere inito super vestem suam miserant sortem.

Strype, Records, i. p. 109.

² His holiness findeth himself in a marvellous perplexity
and confusion. *Ibid. p. 108.*

"Tell me as briefly as possible what you have done," said Henry. Fox placed in the king's hands the pope's insignificant letter, which he bade his almoner read; then that from Staffilee, which was put on one side; and lastly Gardiner's letter, which Henry took hastily and read himself. "The pope has promised us," said Fox, as he terminated his report, "to confirm the sentence of the divorce, as soon as it has been pronounced by the commissioners."—"Excellent!" exclaimed Henry; and then he ordered Anne to be called in. "Repeat before this lady," he said to Fox, "what you have just told me." The almoner did so. "The pope is convinced of the justice of your cause," he said in conclusion, "and the cardinal's letter has convinced him that my lady is worthy of the throne of England."—"Make your report to Wolsey this very night," said the king.

It was ten o'clock when the chief almoner reached the cardinal's palace; he had gone to bed, but immediate orders were given that Fox should be conducted to his room. Being a churchman, Wolsey could understand the pope's artifices better than Henry; accordingly, as soon as he learnt that Fox had brought the commission only, he became alarmed at the task imposed upon him. "What a misfortune!" he exclaimed; "your commission is no better than Gambara's..... However, go and rest yourself; I will examine these papers to-morrow." Fox withdrew in confusion. "It is not bad," said Wolsey the next day, "but the whole business still falls on me alone!—Never mind, I must wear a contented look, or else....." In the afternoon he summoned into his closet Fox, Dr Bell, and Viscount Rochford: "Master Gardiner has surpassed himself," said the crafty supple cardinal; "What a man! what an inestimable treasure! what a jewel in our kingdom!"¹

He did not mean a word he was saying. Wolsey was dissatisfied with everything,—with the refusal of the *decretal*, and with the drawing up of the *commission*, as well as of the *engagement* (which arrived soon after in good condition, so far as the outside was concerned). But the king's ill humour would infallibly recoil on Wolsey; so putting a good face on a bad matter, he ruminated in secret on the means of obtaining what had been refused him. "Write to Gardiner," said he to Fox, "that everything makes me desire the pope's *decretal*—the need of unburdening my conscience, of being able to reply to the calumniators who will attack my judgment,² and the thought of the accidents to which the life of man is exposed. Let his holiness, then, pronounce the divorce himself; we engage on our part to keep his

resolution secret. But order Master Step to employ every kind of persuasion that *rhetoric* can imagine." In case the king should positively refuse the *decretal*, Wolsey required that at least Campeggio should assume the responsibility of the divorce with him.

This was not all: while reading the engagement, Wolsey discovered the loop which had escaped Gardiner, and this is what he contrived:—"The *engagement* which pope has sent us," he wrote to Gardiner, drawn up in such terms that he can ret it at pleasure: we must therefore find a *good way* to obtain another. You may do under this pretence. You will appear before his holiness with a dejected air, and tell that the courier, to whom the conveyance the said engagement was intrusted, fell the water with his despatches, so that rescripts were totally defaced and illegible that I have not dared deliver it into king's hands, and unless his holiness grant you a duplicate, some notable blot will be imputed unto you for not taking proper care in its transmission. And further you will continue: I remember the expressions of the former document, and to your holiness trouble, I will dictate these your secretary. Then, added Wolsey, "when the secretary is writing, you will find me to introduce, without its being perceived many *fat, pregnant*, and available words possible, to bind the pope and enlarge powers, the politic handling of which king's highness and I commit unto your discretion."¹

Such was the expedient invented by Wolsey. The papal secretary, imagining he was making a fresh copy of the original document (which was, by the way, in perfect dition), was at the dictation of the ambassador to draw up another of a different tenor. "politic handling" of the cardinal-legate which was not very unlike forgery, threw disgraceful light on the policy of the sixteenth century.

Wolsey read this letter to the chief almoner; and then, to set his conscience at rest, he added piously: "In an affair of so high importance, on which depends the glory or the ruin of the realm,—my honour or disgrace—the condemnation of my soul and my everlasting merit—I will listen solely the voice of my conscience,² and I shall in such a manner as to be able to render account to God without fear."

Wolsey did more; it seems that the baseness of his declarations reassured him with regard to the baseness of his works. He at Greenwich on the following Sunday, said to the king in the presence of Fox, B Wolman, and Tuke: "I am bound to your royal person more than any subject was ever bound to his prince. I am ready to sacrifice my goods, my blood, my life for you....

¹ Non est immandum thesaurum margaritamque regni nostri. Strype, Records, i. p. 9.
² Justissime obstruere ora calumniantium et temere dissentientium. Ibid. p. 120.

¹ Burnet, Records, p. xxx.

² Reclamante conscientia. Strype, Records, i. p. 126.

my obligations towards God are greater

For that cause, rather than act against
 ll. I would endure the extremest evils.¹
 I would suffer your royal indignation, and, if
 I may, deliver my body to the execu-
 s that they may cut it in pieces." could be the spirit then impelling Wol-

Was it blindness or impudence? He
 ave been sincere in the words he ad-
 d to Henry; at the bottom of his heart
 y have desired to set the pope above
 ng, and the church of Rome above the
 om of England: and this desire may
 appeared to him a sublime virtue, such
 uld hide a multitude of sins. What
 ublic conscience would have called
 n, was heroism to the Romish priest.
 eal for the papacy is sometimes met with
 junction with the most flagrant immo-

If Wolsey deceived the pope, it was
 e popery in the realm of England.
 tell, Wolman, and Tuke listened to him
 astonishment.² Henry, who thought
 w his man, received these holy decla-
 s without alarm, and the cardinal has
 us eased his conscience, proceeded
 e in his iniquities. It seems, however,
 e inward reproaches which he silenced
 lic, had their revenge in secret. One
 officers entering his closet shortly
 ards, presented a letter addressed to
 ggio for his signature. It ended thus:
 pe all things shall be done according
 will of God, the desire of the king, the
 f the kingdom, and to our honour *with*
conscience." The cardinal having read
 ter, dashed out the four last words.³
 ence has a sting from which none can
 not even a Wolsey.

ever, Gardiner lost no time in Italy.
 he met Campeggio (to whom Henry
 ad given a palace at Rome, and a
 ic in England), he entreated him to
 London and pronounce the divorce.
 relate, who was to be empowered in
 ith authority to crush Protestantism
 many, seemed bound to undertake a
 : that would save Romanism in
 . But proud of his position at Rome,
 he acted as the pope's representative,
 ed not for a charge that would un-
 lly draw upon him either Henry's
 or the emperor's anger. He begged
 excused. The pope spoke in a similar
 When he was informed of this, the
 Tudor, beginning to believe that
 at desired to entangle him, as the
 entangles the lion in his toils, gave
 his anger on Tuke, Fox, and Gardi-
 it particularly on Wolsey. Nor were
 wanting for this explosion. The car-
 perceiving that his hatred against
 : had carried him too far, pretended

that it was without his orders that Claren-
 cieux, bribed by France, had combined with
 the French ambassador to declare war against
 the emperor; and added that he would have
 the English king-at-arms put to death as he
 passed through Calais. This was an infa-
 lible means of preventing disagreeable reve-
 lations. But the herald, who had been fore-
 warned, crossed by way of Boulogne, and,
 without the cardinal's knowledge, obtained
 an interview with Henry, before whom he
 placed the orders he had received from Wol-
 sey in three consecutive letters. The king,
 astonished at his minister's impudence, ex-
 claimed profanely: "O Lord Jesu, the man
 in whom I had most confidence told me quite
 the contrary." He then summoned Wolsey
 before him, and reproached him severely for
 his falsehoods. The wretched man shook
 like a leaf. Henry appeared to pardon him,
 but the season of his favour had passed away.
 Henceforward he kept the cardinal as one of
 those instruments we make use of for a time,
 and then throw away when we have no fur-
 ther need of them.

The king's anger against the pope far ex-
 ceeded that against Wolsey; he trembled
 from head to foot, rose from his seat, then
 sat down again, and vented his wrath in the
 most violent language:—"What!" he ex-
 claimed, "I shall exhaust my political com-
 binations, empty my treasury, make war
 upon my friends, consume my forces.....and
 for whom?.....for a heartless priest who,
 considering neither the exigencies of my
 honour, nor the peace of my conscience, nor
 the prosperity of my kingdom, nor the
 numerous benefits which I have lavished on
 him, refuses me a favour, which he ought,
 as the common father of the faithful, to grant
 even to an enemy.....Hypocrite!.....You
 cover yourself with the cloak of friendship,
 you flatter us by crafty practices,¹ but you
 give us only a bastard document, and you
 say like Pilate: It matters little to me if
 this king perishes, and all his kingdom with
 him; take him and judge him according to
 your law!.....I understand you.....you wish
 to entangle us in the briars,² to catch us in
 a trap, to lure us into a pitfall.....But we
 have discovered the snare; we shall escape
 from your ambushade, and brave your
 power."

Such was the language then heard at the
 court of England, says an historian.³ The
 monks and priests began to grow alarmed,
 while the most enlightened minds already
 saw in the distance the first gleams of reli-
 gious liberty. One day, at a time when Henry
 was proving himself a zealous follower of
 the Romish doctrines, Sir Thomas More was
 sitting in the midst of his family, when his
 son-in-law, Roper, now become a warm

ma queque....contra conscientiam suam. Strype,
 l. p. 126.
 great marvel and no less joy and comfort. Ibid.
 s. Ref. vol. I. p. 41.

¹ By crafty means and under the face and visage of entire
 amity. Strype, vol. I. p. 166.

² To involve and cast us so in the briars and fetters. Ibid.
³ Strype.

papist, exclaimed: "Happy kingdom of England, where no heretic dares show his face!"—"That is true, son Roper," said More; "we seem to sit now upon the mountains, treading the heretics under our feet like ants; but I pray God that some of us do not live to see the day when we gladly would wish to be at league with them, to suffer them to have their churches quietly to themselves, so that they would be content to let us have ours peaceably to ourselves." Roper angrily replied: "By my word, sir, that is very desperately spoken!" More, however, was in the right; genius is sometimes a great diviner. The Reformation was on the point of inaugurating religious liberty, and by that means placing civil liberty on an immovable foundation.

Henry himself grew wiser by degrees. He began to have doubts about the Roman hierarchy, and to ask himself, whether a priest-king, embarrassed in all the political complications of Europe, could be the head of the church of Jesus Christ. Pious individuals in his kingdom recognised in Scripture and in conscience a law superior to the law of Rome, and refused to sacrifice at the command of the church their moral convictions, sanctioned by the revelation of God. The hierarchical system, which claims to absorb man in the papacy, had oppressed the consciences of Christians for centuries. When the Romish Church had required from such as Berengarius, John Huss, Savonarola, John Wesel, and Luther, the denial of their consciences enlightened by the word, that is to say, by the voice of God, it had shown most clearly how great is the immorality of ultramontane socialism. "If the Christian consents to this enormous demand of the hierarchy," said the most enlightened men; "if he renounces his own notions of good and evil in favour of the clergy; if he reserves not his right to obey God, who speaks to him in the Bible, rather than men, even if their agreement were universal; if Henry VIII., for instance, should silence his conscience, which condemns his union with his brother's widow, to obey the clerical voice which approves of it; by that very act he renounces truth, duty, and even God himself." But we must add, that if the rights of conscience were beginning to be understood in England, it was not about such holy matters as these that the pope and Henry were contending. They were both intriguers—both dissatisfied, the one desirous of love, the other of power.

Be that as it may, a feeling of disgust for Rome then took root in the king's heart, and nothing could afterwards eradicate it. He immediately made every exertion to attract Erasmus to London. Indeed, if Henry separated from the pope, his old friends, the humanists, must be his auxiliaries, and not

the heretical doctors. But Erasmus, letter dated 1st June, alleged the weak of his health, the robbers who infest roads, the wars and rumours of wars afloat. "Our destiny leads us," he "let us yield to it."¹ It is a fortunate for England that Erasmus was not former.

Wolsey noted this movement of his ter's, and resolved to make a strenuous to reconcile Clement and Henry; his safety was at stake. He wrote to the to Campeggio, to La Casale, to all Ital declared that if he was ruined, the po would be ruined too, so far at least as E was concerned: "I would obtain the bull with my own blood, if possible,"² ed. "Assure the holy father on my life mortal eye shall see it." Finally, he the chief-almoner to write to Gardiner Campeggio does not come, *you shall ne turn to England*;³ an infallible me stimulating the secretary's zeal.

This was the last effort of Henry Bourbon and the Prince of Orange; he employed more zeal a year before in the walls of Rome. Wolsey's fire flamed his agents; they argued, ent stormed, and threatened. The alarm dinals and theologians, assembling pope's call, discussed the matter, mixi litical interests with the affairs of the at last they understood what Wolse communicated to them. "Henry is th energetic defender of the faith," the "It is only by acceding to his deman we can preserve the kingdom of Engl the popedom. The army of Charles is flight, and that of Francis triumphs. last of these arguments decided the po the pope suddenly felt a great sympathy Wolsey and for the English Church; t peror was beaten; therefore he was Clement granted everything.

First, Campeggio was desired to go don. The pontiff knew that he might on his intelligence and inflexible adhe the interests of the hierarchy; even t dinal's gout was of use, for it might innumerable delays. Next, on the June, the pope, then at Viterbo, gave commission, by which he conferred o sey and Campeggio the power to dock and void the marriage between Hen Catherine, with liberty for the king an to form new matrimonial ties.⁴ A fe later he signed the famous *decree* by he himself annulled the marriage b Henry and Catherine; but instead of i ing it to Gardiner, he gave it to Cam with orders not to let it go out of his Clement was not sure of the course of

¹ *Fatis agimur, fatis cedendum*, Erasmus, Ep. p.

² *Ubi propriis sanctine id volumus posse impetrare*, Journal, Records, ii. p. 9.

³ Neither should Gardiner ever return. Strype, i. Sand, p. 27.

⁴ *Ad alia vota commigrandi*, Herbert, p. 298.

¹ My uncle said in a rage. More's life, p. 122.

Charles should decidedly lose his power, bull would be published in the face of stendom : if he should recover it, the bull would be burnt.¹ In fact the flames did actually consume some time afterwards this bull which Clement had wetted with his blood as he put his name to it. Finally, on the 23d of July, the pope signed a valid document, by which he declared beforehand all retraction of these acts should be null and void.² Campeggio and Gardiner died. Charles's defeat was as complete at the time as at Naples ; the justice of his cause vanished with his army.

Nothing, therefore, was wanting to Henry's success. He had Campeggio, the commission, the decretal bull of divorce signed by the pope, the engagement giving an irrevocable sanction to all these acts. Wolsey was conquered,—the conqueror of Clement I..... He often wished to mount the restive courser of the papedom and to guide it at his will,

but each time the unruly steed had thrown him from the saddle. Now he was firm in his seat, and held the horse in hand. Thanks to Charles's reverses, he was master at Rome. The papedom, whether it was pleased or not, must take the road he had chosen, and before which it had so long recoiled. The king's joy was unbounded, and equalled only by Wolsey's. The cardinal, in the fulness of his heart, wishing to shew his gratitude to the officers of the Roman court, made them presents of carpets, horses, and vessels of gold.¹ All near Henry felt the effects of his good humour. Anne smiled ; the court indulged in amusements ; the great affair was about to be accomplished ; the New Testament to be delivered to the flames. The union between England and the papedom appeared confirmed for ever, and the victory which Rome seemed about to gain in the British isles might secure her triumph in the west. Vain omens ! far different were the events in the womb of the future.

1ste Papers, vol. viii. p. 78. Dr Lingard acknowledges the existence of this bull and the order to burn it. (quod abest) aliquid contra premissa facianus, illud nullo modo, irrito, inani et vacuo omnino haberi volumus. rt. p. 280.

1 Num illi, aniles, vas aureum aut equi maxime probentur. Burnet, Records, i. p. xv.

BOOK IX.

THE TWO DIVORCES.

CHAPTER I.

THE two Divorces—Entreaties of Anne Boleyn—The Letters in the Vatican—Henry to the Pope—Henry's Second Letter—Third—Fourth—Wolsey's Fall—His fruitless Proceedings—He turns—The Swiss—Sickness—Henry's Fears—New Letters to Anne—Anne's sick, her Peace—Henry writes to her—Wolsey's Termination—Campeggio does not arrive—All dissemble at Court.

WHILE England seemed binding herself to the court of Rome, the general course of the church and of the world gave stronger pressure every day of the approaching emancipation of Christendom. The respect which for many centuries had hedged in the Roman hierarchy was everywhere shaken ; the Reformation, already firmly established in several states of Germany and Switzerland, was extending to France, the Low Countries, and Hungary, beginning in Sweden, Denmark, and Poland. The South of Europe appeared still submissive to the Romish church ; but even there, at heart, cared little for the pontifical authority ; and even Italy began to inquire whether the papal dominion was not an obstacle to her prosperity. England, notwithstanding appearances, was also going to throw off the yoke of the bishops of the Tiber,

and many faithful voices might already be heard demanding that the word of God should be acknowledged the supreme authority in the church.

The conquest of Christian Britain by the papacy occupied all the seventh century, as we have seen. The sixteenth was the counterpart of the seventh. The struggle which England then had to sustain, in order to free herself from the power that had enslaved her during nine hundred years, was full of sudden changes ; like those of the times of Augustine and Oswy. This struggle indeed took place in each of the countries where the church was reformed ; but nowhere can it be traced in all its diverse phases so distinctly as in Great Britain. The positive work of the Reformation—that which consisted in recovering the truth and life so long lost—was nearly the same everywhere ; but as regards the negative work—the struggle with the papedom—we might almost say that other nations committed to England the task by which they were all to profit. An unenlightened piety may perhaps look upon the relations of the court of London with the court

of Rome, at the period of the Reformation, as void of interest to the faith; but history will not think the same. It has been too often forgotten that the main point in this contest was not the divorce (which was only the occasion), but the contest itself and its important consequences. The divorce of Henry Tudor and Catherine of Aragon is a secondary event; but the divorce of England and the popedom is a primary event, one of the great evolutions of history, a creative act (so to speak) which still exercises a normal influence over the destinies of mankind. And accordingly every thing connected with it is full of instruction for us. Already a great number of pious men had attached themselves to the authority of God; but the king, and with him that part of the nation, strangers to the evangelical faith, clung to Rome, which Henry had so valiantly defended. The word of God had spiritually separated England from the papacy; the great matter separated it materially. There is a close relationship between these two divorces, which gives extreme importance to the process between Henry and Catherine. When a great revolution is to be effected in the bosom of a people (we have the Reformation particularly in view), God instructs the minority by the Holy Scriptures, and the majority by the dispensations of the divine government. Facts undertake to push forward those whom the more spiritual voice of the word leaves behind. England, profiting by this great teaching of facts, has thought it her duty ever since to avoid all contact with a power that had deceived her; she has thought that popery could not have the dominion over a people without infringing on its vitality, and that it was only by emancipating themselves from this priestly dictatorship that modern nations could advance safely in the paths of liberty, order, and greatness.

For more than a year, as Henry's complaints testify, Anne continued deaf to his homage. The despairing king saw that he must set other springs to work, and taking Lord Rochford aside, he unfolded his plans to him. The ambitious father promised to do all in his power to influence his daughter. "The divorce is a settled thing," he said to her; "you have no control over it. The only question is, whether it shall be you or another who shall give an heir to the crown. Bear in mind that terrible revolutions threaten England if the king has no son." Thus did everything combine to weaken Anne's resolution. The voice of her father, the interests of her country, the king's love, and doubtless some secret ambition, influenced her to grasp the proffered sceptre. These thoughts haunted her in society, in solitude, and even in her dreams. At one time she imagined herself on the throne, distributing to the people her charities and the word of God; at another, in some obscure exile, leading a useless life, in tears and ignominy. When, in the

sports of her imagination, the crown of England appeared all glittering before her, she first rejected it; but afterwards that ornament seemed so beautiful, and the power it conferred so enviable, that she repented less energetically. Anne still refused, however, to give the so ardently solicited assent.

Henry, vexed by her hesitation, wrote her frequently, and almost always in French. As the court of Rome makes use of letters, which are kept in the Vatican, and abuse the Reformation, we think it our duty to quote them. The theft committed by the cardinal has preserved them for us; and shall see that, far from supporting the calumnies that have been spread abroad, they are on the contrary, to refute them. We are far from approving their contents as a whole, but we cannot deny to the young lady, whom they are addressed, the possession of noble and generous sentiments.

Henry, unable to support the agony caused by Anne's refusal, wrote to her, as is generally supposed, in May 1525:¹

"By revolving in my mind the content of your last letters, I have put myself into great agony, not knowing how to interpret the whether to my disadvantage, as I understand some passages, or not, as I conclude from others. I beseech you earnestly to let me know your real mind as to the love between us two. It is needful for me to obtain the answer of you, having been for a whole year wounded with the dart of love, and not assured whether I shall succeed in finding place in your heart and affection. This uncertainty has hindered me of late from declaring you my mistress, lest it should prove that you only entertain for me an ordinary regard. But if you please to do the duty of a true and loyal mistress, I promise you that not only the name shall be given to you, but also that I will take you for my mistress, casting off all others that are in competition with you out of my thoughts and affections, and serving you only. I beg you to give me an entire answer to this my rude letter, that may know on what and how far I may depend. But if it does not please you to answer me in writing, let me know some place where I may have it by word of mouth, as I will go thither with all my heart. I am more for fear of tiring you. Written by the hand of him, who would willingly remain yours,"

"H. KEX."

Such were the affectionate, and we must add (if we think of the time and the manner) respectful terms employed by Henry in writing to Anne Boleyn. The latter, while making any promises, betrayed some little affection for the king, and added to her ring an emblematical jewel, representing "a soul

¹ Vatican Letters, Pamphleteer, No. 43, p. 114. The date in the text is that assigned by the editor; we are inclined to place it somewhat earlier.

tary damsel in a boat tossed by the tempest," wishing thus to make the prince understand the dangers to which his love exposed her. Henry was ravished, and immediately replied :—

"For a present so valuable, that nothing could be more (considering the whole of it), I return you my most hearty thanks, not only on account of the costly diamond, and the ship in which the solitary damsel is tossed about, but chiefly for the fine interpretation, and the too humble submission which your goodness hath made to me. Your favour I will always seek to preserve, and this is my firm intention and hope, according to the matter, *aut illic aut nullibi*.

"The demonstrations of your affections are such, the fine thoughts of your letter so cordially expressed, that they oblige me for ever to honour, love, and serve you sincerely. I beseech you to continue in the same firm and constant purpose, and assuring you that, on my part, I will not only make you a suitable return, but outdo you, so great is the loyalty of the heart that desires to please you. I desire, also, that if, at any time before this, I have in any way offended you, that you would give me the same absolution that you ask, assuring you, that hereafter my heart shall be dedicated to you alone. I wish my person were so too. God can do it, if he pleases, to whom I pray once a-day for that end, hoping that at length my prayers will be heard. I wish the time may be short, but I shall think it long till we see one another. Written by the hand of that secretary, who in heart, body, and will, is

"Your loyal and most faithful Servant,
"H. T. Rex."

Henry was a passionate lover, and history is not called upon to vindicate that cruel prince; but in the preceding letter we cannot discover the language of a seducer. It is impossible to imagine the king praying to God *once a-day* for anything but a lawful union. These daily prayers seem to present the matter in a different light from that which Romanist writers have imagined.

Henry thought himself more advanced than he really was. Anne then shrank back; embarrassed by the position she held at court, she begged for one less elevated. The king submitted, although very vexed at first:

"Nevertheless that it belongeth not to a gentleman," he wrote to her, to put his mistress in the situation of a servant, yet, by following your wishes, I would willingly concede it, if by that means you are less uncom-

¹ Pamphleteer, No. 43, p. 115. After the signature comes the following device:

Nulle entre que



ne cherche H. T.

fortable in the place you shall choose than in that where you have been placed by me. I thank you most cordially that you are pleased still to bear me in your remembrance.

"H. T."

Anne, having retired in May to Hever castle, her father's residence, the king wrote to her as follows :—

"My Mistress and my Friend,

"My heart and I surrender ourselves into your hands, and we supplicate to be commended to your good graces, and that by absence your affections may not be diminished to us. For that would be to augment our pain, which would be a great pity, since absence gives enough, and more than I ever thought could be felt. This brings to my mind a fact in astronomy, which is, that the longer the days are, the farther off is the sun, and yet the more scorching is his heat. Thus is it with our love; absence has placed distance between us, nevertheless fervour increases, at least on my part. I hope the same from you, assuring you that in my case the anguish of absence is so great that it would be intolerable were it not for the firm hope I have of your indissoluble affection towards me. In order to remind you of it, and because I cannot in person be in your presence, I send you the thing which comes nearest that is possible, that is to say, my picture, and the whole device, which you already know of,¹ set in bracelets; wishing myself in their place when it pleases you. This is from the hand of

"Your Servant and Friend,
"H. T. Rex."

Pressed by her father, her uncles, and by Henry, Anne's firmness was shaken. That crown, rejected by Renée and by Margaret, dazzled the young Englishwoman; every day she found some new charm in it: and gradually familiarizing herself with her new future, she said at last: "If the king becomes free, I shall be willing to marry him." This was a great fault; but Henry was at the height of joy.

The courtiers watched with observant eyes these developments of the king's affection, and were already preparing the homage which they proposed to lay at Anne Boleyn's feet. But there was one man at court whom Henry's resolution filled with sorrow; this was Wolsey. He had been the first to suggest to the king the idea of separating from Catherine; but if Anne is to succeed her, there must be no divorce. He had first alienated Catherine's party; he was now going to irritate that of the Boleyns; accordingly he began to fear that whatever might be the issue of this affair, it would cause his ruin. He took frequent walks in his park

¹ Doubtless the *aut illic aut nullibi*. For this letter see the Pamphleteer, No. 43, p. 345.

at Hampton Court, accompanied by the French ambassador, the confidant of his sorrows: "I would willingly lose one of my fingers," he said, "if I could only have two hours' conversation with the king of France." At another time, fancying all England was pursuing him, he said with alarm, "The king my master and all his subjects will cry murder against me; they will fall upon me more fiercely than on a Turk, and all Christendom will rise against me!" The next day Wolsey, to gain the French ambassador, gave him a long history of what he had done for France *against the wishes of all England*: "I need much dexterity in my affairs," he added, "and must use a terrible *alchemy*."¹ But alchemy could not save him. Rarely has so much anguish been veiled beneath such grandeur. Du Bellay was moved with pity at the sight of the unhappy man's sufferings. "When he gives way," he wrote to Montmorency, "it lasts a day together;—he is continually sighing.—You have never seen a man in such anguish of mind."²

In truth Wolsey's reason was tottering. That fatal idea of the divorce was the cause of all his woes, and to be able to recall it, he would have given, not a finger only, but an arm, and perhaps more. It was too late; Henry had started his car down the steep, and whoever attempted to stop it would have been crushed beneath its wheels. However, the cardinal tried to obtain something. Francis I. had intercepted a letter from Charles V. in which the emperor spoke of the divorce as likely to raise the English nation in revolt. Wolsey caused this letter to be read to the king, in the hope that it would excite his serious apprehensions; but Henry only *fronced*, and Du Bellay, to whom the monarch ascribed the report on these troubles foreboded by Charles, received "a gentle lash."³ This was the sole result of the manoeuvre.

Wolsey now resolved to broach this important subject in a straightforward manner. The step might prove his ruin; but if he succeeded he was saved and the pope's pardon with him. Accordingly one day (shortly before the sweating sickness broke out, says Du Bellay, probably in June 1528) Wolsey openly prayed the king to renounce his design; his own reputation, he told him, the prosperity of England, the peace of Europe, the safety of the church,—all required it; besides the pope would never grant the divorce. While the cardinal was speaking, Henry's face grew black; and before he had concluded the king's anger broke out. "The king used terrible words," said Du Bellay. He would have given a thousand Wolseys for one Anne Boleyn. "No other than God shall take her from me," was his most decided resolution.

Wolsey, now no longer doubting of his disgrace began to take his measures accordingly. He commenced building in several places, in order to win the affections of the common people; he took great care of his bishoprics, in order that they might ensure him an easy retreat; he was affable to the courtiers; and thus covered the earth with flowers to deaden his fall. Then he would sigh as if he were disgusted with honours, and would celebrate the charms of solitude.⁴ He did more than this. Seeing plainly that the best way of recovering the king's favour would be to conciliate Anne Boleyn, he made her the most handsome presents,⁵ and assured her that all his efforts would not be directed to raise her to the throne of England. Anne believing these declarations replied, that she would help him in her turn "As long as any breath was in her body." Even Henry had no doubt that the cardinal had profited by his lesson.

Thus were all parties restless and uneasy—Henry desiring to marry Lady Anne, the courtiers to get rid of Wolsey, and the latter to remain in power—when a serious event appeared to put every one in harmony with his neighbour. About the middle of June the terrible sweating sickness (*sudor anglicus*) broke out in England. The citizens of London, "thick as flies," said Du Bellay,⁶ suddenly feeling pains in the head and ears rushed from the streets or shops to the chambers, began to sweat, and took to the beds. The disease made frightful and rapid progress, a burning heat preyed on the limbs; if they chanced to uncover themselves, the perspiration ceased, delirium came on, and in four hours the victim was dead and "stiff as a wall,"⁷ says the French ambassador. Every family was in mourning. Sir Thomas More, kneeling by his daughter's bedside, burst into tears, and called upon God to save his beloved Margaret.⁸ Wolsey, who was at Hampton Court suspecting nothing amiss, arrived in London as usual to preside in the Court of Chancery, but he ordered his horses to be saddled and immediately rode back. In four days 2000 persons died in London.

The court was at first safe from the contagion; but on the fourth day one of Anne Boleyn's ladies was attacked; it was as if a thunderbolt had fallen on the palace. The king removed with all haste, and staid a place twelve miles off, for he was not prepared to die. He ordered Anne to return her father, invited the queen to join him, and took up his residence at Waltham. His conscience awoke only in the presence of death. Four of his attendants and a friar

¹ Une terrible Alchemie. Le Grand, Preuves, p. 157.

² 26th April, 1528. Ibid. p. 21.

³ Quel jour peüit coup de Janet. 24th May, 1528. Du Bellay to Montmorency. Le Grand, Preuves, p. 152.

⁴ 20th August 1528. Du Bellay to Montmorency. Grand, Preuves, p. 163.

⁵ Pamphleteer, No. 63, p. 150.

⁶ Iren comme mouettes. Le Grand, Preuves, p. 153.

⁷ Raide comme un pan de mur. Ibid.

⁸ More's Life, p. 134.

anne's confessor, as it would appear,¹ falling, the king departed for Hunsdon. He had on there two days only when Powis, crew, Carton, and others of his court, were rried off in two or three hours. Henry d met an enemy whom he could not van- ish. He quitted the place attacked by the sease; he removed to another quarter; and hen the sickness laid hold of any of his tendants in his new retreat, he again left at for a new asylum. Terror froze his od; he wandered about pursued by that rrible scythe whose sweep might perhaps ach him; he cut off all communication, en with his servants; shut himself up in a om at the top of an isolated tower; ate all one, and would see no one but his physi- an;² he prayed, fasted, confessed, became onced with the queen; took the sacra- ent every Sunday and feast day; received r *Maker*,³ to use the words of a gentleman his chamber; and the queen and Wolsey l the same. Nor was that all: his coun- or, Sir Brian Tuke, was sick in Essex; t that mattered not; the king ordered him come to him, even in his litter; and on a 20th of June, Henry after hearing three asses (he had never done so much before one day) said to Tuke: "I want you to ite *my will*." He was not the only one o took that precaution. "There were a ndred thousand made," says Du Bellay. During this time, Anne in her retirement at ver was calm and collected; she prayed ch, particularly for the king and for Wol- y.⁴ But Henry, far less submissive, was ry anxious. "The uneasiness my doubts out your health gave me," he wrote to her, isturbed and frightened me exceedingly; t now, since you have as yet felt nothing, ope it is with you as it is with us.....I g you, my entirely beloved, not to frighten urself, or be too uneasy at our absence, for erever I am, I am yours. And yet we ust sometimes submit to our misfortunes, whoever will struggle against fate, is ially but so much the farther from gain- ; his end. Wherefore, comfort yourself i take courage, and make this misfortune easy to you as you can."⁵ As he received no news, Henry's uneasi- s increased; he sent to Anne a messenger l a letter: "To acquit myself of the duty a true servant, I send you this letter, bu- ching you to apprise me of your welfare, ich I pray may continue as long as I de- mine own." Henry's fears were well founded; the lady became more severe; in four hours hteen persons died at the archbishop of urtherbury's; Anne Boleyn herself and her

brother also caught the infection. The king was exceedingly agitated; Anne alone ap- peared calm; the strength of her character raised her above exaggerated fears; but her enemies ascribed her calmness to other motives. "Her ambition is stronger than death," they said. "The king, queen, and cardinal tremble for their lives, but she..... she would die content if she died a queen." Henry once more changed his residence. All the gentlemen of his privy-chamber were attacked with one exception; "he remained alone, keeping himself apart," says Du Bel- lay, and confessed every day. He wrote again to Anne, sending her his physician, Dr Butts: "The most displeasing news that could occur came to me suddenly at night. On three accounts I must lament it. One, to hear of the illness of my mistress, whom I esteem more than all the world, and whose health I desire as I do my own. I would willingly bear half of what you suffer to cure you. The second, from the fear that I shall have to endure my wearisome absence much longer, which has hitherto given me all the vexation that was possible; and when gloomy thoughts fill my mind, then I pray God to remove far from me such troublesome and rebellious ideas. The third, because my physician, in whom I have most confidence, is absent. Yet, from the want of him, I send you my second, and hope that he will soon make you well. I shall then love him more than ever. I beseech you to be guided by his advice in your illness. By your doing this, I hope soon to see you again, which will be to me a greater comfort than all the precious jewels in the world."

The pestilence soon broke out with more violence around Henry; he fled in alarm to Hatfield, taking with him only the gentle- men of his chamber; he next quitted this place for Tittenhanger, a house belonging to Wolsey, whence he commanded general pro- cessions throughout the kingdom in order to avert this scourge of God.⁶ At the same time he wrote to Wolsey: "As soon as any one falls ill in the place where you are, fly to another; and go thus from place to place." The poor cardinal was still more alarmed than Henry. As soon as he felt the slightest per- spiration, he fancied himself a dead man. "I entreat your highness," he wrote trem- bling to the king on the 5th of July, "to show yourself full of pity for my soul; these are perhaps the last words I shall address to you.....the whole world will see by my last testament that you have not bestowed your favour upon an ungrateful man." The king, perceiving that Wolsey's mind was affected, bade him "put apart fear and fantasies,"⁷ and wear a cheerful humour in the midst of death.

At last the sickness began to diminish, and immediately the desire to see Anne revived in Henry's bosom. On the 18th of August

Votre père maître Jeannore est tombé malade. Henry nne. Pamphleteer, No. 42, p. 347.
With his physician in a chamber within a tower to sup- rt. State Papers, vol. i. p. 296. ² Ibid. p. 291.
I thank our Lord that them that I desired and prayed are escaped, and that is the king's grace and you. Anne Folsey. Pamphleteer, No. 42, p. 348.
³ Ibid. No. 42, p. 347.

¹ Pamphleteer, No. 42, p. 339.
² State Papers, i. p. 296.

³ Ibid. p. 314.

she re-appeared at court, and all the king's thoughts were now bent on the divorce.

But this business seemed to proceed in inverse ratio to his desires. There was no news of Campeggio; was he lost in the Alps or at sea? Did his gout detain him in some village, or was the announcement of his departure only a feint? Anne Boleyn herself was uneasy, for she attached great importance to Campeggio's coming. If the church annulled the king's first marriage, Anne seeing the principal obstacle removed, thought she might accept Henry's hand. She therefore wrote to Wolsey: "I long to hear from you news of the legate, for I do hope (an' they come from you) they shall be very good." The king added in a postscript: "The not hearing of the legate's arrival in France causeth us somewhat to muse. Notwithstanding we trust by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God) shortly to be eased out of that trouble."¹

But still there was no news. While waiting for the long-desired ambassador, every one at the English court played his part as well as he could. Anne, whether from conscience, prudence, or modesty, refused the honours which the king would have showered upon her, and never approached Catherine but with marks of profound respect. Wolsey had the look of desiring the divorce, while in reality he dreaded it, as fated to cause his ruin and that of the popedom. Henry strove to conceal the motives which impelled him to separate from the queen; to the bishops, he spoke of his *conscience*, to the nobility of an *heir*, and to all of the sad obligation which compelled him to put away so justly beloved a princess. In the meanwhile, he seemed to live on the best terms with her, from what Du Bellay says.² But Catherine was the one who best dissembled her sentiments; she lived with the king as during their happiest days, treated Anne with every kindness, adopted an elegant costume, encouraged music and dancing in her apartments, often appeared in public, and seemed desirous of captivating by her gracious smiles the goodwill of England. This was a mournful comedy, destined to end in tragedy full of tears and agony.

CHAPTER II.

Coverdale and Inspiration—He undertakes to translate the Scriptures—His Joy and Spiritual Songs—Tyball and the Laymen—Coverdale preaches at Brunnstead—Revival at Colchester—Incomplete Societies and the New Testament—Persecution—Moomouth arrested and released.

WHILE these scenes were acting in the royal palaces, far different discussions were going

on among the people. After having for some time on the agitations of the we gladly return to the lowly disciples divine word. The Reformation of En (and this is its characteristic) brings us by turns the king upon his throne the laborious artisan in his humble cot and between these two extremes we with the doctor in his college, and the in his pulpit.

Among the young men trained at bridge under Barnes's instruction, and had aided him at the time of his trial Miles Coverdale, afterwards bishop of E a man distinguished by his zeal for the pel of Jesus Christ. Some time after prior's fall, on Easter Eve, 1527, Coverdale and Cromwell met at the house of Sir Th More, when the former exhorted the bridge student to apply himself to the of sacred learning.¹ The lapse of his mind master had alarmed Coverdale, and the necessity of withdrawing from that ward activity which had proved so fatal to Barnes. He therefore turned to the tures, read them again and again, and ceived, like Tyndale, that the reformat the church must be effected by the will of God. The inspiration of that word, the foundation of its sovereign authority, struck Coverdale. "Wherever the Scri is known it reformeth all things. And because it is given by the inspiration of God. This fundamental principle of the Reformation in England must, in every age, be of the church.

Coverdale found happiness in his study. "Now," he said, "I begin to taste of Scriptures! Now, honour be to God! set to the most sweet smell of holy letters. He did not stop there, but thought it his to attempt in England the work which Coverdale was prosecuting in Germany. The was so important in the eyes of the Catholics, that two translations were undertaken simultaneously. "Why should other tions," said Coverdale, "be more plentiful provided for with the Scriptures in their ther-tongue than we?"⁴—"Beware of translating the Bible!" exclaimed the part of the schoolmen; "your labour will make divisions in the faith and in the will of God."⁵—"God has now given his church replied Coverdale, "the gifts of translation and of printing; we must improve them. And if any friends spoke of Tyndale's translation, he answered: "Do not you know when many are starting together, ever doth his best to be highest the mark?" "But Scripture ought to exist in Latin," objected the priests.—"No," replied Coverdale again, "the Holy Ghost is as much author of it in the Hebrew, Greek, Fr

¹ Pamphleteer, No. 68, p. 149.
² 16th October 1528. Du Bellay to Montmorency. Le Grand, *Preuves*, p. 170.

¹ Coverdale's Remains (Park. Soc.), p. 420. The words the "Remains" dates this letter to Cromwell, in 1527. Others assign it to a later period.
² Coverdale's Remains, p. 10.
³ Ibid. p. 12.
⁴ Ibid. p. 12.
⁵ Ibid. p. 12.

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utch, and English, as in Latin.....The word of God is of like authority, in what language soever the Holy Ghost speaketh it."¹ This does not mean that translations of Holy Scripture are inspired, but that the word of God, faithfully translated, always possesses divine authority.

Coverdale determined, therefore, to translate the Bible, and, to procure the necessary aids, he wrote to Cromwell, who, during his travels, had made a collection of these precious writings. "Nothing in the world I prize but books," he wrote; "like Jacob, thou have drunk of the dew of heaven.....I like to drink of your waters."² Cromwell did not refuse Coverdale his treasures. "Since the Holy Ghost moves you to bear the cost of this work," exclaimed the latter, "God reserves me boldness to labour in the same."³ He commenced without delay, saying: "Whoever believeth not the Scripture, believeth not Christ; and whoso refuseth it, refuseth God also."⁴ Such were the foundations of the reformed church in England.

Coverdale did not undertake to translate the Scriptures as a mere literary task: the spirit which had inspired him spoke to his spirit; and tasting their life-giving promises, expressed his happiness in pious songs:—

He glad now, all ye christen men,
And let us rejoice unfaynedly.
The kindness cannot be written with penne,
That we have receaved of God's mercy;
Whose love towards us hath never ended:
He hath done for us as a frende;
Now let us thanke him hartely.

These lorynge wordes he spake to me:
I wyll delivryr thy soule from payne;
I am despoiled to do for thee,
And to myne owne selfe thee to retayne.
Thou shalt be with me, for thou art myne;
And I with thee, for I am thine;
Such is my love, I can not layne.

They wyll shed out myn precyous bloude,
And take away my lyfe also;
Whiche I wyll suffre all for thy good;
Believe this sure, where ever thou go.
For I will yet ryse up agayne;
Thy synnes I beare, though it be payne,
To make thee safe and free from we.

Coverdale did not remain long in the solitude he desired. The study of the Bible, which had attracted him to it, soon drew him out of it. A revival was going on in Essex; in Tyball, an inhabitant of Bumpstead, having learnt to find in Jesus Christ the bread from heaven, did not stop there. As day as he was reading the first epistle to the Corinthians, these words: "eat of this bread," and "drink of this cup," repeated several times within a few verses, convinced him that there was no transubstantiation. A priest has no power to create the body of Christ," said he; "Christ truly is present in the Eucharist, but he is there only for him

that believeth, and by a spiritual presence and action only." Tyball, disgusted with the Romish clergy and worship, and convinced that Christians are called to a universal priesthood, soon thought that men could do without a special ministry, and without denying the offices mentioned in Scripture, as some Christians have done since, he attached no importance to them. "Priesthood is not necessary," he said: "every layman may administer the sacraments as well as a priest." The minister of Bumpstead, one Richard Foxe, and next a greyfriar of Colchester named Meadow, were successively converted by Tyball's energetic preaching.

Coverdale, who was living not far from these parts, having heard speak of this religious revival, came to Bumpstead, and went into the pulpit on the 29th of March 1528, to proclaim the treasures contained in Scripture. Among his hearers was an Augustine monk, named Topley, who was supplying Foxe's place during his absence. This monk, while staying at the parsonage, had found a copy of Wickliffe's *Wicket*, which he read eagerly. His conscience was wounded by it, and all seemed to totter about him.⁵ He had gone to church full of doubt, and after divine service he waited upon the preacher, exclaiming: "O my sins, my sins!" "Confess yourself to God," said Coverdale, "and not to a priest. God accepteth the confession which cometh from the heart, and blotteth out all your sins."⁶ The monk believed in the forgiveness of God, and became a zealous evangelist for the surrounding country.

The divine word had hardly lighted one torch, before that kindled another. At Colchester, in the same county, a worthy man named Pykas, had received a copy of the Epistles of Saint Paul from his mother, with this advice: "My son, live according to these writings, and not according to the teaching of the clergy." Some time after, Pykas having bought a New Testament, and "read it thoroughly many times,"⁷ a total change took place in him. "We must be baptized by the Holy Ghost," he said, and these words passed like a breath of life over his simple-minded hearers. One day, Pykas having learnt that Bilney, the first of the Cambridge doctors who had known the power of God's word, was preaching at Ipswich, he proceeded thither, for he never refused to listen to a priest, when that priest proclaimed the truth. "O, what a sermon! how full of the Holy Ghost!" exclaimed Pykas.

From that period meetings of the brothers in Christ (for thus they were called) increased in number. They read the New Testament, and each imparted to the others what he had

¹ Coverdale's Remains, p. 28.
² De tuo ipso torrente maxime potare exopto. *Ibid.* p. 401.
³ *Ibid.* p. 19.

⁴ Strype, Records, l. p. 61.
⁵ I felt in my conscience a great wavering. *Anderson's Annals of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 158.
⁶ Coverdale's Remains, p. 61.
⁷ Strype, vol. i. ch. i. p. 151.

received for the instruction of all. One day when the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew had been read, Pykias, who was sometimes wrong in the spiritual interpretation of Scripture, remarked: "When the Lord declares that *not one stone of the temple shall be left upon another*, he speaks of those haughty priests who persecute those whom they call heretics, and who pretend to be the temple of God. God will destroy them all." After protesting against the priest, he protested against the host: "The real body of Jesus Christ is in the Word," he said; "God is in the Word, the Word is in God.¹ God and the Word cannot be separated. Christ is the living Word that nourishes the soul." These humble preachers increased. Even women knew the Epistles and Gospels by heart; Marion Matthew, Dorothy Long, Catherine Swain, Alice Gardiner, and above all, Gyrling's wife, who had been in service with a priest lately burnt for heresy, took part in these gospel meetings. And it was not in cottages only that the glad tidings were then proclaimed; Bower Hall, the residence of the squire of Bumpstead, was open to Foxe, Topley, and Tyball, who often read the Holy Scriptures in the great hall of the mansion, in the presence of the master and all their household: a humble Reformation more real than that effected by Henry VIII.

There was, however, some diversity of opinion among these brethren. "All who have begun to believe," said Tyball, Pykias, and others, "ought to meet together to hear the word and increase in faith. We pray in common.....and that constitutes a church." Coverdale, Bilney, and Latimer willingly recognised these incomplete societies, in which the members met simply as *disciples*; they believed them necessary at a period when the church was forming. These societies (in the reformers' views) proved that organization has not the priority in the Christian church, as Rome maintains, and that this priority belongs to the faith and the life. But this imperfect form they also regarded as provisional. To prevent numerous dangers, it was necessary that this society should be succeeded by another, the church of the New Testament, with its elders or bishops, and deacons. The word, they thought, rendered a ministry of the word necessary; and for its proper exercise not only piety was required, but a knowledge of the sacred languages, the gift of eloquence, its exercise and perfection. However, there was no division among these Christians upon secondary matters.

For some time the bishop of London watched this movement with uneasiness. He caused Hacker to be arrested, who, for six years past, had gone from house to house reading the Bible in London and Essex; examined and threatened him, inquired carefully after the names of those who had shewn him hospitality; and the poor man in alarm had given

up about forty of his brethren. Sch Harris, priest of Kensington, Forman, of All Hallows, John and William P, and many others, were summoned before bishop. They were taken to prison; were led before the judges; they were in the stocks; they were tormented in a hundred ways. Their minds became confused, their thoughts wandered; and many of the confessions required by their persecutors.

The adversaries of the gospel, proud of success, now desired a more glorious vic If they could not reach Tyndale, had not in London the patron of his work, mouth, the most influential of the merchant and a follower of the true faith? The church had made religion their business, and the reformation restored it to the people. No offence to the priests so much, as that they should claim the right to believe without their intervention, and even to propagate faith. Sir Thomas More, one of the amiable men of the sixteenth century, participated in their hatred. He wrote to Julius: "Germany now daily bringeth monsters more deadly than what Africa wont to do;² but, alas! she is not a Numbers of Englishmen, who would a few years ago even hear Luther's name mentioned, are now publishing his praises! Land is now like the sea, which swells heaves before a great storm, without any stirring it."³ More felt particularly irritated because the boldness of the gossellers succeeded to the timidity of the Lollards. "The heretics," he said, "have put off crisis, and put on impudence." He then resolved to set his hand to the work.

On the 14th of May 1529, Monmouth in his shop, when an usher came and summoned him to appear before Sir J. Daus one of the privy council. The pious man obeyed, striving to persuade himself that he was wanted on some matter of business in this he was deceived, as he soon found out. "What letters and books have lately received from abroad?"⁴ asked, some severity, Sir Thomas More, who, Sir William Kingston, was Sir John's league. "None," replied Monmouth. "I aid have you given to any persons living the continent?"⁵ "None for these last years. William Tyndale abode with me months," he continued, "and his life what a good priest's ought to be. I gave ten pounds at the period of his departure nothing since. Besides, he is not the one I have helped; the bishop of Lorraine chaplain, for instance, has received more than L.60." "What books have in your possession?" The merchant of the New Testament and some other "All these books have lain more than years on my table, and I never heard

¹ Strype, vol. I. ch. I. p. 120.

² More's Life, p. 72.

³ Strype's Records, p. 261.

⁴ Ibid. p.

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riests, friars, or laymen learnt any news from them."¹ More tossed his It is a hard matter," he used to say, a dry stick in the fire without its or to nourish a snake in our bosom be stung by it." "That is enough," nued, "we shall go and search your

Not a paper escaped their curiosity; found nothing to compromise Monhe was, however, sent to the Tower. some interval the merchant was again before his judges. "You are accus- l More, "of having bought Martin tracts; of maintaining those who slating the Scriptures into English; ribing to get the New Testament n English, with or without glosses; g imported it into the kingdom; and, f having said that faith alone is suf- save a man."²

was matter enough to burn several fonmouth, feeling convinced that alone had power to deliver him, re- apply to him. "What will become or workmen in London and in the during my imprisonment?" he wrote cardinal. "They must have their very week; who will give it them? ides, I make considerable sales in ountries, which bring large returns ajesty's customs." "If I remain in this commerce is stopped, and of ll the proceeds for the exchequer." who was as much a statesman as a an, began to melt; on the eve of a with the pope and the emperor, he esides, to make the people discon- Monmouth was released from prison. man, and then as sheriff of London, faithful until death, and ordered in will that thirty sermons should be l by the most evangelical ministers ud, "to make known the holy word s Christ."—"That is better," he "than founding masses." The Ren shewed, in the sixteenth century, at activity in commerce might be great piety."

CHAPTER III.

hangs—Fresh Instructions from the Pope to lo—His Delays—He unbosoms himself to Francis iction—Arrival of Campeggio—Wolsey's Uneasi- nry's Satisfaction—The Cardinal's Project- in's Reception—First Interview with the Queen the King—Useless Efforts to make Campeggio the Decretal—The Nuncio's Concidence—Publi -Measures taken by the King—His Speech to the d Aldermen—Festivities—Wolsey seeks French -Contrariety.

these persecutions were agitating the id the capital of England, all had in the ecclesiastical world, because

all had changed in the political. The pope pressed by Henry VIII. and intimidated by the armies of Francis I., had granted the decretal and despatched Campeggio. But, on a sudden, there was a new evolution; a change of events brought a change of counsels. Doria had gone over to the emperor; his fleet had restored abundance to Naples; the army of Francis I., ravaged by famine and pestilence, had capitulated, and Charles V., triumphant in Italy, had said proudly to the pope: "We are determined to defend the queen of England against King Henry's injustice."³

Charles having recovered his superiority, the affrighted pope opened his eyes to the justice of Catherine's cause. "Send four messengers after Campeggio," said he to his officers; "and let each take a different road; bid them travel with all speed and deliver our despatches to him."⁴ They overtook the legate, who opened the pope's letters. "In the first place," said Clement VII. to him, "protract your journey. In the second place, when you reach England, use every endeavour to reconcile the king and queen. In the third place, if you do not succeed, persuade the queen to take the veil. And in the last place, if she refuses, do not pronounce any sentence favourable to the divorce without a new and express order from me. This is the essential: *Simum et maximum mandatum*." The ambassador of the sovereign pontiff had a mission to do nothing. This instruction is sometimes as effective as any.

Campeggio, the youngest of the cardinals, was the most intelligent and the slowest; and this slowness caused his selection by the pope. He understood his master. If Wolsey was Henry's spur to urge on Campeggio, the latter was Clement's bridle to check Wolsey.⁵ One of the judges of the divorce was about to pull forwards, the other backwards; thus the business stood a chance of not advancing at all, which was just what the pope required.

The legate, very eager to relax his speed, spent three months on his journey from Italy to England. He should have embarked for France on the 23d of July; but the end of August was approaching, and no one knew in that country what had become of him.⁶ At length they learnt that he had reached Lyons on the 22d of August. The English ambassador in France sent him horses, carriages, plate, and money, in order to hasten his progress; the legate complained of the *point*, and Gardiner found the greatest difficulty in getting him to move. Henry wrote every day to Anne Boleyn, complaining of the slow progress of the nuncio. "He arrived in Paris last Sunday or Monday," he

¹ Cum Cesar materiam cum causam contra injurias Henrici propugnasset. Sanders, p. 30.

² Quatuor nuncios celerissime curam diversis itineribus ad Campergium misit. Ibid. et Herbert, p. 130.

³ Fuller, book v. p. 172.

⁴ State Papers, vol. p. 91, 92.

⁵ Records, p. 265.
Life, p. 116.

⁶ Strype's Mem. i. p. 480.
Strype, Records, i. p. 247.

says at the beginning of September; "Monday next we shall hear of his arrival in Calais, and then I shall obtain what I have so longed for, to God's pleasure and both our comforts."¹

At the same time this impatient prince sent message after message to accelerate the legate's rate of travelling.

Anne began to desire a future which surpassed all that her youthful imagination had conceived, and her agitated heart expanded to the breath of hope. She wrote to Wolsey:

"This shall be to give unto your grace, as I am most bound, my humble thanks for the great pain and travail that your grace doth take in studying, by your wisdom and great diligence, how to bring to pass honourably the greatest wealth [well-being] that is possible to come to any creature living; and in especial remembering how wretched and unworthy I am in comparison to his highness. Now, good my lord, your discretion may consider as yet how little it is in my power to recompense you but alone [only] with my good will; the which I assure you, look what thing in this world I can imagine to do you pleasure in, you shall find me the gladdest woman in the world to do it."²

But the impatience of the king of England and of Anne seemed as if it could never be satisfied. Campeggio, on his way through Paris, told Francis I. that the divorce would never take place, and that he should soon go to Spain to see Charles V. This was significant. "The king of England ought to know," said the indignant Francis to the duke of Suffolk, "that Campeggio is imperialist at heart, and that his mission in England will be a mere mockery."³

In truth, the Spanish and Roman factions tried every manœuvre to prevent a union they detested. Anne Boleyn, queen of England, signified not only Catherine humbled, but Charles offended; the clerical party weakened, perhaps destroyed, and the evangelical party put in its place. The Romish faction found accomplices even in Anne's own family. Her brother George's wife, a proud and passionate woman, and a rigid Roman catholic, had sworn an implacable hatred against her young sister. By this means wounds might be inflicted, even in the domestic sanctuary, which would not be the less deep because they were the work of her own kindred. One day we are told that Anne found in her chamber a book of pretended prophecies, in which was a picture representing a king, a queen shedding tears, and at their feet a young lady headless. Anne turned away her eyes with disgust. She desired, however, to know what this

emblem signified, and officious friends brought to her one of those pretended men, so numerous at all times, who at the credulity of the ignorant by profess to interpret such mysteries. "This prophetic picture," he said, "represents the history of the king and his wife." Anne was credulous, but she understood what enemies meant to insinuate, and dismissed the mock interpreter without betraying signs of fear; then turning to her favorite attendant, Anne Saville, "Come bid Nan," said she, "look at this book of prophecies; this is the king, this is the queen wringing her hands and mourning, and I (putting her finger on the bleeding body) myself, with my head cut off."—"The young lady answered with a shudder: "It thought it were true, I would not my have him were he an emperor."—"I Nan," replied Anne Boleyn with a smile, "I think the book a bauble, and resolved to have him, that my issue may royal, whatever may become of me."⁴ The story is based on good authority, and there were so many predictions of this kind that it is very possible one of them might come true: people afterwards recollect only the prophecies confirmed by the event. But, be that as it may, this young lady severely chastised in after-days, found in God an abundant consolation.

At length Campeggio embarked at Calais on the 29th of September, and unfortunately for him he had an excellent passage across the channel. A storm to drive him back to the French coast would have suited him mirably. But on the 1st of October he reached Canterbury, whence he announced his rival to the king. At this news, Henry got all the delays which had so irritated him. His majesty can never be sufficiently grateful to your holiness for so great a favor wrote Wolsey to the pope; "but he will play his riches, his kingdom, his life, and deserve the name of *Restorer of the Church*, as justly as he has gained that of *Defender of the Faith*." This zeal alarmed Campeggio for the pope wrote to him that any proceeding which might irritate Charles would vitably cause the ruin of the church.⁵ The nuncio became more dilatory than ever, although he reached Canterbury on the 10th of October, he did not arrive at Dartford till the 5th, thus taking four days for a journey of about thirty miles.⁶

Meanwhile preparations were making to receive him in London. Wolsey, feeling tempted for the poverty of the Roman curia and very uneasy about the equipage which his colleague was likely to make entrance into the capital, sent a number of showy chests, rich carpets, litters hung

¹ Pamphlet, No. 43, p. 117.

² Ibid. p. 151.

³ The cardinal intended not that your Grace's matter should take effect, but only to use dissimulation with your Grace, for he is entirely imperial. Suffolk to Henry, State Papers, vii. p. 152.

⁴ Wyatt, p. 620.

⁵ Letter to Campeggio, from Viterbo, 27th Sept. 1527, Bunsen, Deutsche Gesch. iii. p. 132.

⁶ State Papers, vii. p. 94, 95.

drapery, and harnessed mules. On the other hand Campeggio, whose secret mission was to keep in the back-ground, and above all to do nothing, feared these banners, and trappings, and all the parade of a triumphal entry. Alleging therefore an attack of gout in order to escape from the pompa his colleague had prepared for him, he quietly took a boat, and thus reached the palace of the bishop of Bath, where he was to lodge.

While the nuncio was thus proceeding unnoticed up the Thames, the equipages sent by Wolsey entered London through the midst of a gaping crowd, who looked on them with curiosity as if they had come from the banks of the Tiber. Some of the mules however took fright and ran away, the coffers fell off and burst open, when there was a general rush to see their contents; but to the surprise of all they were empty. This was an excellent jest for the citizens of London. "Fine outside, empty inside; a just emblem of the popedom, its embassy, and Polish pomps," they said; "a sham legate, a procession of masks, and the whole a farce!"

Campeggio was come at last, and now what he dreaded most was an audience. "I cannot move," he said, "or endure the motion of a litter."¹ Never had an attack of gout been more seasonable. Wolsey, who paid him frequent visits, soon found him to be his equal in cunning. To no purpose did he exert him with every mark of respect, shaking his hand and making much of him;² it was labour lost, the Roman nuncio would say nothing, and Wolsey began to despair. The king, on the contrary, was full of hope, and fancied he already had the act of divorce in his portfolio, because he had the nuncio in his kingdom.

The greatest effect of the nuncio's arrival was the putting an end to Anne Boleyn's indecision. She had several relapses; the trials which she foresaw, and the grief Catherine must necessarily feel, had agitated her imagination and disturbed her mind. But when she saw the church and her own enemies prepared to pronounce the king's divorce, her doubts were removed, and she regarded as legitimate the position that was offered her. The king, who suffered from her scruples, was delighted at this change. "I desire to inform you," he wrote to her in English, "what joy it is to me to understand of your conformableness with reason, and of the suppressing of your univile and vain thoughts and fantasies with the bridle of reason. I assure you all the greatness of this world could not counterpoise for my satisfaction the knowledge and certainty thereof.....The unfeigned sickness of this well-willing legate doth somewhat retard his

access to your person."¹ It was therefore the determination of the pope that made Anne Boleyn resolve to accept Henry's hand; this is an important lesson for which we are indebted to the *Vatican letters*. We should be grateful to the papacy for having so carefully preserved them.

But the more Henry rejoiced, the more Wolsey despaired; he would have desired to penetrate into Clement's thoughts, but could not succeed. Imagining that De Angelis, the general of the Spanish Observance, knew all the secrets of the pope and of the emperor, he conceived the plan of kidnapping him. "If he goes to Spain by sea," said he to Du Bellay, "a good brigantine or two would do the business; and if by land, it will be easier still." Du Bellay failed not (as he informs us himself) "to tell him plainly that by such proceedings he would entirely forfeit the pope's good will."—"What matter?" replied Wolsey, "I have nothing to lose." As he said this, tears started to his eyes.² At last he made up his mind to remain ignorant of the pontiff's designs, and wiped his eyes, awaiting, not without fear, the interview between Henry and Campeggio.

On the 22d of October, a month after his arrival, the nuncio, borne in a sedan chair of red velvet, was carried to court. He was placed on the right of the throne, and his secretary in his name delivered a high-sounding speech, saluting Henry with the name of Saviour of Rome, *Liberator urbis*. "His majesty," replied Fox in the king's name, "has only performed the duties incumbent on a Christian prince, and he hopes that the holy see will bear them in mind."—"Well attacked, well defended," said Du Bellay. For the moment, a few Latin declamations got the papal nuncio out of his difficulties.

Campeggio did not deceive himself: if the divorce were refused, he foresaw the reformation of England. Yet he hoped still, for he was assured that Catherine would submit to the judgment of the church; and being fully persuaded that the queen would refuse the holy father nothing, the nuncio began "his approaches," as Du Bellay calls them. On the 27th of October, the two cardinals waited on Catherine, and in flattering terms insinuated that she might prevent the blow which threatened her by voluntary retirement into a convent. And then, to end all indecision in the queen's mind, Campeggio put on a severe look and exclaimed: "How is it, madam, explain the mystery to us? From the moment the holy father appointed us to examine the question of your divorce, you have been seen not only at court, but in public, wearing the most magnificent ornaments, participating with an appearance of gaiety and satisfaction at amusements and festivities which you had never tolerated before.....

¹ Despatch from the bishop of Bayonne, 16th October 1529.

² *Le Grand, l. viii. c. 128.*

³ *Quoniam, quia, tristat et amarissime sum complexus.* State Papers, vol. p. 13.

¹ Pamphletier, No. 43, p. 123.

² Du Bellay to Montmorency, 21st October. *Le Grand Preuves*, p. 168.

The church is in the most cruel embarrassment with regard to you; the king, your husband, is in the greatest perplexity: the princess, your daughter, is taken from youand instead of shedding tears, you give yourself up to vanity. Renounce the world, madam; enter a nunnery. Our holy father himself requires this of you."¹

The agitated queen was almost fainting; stifling her emotion, however, she said mildly but firmly: "Alas! my lords, is it now a question whether I am the king's lawful wife or not, when I have been married to him almost twenty years and no objection raised before?.....Divers prelates and lords are yet alive who then adjudged our marriage good and lawful,—and now to say it is detestable! this is a great marvel to me, especially when I consider what a wise prince the king's father was, and also the natural love and affection my father, King Ferdinand, bore unto me. I think that neither of these illustrious princes would have made me contract an illicit union." At these words, Catherine's emotion compelled her to stop.—"If I weep, my lords," she continued almost immediately, "it is not for myself, it is for a person dearer to me than my life. What! I should consent to an act which deprives my daughter of a crown? No, I will not sacrifice my child. I know what dangers threaten me. I am only a weak woman, a stranger, without learning, advisers, or friends.....and my enemies are skilful, learned in the laws, and desirous to merit their master's favour.....and more than that, even my judges are my enemies. Can I receive as such," she said as she looked at Campeggio, "a man extorted from the pope by manifest lying?.....And as for you," added she, turning haughtily to Wolsey, "having failed in attaining the tiara, you have sworn to revenge yourself on my nephew the emperor.....and you have kept him true promise; for of all his wars and vexations he may only thank you. One victim was not enough for you. Forging abominable suppositions, you desire to plunge his aunt into a frightful abyss.....But my cause is just, and I trust it in the Lord's hand." After this bold language, the unhappy Catherine withdrew to her apartments. The imminence of the danger effected a salutary revolution in her: she laid aside her brilliant ornaments, assumed the sober garments in which she is usually represented, and passed days and nights in mourning and in tears.²

Thus Campeggio saw his hopes deceived; he had thought to find a nun, and had met a queen and a mother.....He now proceeded to set every imaginable spring at work; as Catherine would not renounce Henry, he must try and prevail upon Henry to renounce his idea of separating from the queen. The

Roman legate therefore changed his rîes, and turned them against the king.

Henry, always impatient, went on unannounced to Campeggio's lodging, accompanied by Wolsey only:³ "As we are out witnesses," he said, taking his seat liarily between the two cardinals, "I speak freely of our affairs."—"How shall proceed?" But to his great astonishment and grief,⁴ the nuncio prayed him, with imaginable delicacy, to renounce the divorce. At these words the fiery Tudor burst: "Is this how the pope keeps his word? sends me an ambassador to annul my marriage, but in reality to confirm it." He paused. Campeggio knew not what to say; Henry and Catherine being equally persons of the justice of their cause, the nuncio in a dilemma. Wolsey himself suffered martyrdom.⁵ The king's anger grew fiercer; he had thought the legate would have withdrawn an imprudent expression, but Campeggio was dumb. "I see that you choose your part," said Henry to the nuncio: "mine, you may be sure, will soon be the same. Let the pope only persevere in his way of acting, and the apostolical see, severed with perpetual infamy, will be visited with a frightful destruction."⁶ The king had thrown off the lamb's skin which he momentarily assumed. Campeggio felt he must appease the monarch. "Craft and delay" were his orders from Rome; and that view the pope had provided him with the necessary arms. He hastened to produce the famous decretal which pronounced divorce. "The holy father," he told the king, "ardently desires that this marriage should be terminated by a happy reconciliation between you and the queen; but if it is impossible, you shall judge yourself either or not his holiness can keep his misce." He then read the bull, and shewed it to Henry, without permitting, however, to leave his hands. This exhibit produced the desired effect: Henry calmed. "Now I am at ease again," he said: "this miraculous talisman revives all courage. This decretal is the efficacious remedy that will restore peace to my conscience, and joy to my bruised heart. Write to his holiness, that this immense benefit binds me to him so closely, that he expect from me more than his imagination can conceive."

And yet a few clouds gathered shortly in the king's mind.

Campeggio having shown the bull had

¹ Regis majestas et ego ad eum crebro accessimus. Pajera, tit. p. 13.

² Rex et duo cardinales, remotis arbitris, de sua multum et diu colloqui. Sanders, p. 29.

³ Incredibili utriusque nostrum animi dolore. Pajera, tit. p. 106.

⁴ Conatus est omne divorcium inter regiam matrem et reginam dissuadere. Ibid.

⁵ Non absque inveni cruce. Ibid.

⁶ Incensendum exodium, perpetua infamia. Ibid.

⁷ Remedium levamenque afflictis oppressaque. Ibid.

¹ Du Bellay to Montmorency, 1st November. Le Grand, *Peinture*, p. 192.

² Regina in luctu et lacrymis noctes diesque egit. Sanders, p. 29.

to lock it up again. Would he presume to put it in his own hands? Henry and I will leave no means untried to get possession of it; that point gained, and victors.

Henry having returned to the nuncio, he him for the decretal with an air of rascals as if it was the most natural thing in the world. He desired, he said, to shew the king's privy-councillors. "The nuncio replied Campeggio, "has granted this to be used, but to be kept secret; I only desired to shew the king the good by which he was animated." Wolsey failed, Henry tried his skill. "Have goodness to hand me the bull which you desire," said he. The nuncio respectfully refused. "For a single moment," he said, "Campeggio still refused. The haughty retired, stifling his anger. Then Wolsey made another attempt, and founded his plea on justice. "Like you, I am deputed by his holiness to decide this affair," he said, "and I wish to study the important point which is to regulate our proceedings. This was met by a new refusal. "I," exclaimed the minister of Henry, "am I not, like you, a cardinal?..... I, a judge? your colleague?" It mattered not, the nuncio would not, by any means, give the decretal go.³ Clement was not determined on the choice he had made of Campeggio as ambassador was worthy of his mas-

was evident that the pope in granting the bull had been acting a part: this tricked the king. It was no longer anger felt, but disgust. Wolsey knew that contempt was more to be feared than truth. He grew alarmed, and paid the nuncio another visit. "The general commission said, "is insufficient, the decretal alone can be of service, and you permit us to read a word of it."⁴..... and I place the greatest confidence in good intentions of his holiness, and find our expectations frustrated.⁵ as that paternal affection with which we flattered ourselves? What prince has been trifled with as the king of England? If this is the way in which the order of the Faith is rewarded, Christians will know what those who serve God will have to expect from her, and every man will withdraw its support. Do not trust yourselves: the foundation on which we see is placed is so very insecure, the least movement will suffice to precipitate it into everlasting ruin.⁶ What a pity!..... what inexpressible torture! then I wake or sleep, gloomy thoughts

ea uteremur, sed ut secreta haberetur. State p. 144.
 actio adduci vult, ut nihil, suo collega, commissum decretalem e suis manibus credat. Ibid. p. 144.
 in verbum nec mentionem ullam. Ibid.
 nisi apud frustratos quam in prelati sanctitate et reposeramus. Ibid.
 mento tam levi. incertaque statera pendat, ut eam ruinam. Ibid. p. 144.

continually pursue me like a frightful nightmare."¹ This time Wolsey spoke the truth.

But all his eloquence was useless; Campeggio refused to give up the so much desired bull. When sending him, Rome had told him: "Above all, do not succeed!" This means having failed, there remained for Wolsey one other way of effecting the divorce. "Well, then," he said to Campeggio, "let us pronounce it ourselves."—"Far be it from us," replied the nuncio; "the anger of the emperor will be so great, that the peace of Europe will be broken for ever."—"I know how to arrange all that," replied the English cardinal; "in political matters you may trust to me."² The nuncio then took another tone, and proudly wrapping himself up in his morality, he said: "I shall follow the voice of my conscience; if I see that the divorce is possible, I shall leap the ditch; if otherwise, I shall not."—"Your conscience! that may be easily satisfied," rejoined Wolsey. "Holy Scripture forbids a man to marry his brother's widow; now no pope can grant what is forbidden by the law of God."—"The Lord preserve us from such a principle," exclaimed the Roman prelate; "the power of the pope is unlimited."—"The nuncio had hardly put his conscience forward before it stumbled; it bound him to Rome and not to heaven. But for that matter, neither public opinion nor Campeggio's own friends had any great idea of his morality; they thought that to make him leap the ditch, it was only requisite to know the price at which he might be bought. The bishop of Bayonne wrote to Montmorency: "Put at the close of a letter which I can shew Campeggio something promissory, that he shall have benefices..... That will cost you nothing, and may serve in this matter of the marriage; for I know that he is longing for something of the sort."—"What is to be done then," said Wolsey at last, astonished at meeting with a resistance to which he was unaccustomed. "I shall inform the pope of what I have seen and heard," replied Campeggio, "and I shall wait for his instructions." Henry was forced to consent to this new course, for the nuncio hinted, that if it were opposed he would go in person to Rome to ask the pontiff's orders, and he never would have returned. By this means several months were gained.

During this time men's minds were troubled. The prospect of a divorce between the king and queen had stirred the nation; and the majority, particularly among the women, declared against the king. "Whatever may be done," the people said boldly, "whoever marries the princess Mary will be king of England."³ Wolsey's spies informed him that Catherine and Charles V. had many de-

¹ Quanto animi cruciatus....vigilans dormiensque. State Papers, vii. p. 144.

² De Bellay to Montmorency. Le Grand. Preuves, p. 269.

³ Du Bellay to Montmorency, 8th November 1529. Ibid.

voted partisans even at the court. He wished to make sure of this. "It is pretended," he said one day in an indifferent tone, "that the emperor has boasted that he will get the king driven from his realm, and that by his majesty's own subjects.... What do you think of it, my lords?"—"Tough against the spur," says Du Bellay, the lords remained silent. At length, however, one of them more imprudent than the rest, exclaimed: "Such a boast will make the emperor lose more than a hundred thousand Englishmen." This was enough for Wolsey. To lose them, he thought, Charles must have them. If Catherine thought of levying war against her husband, following the example of former queens of England, she would have, then, a party ready to support her; this became dangerous.

The king and the cardinal immediately took their measures. More than 15,000 of Charles's subjects were ordered to leave London; the arms of the citizens were seized, "in order that they might have no worse weapon than the tongue;"¹ the Flemish councillors accorded to Catherine were dismissed, after they had been heard by the king and Campeggio, "for they had no commission to speak to the other [Wolsey]"—and finally, they kept "a great and constant watch" upon the country. Men feared an invasion of England, and Henry was not of a humour to subject his kingdom to the pope.

This was not enough; the alarmed king thought it his duty to come to an explanation with his people; and having summoned the lords spiritual and temporal, the judges, the members of the privy-council, the mayor and aldermen of the city, and many of the gentry, to meet him at his palace of Bridewell on the 13th of November,² he said to them with a very condescending air: "You know, my lords and gentlemen, that for these twenty years past divine Providence has granted our country such prosperity as it had never known before. But in the midst of all the glory that surrounds me, the thought of my last hour often occurs to me,³ and I fear that if I should die without an heir, my death would cause more damage to my people than my life has done them good. God forbid, that for want of a legitimate king England should be again plunged into the horrors of civil war!" Then calling to mind the illegalities invalidating his marriage with Catherine, the king continued: "These thoughts have filled my mind with anxiety, and are continually pricking my conscience. This is the only motive, and God is my witness,⁴ which has made me lay this matter before the pontiff. As touching the queen, she is a woman incomparable in gentleness, humility, and buxomness, as I these twenty years have had experiment of;

so that if I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely choose her above all other women. But if it be determined by judgment that our marriage is against God's law, and surely void, then shall not only sorrow in departing from good a lady and loving companion, but more lament and bewail my unfortunate chance, that I have so long lived in adultery to God's great displeasure, and have no heir of my body to inherit this realm.... Therefore I require of you all to pray with us if the very truth may be known, for the discharging of our conscience and the saving our soul."⁵ These words, though wanting in sincerity, were well calculated to soothe men's minds. Unfortunately, it appears that after this speech from the crown, the official copy of which has been preserved, Henry added a few words of his own. "If, however," he said, according to Du Bellay, casting a threatening glance around him, "there should be any man whatsoever who speaks of his prince in other than becoming terms, I will shew him that I am the master, as there is no head so high that I will not cut it from his shoulders."⁶ This was a specimen in Henry's style; but we cannot give a limited credit to Du Bellay's assertions, the diplomatist being very fond, like others of his class, of "seasoning" his despatches. But whatever may be the fact as regards the postscript, the speech on the divorce produced an effect. From that time there were no more jests, not even on the part of the Boleyns' enemies. Some supported the king, others were content to pity the queen's secret; the majority prepared to take advantage of a court-revolution which every one foresaw. "The king so plainly gave it to understand his pleasure," says the French ambassador, "that they speak more soberly than they have done hitherto."

Henry wishing to silence the clamour of the people, and to allay the fears felt by higher classes, gave several magnificent entertainments at one time in London, at other at Greenwich, now at Hampton Court and then at Richmond. The queen accompanied him, but Anne generally remained "in a very handsome lodging which Henry had furnished for her," says Du Bellay. The cardinal, following his master's example, gave representations of French plays with great magnificence. All his hope was France. "I desire nothing in England neither in word nor in deed, which is French,"⁷ he said to the bishop of Bayon. At length Anne Boleyn had accepted a brilliant position she had at first refused, every day her stately mansion (Suffolk House) was filled with a numerous court,—more than ever had crowded to the queen. "Yes, yes," said Du Bellay, as he saw

¹ Le Grand, Preuves, p. 232.

² This act is dated Idibus Novembris. Wilkins, Concilia, xl. p. 714. Herbert and Collier say the 4th November.

³ In mentem una venit et concurrit mortis cogitatio.

Sibid.

⁴ Hec una res quod Deo teste et in regis oraculo affirmamus. Ibid.

⁵ Hall, p. 754.

⁶ Du Bellay to Montmorency, 17th November 1529.

Le Grand, Preuves, p. 215.

⁷ Du Bellay to Montmorency, 1st January. Ibid. p. 9.

crowd turning towards the rising sun, "they wish by these little things to accustom the people to endure her, that when great ones are attempted, they may not be found so strange."

In the midst of these festivities the grand business did not slumber. When the French ambassador solicited the subsidy intended for the ransom of the sons of Francis I., the cardinal required of him in exchange a paper proving that the marriage had never been valid. Du Bellay excused himself on the ground of his age and want of learning; but being given to understand that he could not have the subsidy without it, he wrote the memoir in a single day. The enraptured cardinal and king entreated him to speak with Campeggio.¹ The ambassador consented, and succeeded beyond all expectation. The nuncio, fully aware that a bow too much bent will break, made Henry by turns become the sport of hope and fear. "Take care how you assert that the pope had not the right to grant a dispensation to the king," said he to the French bishop, "this would be denying his power, which is infinite. But," added he in a mysterious tone, "I will point out a road that will infallibly lead you to the mark. Show that the holy father has been deceived by false information. *Push me hard on that,*" he continued, "so as to force me to declare that the dispensation was granted on erroneous grounds."² Thus did the legate himself reveal the breach by which the fortress might be surprised. "Victory!" exclaimed Henry, as he entered Anne's apartments all beaming with joy.

But this confidence on the part of Campeggio was only a new trick. "There is a great rumour at court," wrote Du Bellay soon after, "that the emperor and the king of France are coming together, and leaving Henry alone, so that all will fall on his shoulders."³ Wolsey, finding that the intrigues of diplomacy had failed, thought it his duty to put fresh springs in motion, "and by all good and honest means to gain the pope's favour."⁴ He saw, besides, to his great sorrow, the new catholicity then forming in the world, and uniting, by the closest bonds, the Christians of England to those of the continent. To strike down one of the leaders of this evangelical movement might incline the court of Rome in Henry's favour. The cardinal undertook, therefore, to persecute Tyndale; and this resolution will now transport us to Germany.

CHAPTER IV.

True Catholicity—Wolsey—Harman's Matter—Wolsey sent to Cologne—Labours of Tyndale and Frith—Rings at Frankfurt—He makes a Discovery—Tyndale at Marburg—Wolsey returns to England—His Tortures in the Monastery.

THE residence of Tyndale and his friends in foreign countries, and the connexions there formed with pious Christians, testify to the fraternal spirit which the Reformation then restored to the church. It is in protestantism that true catholicity is to be found. The Romish church is not a catholic church. Separated from the churches of the east, which are the oldest in Christendom, and from the reformed churches, which are the purest, it is nothing but a sect, and that a degenerated one. A church which should profess to believe in an episcopal unity, but which kept itself separate from the episcopacy of Rome and of the East, and from the evangelical churches, would be no longer a catholic church; it would be a sect more sectarian still than that of the Vatican, a fragment of a fragment. The church of the Saviour requires a truer, a diviner unity than that of priests, who condemn one another. It was the reformers, and particularly Tyndale,¹ who proclaimed throughout Christendom the existence of a *body of Christ*, of which all the children of God are members. The disciples of the Reformation are the true catholics.

It was a catholicity of another sort that Wolsey desired to uphold. He did not reject certain reforms in the church, particularly such as brought him any profit; but, before all, he wished to preserve for the hierarchy their privileges and uniformity. The Romish Church in England was then personified in him, and if he fell, its ruin would be near. His political talents and multiplied relations with the continent, caused him to discern more clearly than others the dangers which threatened the popedom. The publication of the Scriptures of God in English appeared to some a cloud without importance, which would soon disappear from the horizon; but to the foreseeing glance of Wolsey, it betokened a mighty tempest. Besides, he loved not the fraternal relations then forming between the evangelical Christians of Great Britain and of other nations. Annoyed by this spiritual catholicity, he resolved to procure the arrest of Tyndale, who was its principal organ.

Already had Hackett, Henry's envoy to the Low Countries, caused the imprisonment of Harman, an Antwerp merchant, one of the principal supporters of the English reformer. But Hackett had in vain asked Wolsey for such documents as would convict him of *treason* (for the crime of loving the Bible was not sufficient to procure Har-

¹ Du Bellay to Montmorency, 1st January. Le Grand, p. 100.

² *Poussez-moi cela raide.* Du Bellay to Montmorency. Ibid. p. 217.

³ Ibid. p. 218.

⁴ Ibid. p. 223.

¹ The Church of Christ is the multitude of all them that believe in Christ, &c. Exposition of Matthew, Prologue.

man's condemnation in Brabant); the envoy had remained without letters from England, and the last term fixed by the law having expired, Harman and his wife were liberated after seven months' imprisonment.

And yet Wolsey had not been inactive. The cardinal hoped to find elsewhere the co-operation which Margaret of Austria refused. It was Tyndale that he wanted, and everything seemed to indicate that he was then hidden at Cologne or in its neighbourhood. Wolsey, recollecting senator Rincke and the services he had already performed, determined to send to him one John West, a friar of the Franciscan convent at Greenwich. West, a somewhat narrow-minded but energetic man, was very desirous of distinguishing himself, and he had already gained some notoriety in England among the adversaries of the Reformation. Flattered by his mission, this vain monk immediately set off for Antwerp, accompanied by another friar, in order to seize Tyndale, and even Roy, once his colleague at Greenwich, and against whom he had there ineffectually contended in argument.

While these men were conspiring his ruin, Tyndale composed several works, got them printed, and sent to England, and prayed God night and day to enlighten his fellow-countrymen. "Why do you give yourself so much trouble," said some of his friends. "They will burn your books as they have burnt the Gospel." They will only do what I expect," replied he, "if they burn me also." Already he beheld his own burning pile in the distance; but it was a sight which only served to increase his zeal. Hidden, like Luther at the Wartburg, not however in a castle, but in a humble lodging, Tyndale, like the Saxon reformer, spent his days and nights translating the Bible. But not having an elector of Saxony to protect him, he was forced to change his residence from time to time.

At this epoch, Fryth, who had escaped from the prisons of Oxford, rejoined Tyndale, and the sweets of friendship softened the bitterness of their exile. Tyndale having finished the New Testament, and begun the translation of the Old, the learned Fryth was of great use to him. The more they studied the word of God, the more they admired it. In the beginning of 1529, they published the books of Genesis and Deuteronomy, and addressing their fellow-countrymen, they said: "As thou readest, think that every syllable pertaineth to thine own self, and suck out the pith of the Scripture."¹ Then denying that visible signs naturally impart grace, as the schoolmen had pretended, Tyndale maintained that the sacraments are effectual only when the Holy Ghost sheds his influence upon them. "The ceremonies of the law," he wrote, "stood the Israelites in the same stead as the sacraments do us. We are saved not by the power of the

sacrifice or the deed itself, but by *of faith in the promise*, whereof the sacred ceremony was a token or sign. The Ghost is no dumb God, no God that goinunning. Wherever the world is peopled, this inward witness worketh. If he preach me the washing in Christ's blood, doth the Holy Ghost accompany it; and deed of preaching through faith doth put my sins. The ark of Noah saved them water through faith."¹

The man who dared address English language so contrary to the teaching of middle ages must be imprisoned. John who had been sent with this object, at Antwerp; Hackett procured for him interpreter a friar of English descent, him assume a secular dress, and gave "three pounds" on the cardinal's account the less attention the embassy attracted more likely it would be to succeed. But was West's vexation, on reaching Cologne, learn that Rincke was at Frankfurt. Be mattered not; the Greenwich monk search for Tyndale at Cologne, and Rincke to do the same at Frankfurt: there would be two searches instead of one. West procured a "swift" messenger (who was a monk,) and gave him the letter which he had addressed to Rincke.

It was fair-time at Frankfurt, and the town was filled with merchants and their families. As soon as Rincke had finished reading the letter, he hastened to the burgomasters and required them to confiscate the Latin translations of the Scriptures, and also to seize "the heretic who was troubling the land as Luther troubled Germany." Tyndale and his friends have not appeared since the month of March 1528," said the magistrates, "and we know not if they are dead or alive."

Rincke was not discouraged. John of Strasburg, who was said to have perused Tyndale's books, and who cared less for the works he published than the money he drew from them, happened to be at Frankfurt. "Where is Tyndale?" Rincke asked. "I do not know," replied the printer; he confessed that he had printed a thousand copies at the request of Tyndale and "Bring them to me," continued the printer of Cologne. "If a fair price is paid me, give them up to you." Rincke paid all that was demanded.

Wolsey would now be gratified, for the New Testament annoyed him almost as much as the divorce; this book, so dangerous to the eyes, seemed on the point of raising a reformation which would infallibly consume the edifice of Roman traditionalism. Rincke participated in his patron's fears, and had opened the volumes made over to him there was a sad mistake, they were not the New Testament, not even a work of

¹ Prologue to the Book of Genesis (Doct. q. Tr.) p. 400.

¹ Prologue to the Book of Leviticus (Doct. Tr. 424, 425.

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out one written by William Roy, a able and violent man, whom the re- had employed for some time at Ham- and who had followed him to Cologne, h whom he had soon become disgusted. e him farewell for our two lives," said le, "and a day longer." Roy, on quite reformer, had gone to Strasburg, he boasted of his relations with him, d got a satire in that city printed : Wolsey and the monastic orders, enti- e *Burial of the Mass* : this was the book ed to Rincke. The monk's sarcastic had exceeded the legitimate bounds rovery, and the senator accordingly ot send the volumes to England. He ;, however, discontinue his inquiries, rched every place where he thought ld discover the New Testament, and eized all the suspected volumes, set Cologne.¹

he was not satisfied. He wanted Tyn- nd went about asking every one if they here to find him. But the reformer, he was seeking in so many places, and lly at Frankfurt and Cologne, chanced esiding at about equal distances from two towns, so that Rincke, while tra- : from one to the other, might have m face to face, as Ahab's messenger lijah." Tyndale was at Marburg, whi- s had been drawn by several motives.

Philip of Hesse was the great protec- the evangelical doctrines. The univer- ad attracted attention in the Reform by radoxes of Lambert of Avignon. Here ig Scotsman named Hamilton, after- illustrious as a martyr, had studied r before, and here too the celebrated ;, John Luft, had his premises. In this yndale and Fryth had taken up their in September 1528, and, hidden on the banks of the Lahn, were translating d Testament. If Rincke had searched ace he could not have failed to discover

But either he thought not of it, or fraid of the terrible landgrave. The road by the Rhine was that which he ed, and Tyndale escaped.

en he arrived at Cologne, Rincke had mediate interview with West. Their igitations having failed, they must have e to more vigorous measures. The r, therefore, sent the monk back to nd, accompanied by his son Hermann, ing them to tell Wolsey : "To seize le we require fuller powers, ratified by mperor. The traitors who conspire at the life of the king of England are lerated in the empire, much less Tyn- nd all those who conspire against Chris- m. He must be put to death : nothing one striking example can check the ran heresy.—And as to ourselves," they

were told to add, "by the favour of God there may possibly be an opportunity for his royal highness and your grace to recompense us."¹ Rincke had not forgotten the subsidy of ten thousand pounds which he had received from Henry VII. for the Turkish war, when he had gone to London as Maximilian's envoy.

West returned to England sorely vexed that he had failed in his mission. What would they say at court and in his monastery? A fresh humiliation was in reserve for him. Roy, whom West had gone to look for on the banks of the Rhine, had paid a visit to his mother on the banks of the Thames; and to crown all, the new doctrines had penetrated into his own convent. The warden, father Robinson, had embraced them, and night and day the Greenwich monks read that New Testament which West had gone to Cologne to burn. The Antwerp friar, who had accompanied him on his journey, was the only person to whom he could confide his sorrows; but the Franciscans sent him back again to the continent, and then amused themselves at poor West's expense. If he desired to tell of his adventures on the banks of the Rhine, he was laughed at; if he boasted of the names of Wolsey and Henry VIII., they jeered him still more. He desired to speak to Roy's mother, hoping to gain some useful information from her; this the monks prevented. "It is in my commission," he said. They ridiculed him more and more. Robinson, perceiving that the commission made West assume unbecoming airs of independence, requested Wolsey to withdraw it; and West, fancying he was about to be thrown into prison, exclaimed in alarm: "I am weary of my life!" and conjured a friend whom he had at court to procure him before Christmas an obedience under his lordship's hand and seal, enabling him to leave the monastery; "What you pay him for it," he added, "I shall see you be reimbursed." Thus did West expiate the fanatical zeal which had urged him to pursue the translator of the oracles of God. What became of him, we know not: he is never heard of more.

At that time Wolsey had other matters to engage him than this "obedience." While West's complaints were going to London, those of the king were travelling to Rome. The great business in the cardinal's eyes was to maintain harmony between Henry and the church. There was no more thought about investigations in Germany, and for a time Tyndale was saved.

¹ Cotton MSS., Vitellius, B. xxi. fol. 68. *Bible Annals*, I. p. 204.

lerson, *Annals of the Bible*, I. p. 203: "I gathered r and packed up all the books from every quarter." lings xviii. 7.

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CHAPTER V.

Necessity of the Reformation—Wolsey's Earnestness with Da Casale—An Audience with Clement VII.—Cruel Position of the Pope—A Judaic Kiss—A new Brief—Henry and Vannes sent to Rome—Henry and Du Bellay—Wolsey's Reasons against the Brief—Excitement in London—Metamorphosis—Wolsey's Decline—His Anguish.

THE king and a part of his people still adhered to the popedom, and so long as these bonds were not broken the word of God could not have free course. But to induce England to renounce Rome, there must indeed be powerful motives: and these were not wanting.

Wolsey had never given such pressing orders to any of Henry's ambassadors: "The king," he wrote to Da Casale on the 1st of November 1528, "commits this business to your prudence, dexterity, and fidelity; and I conjure you to employ all the powers of your genius, and even to surpass them. Be very sure that you have done nothing and can do nothing that will be more agreeable to the king, more desirable by me, and more useful and glorious for you and your family."¹

Da Casale possessed a tenacity which justified the cardinal's confidence, and an active, excitable mind: trembling at the thought of seeing Rome lose England, he immediately requested an audience of Clement VII. "What!" said he to the pope, "just as it was proposed to go on with the divorce, your nuncio endeavours to dissuade the king!..... There is no hope that Catherine of Aragon will ever give an heir to the crown. Holy father, there must be an end of this. Order Campeggio to place the *decretal* in his majesty's hands."—"What say you?" exclaimed the pope. "I would gladly lose one of my fingers to recover it again, and you ask me to make it public.....it would be my ruin."² Da Casale insisted: "We have a duty to perform," he said: "we remind you at this last hour of the perils threatening the relations which unite Rome and England. The crisis is at hand. We knock at your door, we cry, we urge, we entreat, we lay before you the present and future dangers which threaten the papacy.³.....The world shall know that the king at least has fulfilled the duty of a devoted son of the church. If your holiness desires to keep England in St Peter's fold, I repent.....now is the time.....now is the time."⁴ At those words, Da Casale, unable to restrain his emotion, fell down at the pope's feet, and begged him to save the church in Great Britain. The pope was moved. "Rise," said he, with marks of unwonted grief,⁵ "I grant you all that is in

my power; I am willing to confirm the ment which the legates may think it duty to pass; but I acquit myself of responsibility as to the untold evils which matter may bring with it.....If the king having defended the faith and the churches to ruin both, on him alone will responsibility of so great a disaster." ment granted nothing. Da Casale was disheartened, and feeling convinced the pontiff was about to treat with Charles.

Wolsey desired to save the popedom; the popedom resisted. Clement VII about to lose that island which Greg Great had won with such difficulty, pope was in the most cruel position English envoy had hardly left the palace the emperor's ambassador entered threats. The unhappy pontiff the assaults of Henry only to be exp those of Charles; he was thrown back and forwards like a ball. "I shall as a general council," said the emperor to his ambassador, "and if you are found infringing the canons of the church point, you shall be proceeded against every rigour. Do not forget," added agent in a low tone, "that your birth *giltimate*, and consequently excludes you the pontificate." The timid Clement gining that he saw the tiara falling from his head, swore to refuse Henry every "Alas!" he said to one of his dearest dants, "I repent in dust and ashes ever granted this decretal bull. If it of England so earnestly desires it to be him, certainly it cannot be merely to its contents. He is but too familiar them. It is only to tie my hands matter of the divorce; I would rather thousand deaths." Clement, to agitation, sent one of his ablest gentle the bed-chamber, Francis Campana, rently to feed the king with fresh pre but in reality to cut the only thread on Henry's hopes still hung. "We entreat your majesty," wrote the pope in the given to Campana, "with the patern your numerous merits deserve."¹ Campana was sent to England to burn continually the famous decretal;² Clement sealed his blows by an embrace. Rome granted many divorces not so well as that of Henry VIII.; but a very different matter from a divorce was in question the pope, desirous of upraising in it shattered power, was about to sacrifice Tudor, and to prepare the triumph Reformation. Rome was separating from England.

All Clement's fear was, that he would arrive too late to burn the bu

¹ *Vobis vestraque familie utilitas aut honorificentius.* State Papers, vii. p. 114.

² Burnet, Records, ii. p. 30. *Unius digiti jactura....quod factum fuit revocatum.*

³ *Admonere, exclamare, rogare, instare, urgere, pulsare, pericula presentia et futura demonstrare.* State Papers, vii. p. 12.

⁴ *Tempus jam in promptu adeat.* Ibid.

⁵ Burnet's Ref. i. p. 44. Records, p. 12.

¹ *Non illum paternæ charitatis complexi, ut sua atque hanc eadem plurima merita requirunt.* State vii. p. 116.

² To charge Campeggio to burn the decretal. He 300. Burnet's Ref. i. p. 47.

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as soon reassured; a dead calm prevented the great matter from advancing. Campeggio, who took care to be in no hurry about his mission, gave himself up, like a skilful diplomatist, to his worldly tastes; and when he could not, due respect being had to the state of his legs, indulge in the chase, of which he was very fond, he passed his time in gambling, to which he was much addicted. Respectable historians assert that he indulged in still more illicit pleasures.¹ But he could not last for ever, and the nuncio sought some new means of delay, which he effected in the most unexpected manner. One day an officer of the queen's presented to the Roman legate a *brief* of Julius II., bearing the same date as the *bull* of dispensation, signed too, like that, by the secretary of the king, and in which the pope expressed himself in such a manner, that Henry's objections fell of themselves. "The emperor," said Catherine's messenger, "has discovered this brief among the papers of Puebla, the Spanish ambassador in England, at the time of the marriage."—"It is impossible to go on," said Campeggio to Wolsey; "all your reasoning is now cut from under you. We must wait for fresh instructions." This was the cardinal's conclusion at every new incident, and the journey from London to the Vatican being very long (without reckoning the Roman dilatoriness), the expedient was fallible.

Thus there existed two acts of the same pope, signed on the same day—the one secret, the other public, in contradiction to each other. Henry determined to send a new mission to Rome. Anne proposed for this embassy one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the court, her cousin, Sir Francis Bryan. With him was joined an Italian, Peter Vannes, Henry's Latin secretary. You will search all the registers of the time of Julius II.," said Wolsey to them; "you will study the hand-writing of secretary of the king, and you will attentively examine the ring of the fisherman used by that pontiff."²—Moreover you will inform the pope that it is proposed to set a certain greyfriar, named De Angelis, in his place, to whom Charles would give the *spiritual* authority, reserving the *temporal* for himself. You will manage so that Clement takes alarm at the project, and you will then offer him a guard of 2000 men to protect him. You will ask whether, in case the queen should desire to embrace a religious life, on condition of the king's doing the same, and Henry should yield to this wish,³ he could have the assurance that the pope would afterwards release him from his vows. And, finally, you will inquire whether, in case the queen should desire to enter a convent, the pope would

permit the king to have two wives, as we see in the Old Testament."⁴ The idea which has brought so much reproach on the landgrave of Hesse was not a new one; the honour of it belongs to a cardinal and legate of Rome, whatever Bossuet may say. "Lastly," continued Wolsey, "as the pope is of a timid disposition, you will not fail to season your remonstrances with threats. 'You, Peter, will take him aside and tell him that, as an Italian, having more at heart than any one the glory of the holy see, it is your duty to warn him, that if he persists, the king, his realm, and many other princes, will for ever separate from the papacy.'"

It was not on the mind of the pope alone that it was necessary to act; the rumour that the emperor and the king of France were treating together disturbed Henry. Wolsey had vainly tried to sound Du Bellay; these two priests tried craft against craft. Besides, the Frenchman was not always seasonably informed by his court, letters taking ten days to come from Paris to London.⁵ Henry resolved to have a conference with the ambassador. He began by speaking to him of his matter, says Du Bellay, "and I promise you," he added, "that he needs no advocate, he understands the whole business so well." Henry next touched upon the *wrongs* of Francis I., "recalling so many things that the envoy knew not what to say."—"I pray you, Master Ambassador," said Henry in conclusion, "to beg the king, my brother, to give up a little of his amusements during a year only for the prompt despatch of his affairs. Warn those whom it concerns." Having given this spur to the king of France, Henry turned his thoughts towards Rome.

In truth, the fatal brief from Spain tormented him day and night, and the cardinal tortured his mind to find proofs of its non-authenticity; if he could do so, he would acquit the papacy of the charge of duplicity, and accuse the emperor of forgery. At last he thought he had succeeded. "In the first place," he said to the king, "the brief has the same date as the bull. Now, if the errors in the latter had been found out on the day it was drawn up, it would have been more natural to make another than to append a brief pointing out the errors. What! the same pope, the same day, at the petition of the same persons, give out two rescripts for one effect,⁶ one of which contradicts the other! Either the bull was good, and then, why the brief? or the bull was bad, and then, why deceive princes by a worthless bull? Many names are found in the brief incorrectly spelt, and these are faults which the pontiff-

¹ De duabus uxoriibus. Henry's Instructions to Knight, in the middle of December 1578. State Papers, vii. p. 127. Some great reasons and precedents of the Old Testament appear. Instructions to same, 1st Dec. Ibid. p. 128, note.

² La dite lettre du roi, combien quelle fût du 2, je l'ai recue sinon le 3; le pareil m'advint quasi de toutes autres. Du Bellay to Montmorency, 30 Dec. Le Grand, France.

³ State Papers, vol. vii. p. 129.

⁴ Hunting and gaming all the day long, and following priests all the night. Burnet, i. p. 22.

⁵ State Papers, vii. p. 128, note.

⁶ Only thereby to conduce the queen therunto. Ibid. p. 128, note.

cal secretary, whose accuracy is so well known, could not have committed.¹ Lastly, no one in England ever heard mention of this brief; and yet it is here that it ought to be found." Henry charged Knight, his principal secretary, to join the other envoys with all speed, in order to prove to the pope the supposititious character of the document.

This important paper revived the irritation felt in England against Charles V., and it was resolved to come to extremities. Every one discontented with Austria took refuge in London, particularly the Hungarians. The ambassador from Hungary proposed to Wolsey to adjudge the imperial crown of Germany to the elector of Saxony or the landgrave of Hesse, the two chiefs of protestantism.² Wolsey exclaimed in alarm: "It will be an inconvenience to Christendom, *they are so Lutheran.*" But the Hungarian ambassador so satisfied him that in the end he did not find the matter quite so inconvenient. These schemes were prospering in London, when suddenly a new metamorphosis took place under the eyes of Du Bellay. The king, the cardinal, and the ministers appeared in strange consternation. Vincent da Casale had just arrived from Rome with a letter from his cousin the protonotary, informing Henry that the pope, seeing the triumph of Charles V., the indecision of Francis I., the isolation of the king of England, and the distress of his cardinal, had flung himself into the arms of the emperor. At Rome they went so far as to jest about Wolsey, and to say that since he could not be St Peter they would make him St Paul.

While they were ridiculing Wolsey at Rome, at St Germain's they were joking about Henry. "I will make him get rid of the notions he has in his head," said Francis; and the Flemings, who were again sent out of the country, said as they left London, "that this year they would carry on the war so vigorously, that it would be really a sight worth seeing."

Besides these public griefs, Wolsey had his private ones. Anne Boleyn, who had already begun to use her influence on behalf of the despotic cardinal's victims, gave herself no rest until Cheyney, a courtier disgraced by Wolsey, had been restored to the king's favour. Anne even gave utterance to several biting sarcasms against the cardinal, and the Duke of Norfolk and his party began "to speak big," says Du Bellay. At the moment when the pope, scared by Charles V., was separating from England, Wolsey himself was tottering. Who shall uphold the papacy?.....After Wolsey, nobody! Rome was on the point of losing the power which for nine centuries she had exercised in the

bosom of this illustrious nation. The cardinal's anguish cannot be described; once ingly pursued by gloomy images, he saw Anne on the throne causing the triumph of the Reformation: this nightmare was still him. "His grace, the legate, is in great trouble," wrote the bishop of Bayon: "However.....he is more cunning than they are."³

To still the tempest Wolsey had only one resource left: this was to render Clement favourable to his master's designs. "I crafty Campana, who had burnt the decret conjured him not to believe all the reports transmitted to him concerning Rome. "satisfy the king," said he to the cardinal "the holy father will, if necessary, descend from the pontifical throne."⁴ Wolsey therefore resolved to send to Rome a more energetic agent than Vannes, Bryan, or Knight and cast his eyes on Gardiner. His course began to revive, when an unexpected event fanned once more his loftiest hopes.

CHAPTER VI.

The Pope's Illness—Wolsey's Death—Conference about Members of the Conclave—Wolsey's Instructions—Pope recovers—Speech of the English Envoy to the Pope—Clement willing to abandon England—The English demand the Pope's Denial of the Brief—Wolsey's Alarm—Intrigues—Bryan's Cleverness—Henry's Turn—Wolsey's new Efforts—He calls for an Appeal to Rome and retreats—Wolsey and Du Bellay at Richmond—Ship of the State.

On the 6th of January 1529, the feast of Epiphany, just as the pope was performing mass he was attacked by a sudden illness; he was taken to his room, apparently in a dying state. When this news reached London, the cardinal resolved to hasten to abandon England where the soil trembled under his feet, to climb boldly to the throne of the pontiff Bryan and Vannes, then at Florence, hurried on to Rome through roads infested with robbers. At Orvieto they were informed the pope was better: at Viterbo, no one knew whether he was alive or dead; at Ronciglione they were assured that he had expired: at last, when they reached the metropolis the pope, they learnt that Clement could not survive, and that the imperialists, supported by the Colonnas, were striving to have pope devoted to Charles V.⁵

But great as might be the agitation Rome, it was greater still at Whitehall. God caused De' Medici to descend from the pontifical throne, it could only be, thought Wolsey, to make him mount it. "It is expedient to have such a pope as may save the realm," said he to Gardiner. "And although it cannot but be incommensurable to me in mine old age to be the common father, y

¹ Queen Isabella was called *Elisabik* in the brief; but I have seen a document from the court of Madrid in which Queen Elizabeth of England was called Isabella; it is not therefore an error without a parallel.

² Du Bellay to Montmorency, 13 Jan. 1529. *Le Grand, Preuves*, p. 279.

³ *Le Grand, Preuves*, p. 285, 286.

⁴ Hurst, *Hist. Ref.* vol. i. p. 61.

⁵ *State Papers*, vii. p. 126-127.

when all things be well pondered, the qualities of all the cardinals well considered, I am the only one, without boasting, that can and will remedy the king's secret matter. And were it not for the reintegration of the state of the church, and especially to relieve the king and his realm from their calamities, if the riches and honour of the world should not cause me to accept the said dignity. Nevertheless I conform myself to the necessities of the times. Wherefore, Master Stephen, that this matter may succeed, I pray you to apply all your ingenuity, spare neither money nor labour. I give you the amplest powers, without restriction or limitation." Hardiner departed to win for his master the coveted tiara.

Henry VIII. and Wolsey, who could hardly restrain their impatience, soon heard of the ontiff's death from different quarters.¹ "The emperor has taken away Clement's life,"² said Wolsey, blinded by hatred. "Charles," rejoined the king, "will endeavour to obtain by force or fraud a pope according to his desires." "Yes, to make him his chaplain," replied Wolsey, "and to put an end by degrees both to pope and popedom."³ "We must fly to the defence of the church," resumed Henry, "and with that view, my ord, make up your mind to be pope."—"That done," answered the cardinal, "can bring your Majesty's weighty matter to a happy termination, and by saving you, save the church.....and myself also," he thought in his heart.—"Let us see, let us count the voters."

Henry and his minister then wrote down on a strip of parchment the names of all the cardinals, marking with the letter *A* those who were on the side of the kings of England and France, and with the letter *B* all who favoured the emperor. "There was no *C*," says a chronicler sarcastically, "to signify any on *Christ's* side." The letter *N* designated the neutrals. "The cardinals present," said Wolsey, "will not exceed thirty-nine, and we must have two-thirds, that is, twenty-six. Now, there are twenty upon whom we can reckon; we must, therefore, at any price, gain six of the neutrals."

Wolsey, deeply sensible of the importance of an election that would decide whether England was to be reformed or not, carefully drew up the instructions, which Henry signed, and which history must register. "We desire and ordain," the ambassadors were informed in them, "that you secure the election of the cardinal of York; not forgetting that next to the salvation of his own soul, there is nothing the king desires more earnestly.

"To gain over the neutral cardinals you

will employ two methods in particular. The first is, the cardinals being present, and having God and the Holy Ghost before them, you shall remind them that the cardinal of York alone can save Christendom.

"The second is, because human fragility suffereth not all things to be pondered and weighed in a just balance, it appertaineth in matter of so high importance, to the comfort and relief of all Christendom, to succour the infirmity that may chance.....not for corruption, you will understand.....but rather to help the lacks and defaults of human nature. And, therefore, it shall be expedient that you promise spiritual offices, dignities, rewards of money, or other things which shall seem meet to the purpose.

"Then shall you, with good dexterity, combine and knit those favourable to us in a perfect fastness and indissoluble knot. And that they may be the better animated to finish the election to the king's desire, you shall offer them a guard of 2000 or 3000 men from the kings of England and France, from the viscount of Turin, and the republic of Venice.

"If, notwithstanding all your exertions, the election should fail, then the cardinals of the king's shall repair to some sure place, and there proceed to such an election as may be to God's pleasure.

"And to win more friends for the king, you shall promise, on the one hand, to the Cardinal de' Medici and his party our special favour; and the Florentines, on the other hand, you shall put in comfort of the exclusion of the said family De' Medici. Likewise you shall put the cardinals in perfect hope of recovering the patrimony of the church; and you shall contain the Venetians in good trust of a reasonable way to be taken for Cervia and Ravenna (which formed part of the patrimony) to their contentment."

Such were the means by which the cardinal hoped to win the papal throne. To the right he said *yes*, to the left he said *no*. What would it matter that these perfidies were one day discovered, provided it were after the election. Christendom might be very certain that the choice of the future pontiff would be the work of the Holy Ghost. Alexander VI. had been a poisoner; Julius II. had given way to ambition, anger, and vice; the liberal Leo X. had passed his life in worldly pursuits; the unhappy Clement VII. had lived on stratagems and lies; Wolsey would be their worthy successor:

"All the seven deadly sins have worn the triple crown."⁴

Wolsey found his excuse in the thought, that if he succeeded, the divorce was secured, and England enslaved for ever to the court of Rome.

Success at first appeared probable. Many

¹ Foxe, *Acts*, iv. p. 601.

² By sundry ways hath been advertised of the death of our holy father. *Ibid.* The king's Instructions.

³ By some detestable act committed for the late pope's destruction. *Ibid.* *op.*

⁴ By little and little utterly to exclude and extinguish him and his authority. *Ibid.*

¹ Foxe, *iv.* p. 64-602.

² Les sept péchés mortels ont porté la tiare. Ousmris Delavigne, *Derniers chants, le Conclave.*

cardinals spoke openly in favour of the English prelate; one of them asked for a detailed account of his life, in order to present it as a model to the church; another worshipped him (so he said) as a divinity..... Among the gods and popes adored at Rome there were some no better than he. But ere long alarming news reached England. What grief! the pope was getting better. "Conceal your instructions," wrote the cardinal, "and reserve them in *omnem eventum*."

Wolsey not having obtained the tiara, it was necessary at least to gain the divorce. "God declares," said the English ambassadors to the pope, "*except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it.*" Therefore, the king, taking God alone for his guide, requests of you, in the first place, an engagement to pronounce the divorce in the space of three months, and in the second the avocation to Rome."—"The promise first, and only after that the avocation," Wolsey had said, "for I fear that if the pope begins with the avocation, he will never pronounce the divorce."—"Besides," added the envoys, "the king's second marriage admits of no refusal, whatever bulls or briefs there may be." The only issue of this matter is the divorce; the divorce in one way or another must be procured."

Wolsey had instructed his envoys to pronounce these words with a certain air of familiarity, and at the same time with a gravity calculated to produce an effect.¹ His expectations were deceived: Clement was colder than ever. He had determined to abandon England in order that he might secure the States of the Church, of which Charles was then master, thus sacrificing the spiritual to the temporal. "The pope will not do the least thing for your majesty," wrote Bryan to the king; "your matter may well be in his *Pater noster*, but it certainly is not in his *Credo*."² "Increase in importunity," answered the king; "the cardinal of Verona should remain about the pope's person and counterbalance the influence of De Angelis and the archbishop of Capua. I would rather lose my two crowns than be beaten by these two friars."

Thus was the struggle about to become keener than ever, when Clement's relapse once more threw doubt on everything. He was always between life and death; and this perpetual alternation agitated the king and the impatient cardinal in every way. The latter considered that the pope had need of *merits* to enter the kingdom of heaven. "Procure an interview with the pope," he wrote to the envoys, "even though he be in the very agony of death;³ and represent to

him that nothing will be more likely *his soul* than the bill of divorce." The commissioners were not admitted; towards the end of March, the deputy appearing in a body,⁴ the pope prom examined the letter from Spain. He began to fear this document; he repented that those who had fabricated it would be able to give it an appearance of ticity. "Rather declare immediately this brief is not a brief," said he to the king of England, who is your son's son, is not so like the rest of the We cannot put the same shoe on every This rather vulgar argument did not Clement. "If to content your master business," said he, "I cannot employ head, at least I will my finger."⁵ pleased to explain yourself," replied V who found the *finger* a very little "I mean," resumed the pontiff, "that employ every means, provided the honourable." Vannes withdrew disheated.

He immediately conferred with his leagues, and all together, alarmed idea of Henry's anger, returned to the pontiff; they thrust aside the lackeys endeavoured to stop them, and mad way into his bed chamber. Clement to them with that resistance of inertia by the popedom has gained its great tories: *siluit*, he remained silent. On consequence to the pontiff were the island, and his church, when Charles Austria was threatening him with his Clement, less proud than Hildebrand, mitted willingly to the emperor's provided the emperor would protect his had rather," he said, "be Caesar's not only in a temple, but in a stable is sary, than be exposed to the insults o and vagabonds."⁶ At the same t wrote to Campeggio: "Do not irrit king, but spin out this matter as n possible;⁷ the Spanish brief gives means."

In fact, Charles V. had twice shown the original document, and Wolsey this ambassador's report, began to that it was not Charles who had for brief, but that Pope Julius II. had given two contradictory documents same day. Accordingly the cardinal feared to see this letter in the pontiff's "Do all you can to dissuade the pope seeking the original in Spain," wrote one of his ambassadors; "it may exasperate the emperor." We know how cautious cardinal was towards Charles. I attained its highest point at this epoch.

¹ Where Christ is not the foundation, surely no building can be of good work. State Papers, vii. p. 122.

² Convolare ad secundas nuptias non patitur negativum. Ibid. p. 122.

³ Which words, fashioned with a familiarity and somewhat with earnestness and gravity. Ibid.

⁴ State Papers, vol. i. p. 330.

⁵ Burnet's Ref. i. p. 46.

¹ Postquam conjunctim omnes. State Papers, vii. p. 122.

² Quo eodemque calcei omnium pedes valle rei p. 126.

³ Quod forsitan non licebit toto capite assequi, tum imponam. Ibid. p. 127.

⁴ Malle Cesari a stabulo pedum a sacris inseri inferiorum hominum subditorum, vasaolorum, injurias sustinere. Herbert, vol. i. p. 261.

⁵ Le Grand, vol. i. p. 141.

Englishmen and Romans encountered craft with craft. "In such ticklish negotiations," says Burnet, (who had had some little experience in diplomacy) "ministers must say and unsay as they are instructed, which goes of course as a part of their business."¹ Henry's envoys to the pope intercepted the letters sent from Rome, and had Campeggio's seized.² On his part the pope indulged in flattering smiles and perfidious equivocations. Bryan wrote to Henry VIII.: "Always your grace hath done for him in deeds, and he hath recompensed you with fair words and fair writings, of which both I think your grace shall lack none; but as for the deeds, I never believe to see them, and especially at this time."³ Bryan had comprehended the court of Rome better perhaps than many politicians. Finally, Clement himself, wishing to prepare the king for the blow he was about to inflict, wrote to him: "We have been able to find nothing that would satisfy your ambassadors."⁴

Henry thought he knew what this message meant: that he had found nothing, and would find nothing; and accordingly this prince, who, if we may believe Wolsey, had hitherto shown incredible patience and gentleness,⁵ gave way to all his violence. "Very well then," said he; "my lords and I well know how to withdraw ourselves from the authority of the Roman see." Wolsey turned pale, and conjured his master not to rush into that fearful abyss; "Campeggio, too, endeavoured to revive the king's hopes. But it was all of no use. Henry recalled his ambassadors.

Henry, it is true, had not yet reached the age when violent characters become inflexible from the habit they have encouraged of yielding to their passions. But the cardinal, who knew his master, knew also that his inflexibility did not depend upon the number of his years; he thought Rome's power in England was lost, and placed between Henry and Clement, he exclaimed: "How shall I avoid Scylla, and not fall into Charybdis?"⁶ He begged the king to make one last effort by sending Dr Bennet to the pope with orders to support the avocation to Rome, and he gave him a letter in which he displayed all the resources of his eloquence. "How can it be imagined," he wrote, "that the persuasions of sense urge the king to break a union in which the ardent years of his youth were passed with such purity?"⁷ ".....The matter is very different. I am on the spot, I know the state of men's minds.

.....Pray, believe me.....The divorce is the secondary question; the primary one is the fidelity of this realm to the papal see. The nobility, gentry, and citizens all exclaim with indignation: Must our fortunes, and even our lives, depend upon the nod of a foreigner? We must abolish, or at the very least diminish, the authority of the Roman pontiff.¹.....Most holy father, we cannot mention such things without a shudder."².....This new attempt was also unavailing. The pope demanded of Henry how he could doubt his good will, seeing that the king of England had done so much for the apostolic see.³ This appeared a cruel irony to Tudor; the king requested a favour of the pope, and the pope replied by calling to mind those which the papacy had received from his hands. "Is this the way," men asked in England, "in which Rome pays her debts?"

Wolsey had not reached the term of his misfortunes. Gardiner and Brian had just returned to London: they declared that to demand an avocation to Rome was to lose their cause. Accordingly Wolsey, who turned to every wind, ordered Da Casale, in case Clement should pronounce the avocation, to appeal from the pope, the false head of the church, to the true vicar of Jesus Christ.⁴ This was almost in Luther's style. Who was this true vicar? Probably a pope nominated by the influence of England.

But this proceeding did not assure the cardinal: he was losing his judgment. A short time before this Du Bellay, who had just returned from Paris, whither he had gone to retain France on the side of England, had been invited to Richmond by Wolsey. As the two prelates were walking in the park, on that hill whence the eye ranges over the fertile and undulating fields through which the winding Thames pours its tranquil waters, the unhappy cardinal observed to the bishop: "My trouble is the greatest that ever was!.....I have excited and carried on this matter of the divorce, to dissolve the union between the two houses of Spain and England, by sowing misunderstanding between them, as if I had no part in it.⁵ You know it was in the interest of France; I therefore entreat the king your master and her majesty to do everything that may forward the divorce. I shall esteem such a favour more than if they made me pope; but if they refuse me, my ruin is inevitable." And then giving way to despair, he exclaimed: "Alas! would that I were going to be buried to-morrow!"

The wretched man was drinking the bitter cup his perfidies had prepared for him. All seemed to conspire against Henry, and

¹ Burnet's Ref. vol. i. p. 54.

² De interceptandis litteris. State Papers, vol. vii. p. 108.

³ Ibid. p. 107.

⁴ He added: *Tametsi noctes ac dies per nos ipse, ac per peritissimos viros omnes vias tentemus.* Ibid. p. 108.

⁵ *Incredibili patientia et humanitate.* Burnet, Records, p. xxxii.

⁶ *Ne precepta huc vel illuc rex hic ruit curamus.* Ibid. p. xxxii.

⁷ *Hanc Charybdis et hos scopulos evitasse.* Ibid. p. xxxii.

⁸ *Senarium suadela eam abruptore cupiet commutasse.* Ibid. p. xxxiii.

¹ *Qui nullam aut certe diminutam hie Romani pontificis auctoritatem.* Burnet, Records, p. xxxiii.

² *Dubitare non debet si quidem voluerit recordare tua erga nos merita.* State Papers, vol. vii. p. 178.

³ *A non vicario ad verum vicarium Jesu Christi.* Ibid. p. 181.

⁴ Du Bellay to Montmorency, 2nd May. Le Grand Preuves, p. 318.

Bennet was recalled shortly after. It was said at court and in the city: "Since the pope sacrifices us to the emperor, let us sacrifice the pope." Clement VII., intimidated by the threats of Charles V., and tottering upon his throne, madly repelled with his foot the bark of England. Europe was all attention, and began to think that the proud vessel of Albion, cutting the cable that bound her to the pontiffs, would boldly spread her canvases to the winds, and ever after sail the sea alone, wafted onwards by the breeze that comes from heaven.

The influence of Rome over Europe is in great measure political. It loses a kingdom by a royal quarrel, and might in this same way lose ten.

CHAPTER VII.

Discussion between the Evangelicals and the Catholics—Union of Learning and Life—The Latt; Tewkesbury—His Appearance before the Bishop's Court—He is tortured—Two classes of Opponents—A Theological Duel—Scripture and the Church—Emancipation of the Mind—Mission to the Low Countries—Tyndale's Embarrassment—Tonstall wishes to buy the Books—Packington's Stratagem—Tyndale departs for Antwerp—His Shipwreck—Arrival at Hamburg—Meets Coverdale.

OTHER circumstances from day to day rendered the emancipation of the church more necessary. If behind these political debates there had not been found a Christian people, resolved never to temporize with error, it is probable that England, after a few years of independence, would have fallen back into the bosom of Rome. The affair of the divorce was not the only one agitating men's minds; the religious controversies, which for some years filled the continent, were always more animated at Oxford and Cambridge. The *Evangelicals* and the *Catholics* (not very catholic indeed) warmly discussed the great questions which the progress of events brought before the world. The former maintained that the primitive church of the apostles and the actual church of the papacy were not identical; the latter affirmed, on the contrary, the identity of popery and apostolic Christianity. Other Romish doctors in later times, finding this position somewhat embarrassing, have asserted that Catholicism existed only in the germ in the apostolic church, and had subsequently developed itself. But a thousand abuses, a thousand errors may creep into a church under cover of this theory. A plant springs from the seed and grows up in accordance with immutable laws; whilst a doctrine cannot be transformed in the mind of man without falling under the influence of sin. It is true that the disciples of popery have supposed a constant action of the divine Spirit in the Catholic church, which excludes every influence of error. To stamp on the development of the church the character of

truth, they have stamped on the church the character of infallibility; *quod erat monstrandum*. Their reasoning is a begging of the question. To know whether the Romish development is identical with gospel, we must examine it by Scripture.

It was not university men alone who occupied themselves with Christian truth. Separation which has been remarked in some times between the opinions of the people of the learned, did not now exist. What doctors taught, the citizens practised; Oxford and London embraced each other. The theologians knew that learning has need of, and the citizens believed that life has need of, that learning which derives the doctrine from the wells of the Scriptures of God. It is the harmony between these two elements the one theological, the other practical, which constituted the strength of the English reformation.

The evangelical life in the capital alarmed the clergy more than the evangelical doctrine in the colleges. Since Monmouth had escaped, they must strike another. Among London merchants was John Tewkesbury one of the oldest friends of the Scripture in England. As early as 1512 he had been possessor of a manuscript copy of the Bible and had attentively studied it; when Tyndale's New Testament appeared, he read with avidity; and, finally, *The Wicked Man* had completed the work of his mission. Being a man of heart and understanding, clever in all he undertook, a ready and fluent speaker, and liking to get to the bottom of everything, Tewkesbury like Tyndale's mouth became very influential in the city, and one of the most learned in Scripture of the evangelicals. These generous Christians, being determined to consecrate to the good things they had received from him, were the first among that long series of men who were destined to be more useful to the truth than many ministers and bishops. They found time to interest themselves in the most trifling details of the kingdom of God; and in the history of the Reformation in Britain their names should be inscribed side those of Latimer and Tyndale.

The activity of these laymen could escape the cardinal's notice. Clement was abandoning England: it was necessary for the English bishops, by crushing the heretics, to show that they would not abate the pope's power. We can understand the of these prelates, and without excusing persecutions, we are disposed to extend their crime. The bishops determined to attack Tewkesbury. One day in April 1523, he was busy among his peltries, the officer entered his warehouse, arrested him, and him away to the bishop of London's chamber, besides the ordinary (Tonstall) bishops of Ely, St Asaph, Bath, and Lincoln with the abbot of Westminster, were on the bench. The composition of this tribunal

D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

icated the importance of his case. The emancipation of the laity, thought these judges, is perhaps a more dangerous heresy than justification by faith.

"John Tewkesbury," said the bishop of London, "I exhort you to trust less to your wit and learning, and more unto the doctrine of the holy mother the church." Tewkesbury made answer, that in his judgment he held no other doctrine than that of the church of Christ. Tonstall then broached his principal charge, that of having read the Wicked Mammon, and after quoting several passages, he exclaimed: "Renounce these errors."—"I find no fault in the book," replied Tewkesbury. "It has enlightened my conscience and consoled my heart. But it is not my gospel. I have studied the Holy Scriptures these seventeen years, and as a man sees the spots of his face in a glass, so I reading them I have learnt the faults of my soul.¹ If there is a disagreement between you and the New Testament, put yourselves in harmony with it, rather than desire to put that in accord with you." The bishops were surprised that a leather-seller should speak so well, and quote Scripture so happily, that they were unable to resist him.² Annoyed at being catechised by a layman, the bishops of Bath, St Asaph, and Lincoln thought they could conquer him more easily by the rack than by their arguments. He was taken to the Tower, where they ordered him to be put on the torture. His limbs were crushed, which was contrary to the laws of England, and the violence of the rack tore from him a cry of agony to which the priests replied by a shout of exultation. The inflexible merchant had promised at last to renounce Tyndale's Wicked Mammon. Tewkesbury left the Tower almost "a cripple,"³ and returned to his house to lament the fatal word which he question had extorted from him, and to weep in the silence of faith to confess in the burning pile the precious name of Christ Jesus.

We must, however, acknowledge that the 'question' was not Rome's only argument. The gospel had two classes of opponents in the sixteenth century, as in the first ages of the church. Some attacked it with the torture, others with their writings. Sir Thomas More, a few years later, was to have recourse to the first of these arguments; but for the moment he took up his pen. He had first studied the writings of the Fathers of the church and of the Reformers, but rather as an advocate than as a theologian; and then, armed at all points, he rushed into the arena of polemics, and in his attacks dealt those 'technical convictions and that malevolent subtlety,' says one of his greatest admirers,⁴ 'from which the honestest men of his profession are not free.' Jest and sarcasm

had fallen from his pen in his discussion with Tyndale, as in his controversy with Luther. Shortly after Tewkesbury's affair (in June, 1529) there appeared *A Dialogue of Sir Thomas More, Knt., touching the pestilent Sect of Luther and Tyndale, by the one begun in Saxony, and by the other laboured to be brought into England.*⁵

Tyndale soon became informed of More's publication, and a remarkable combat ensued between these two representatives of the two doctrines that were destined to divide Christendom—Tyndale the champion of Scripture, and More the champion of the church. More having called his book a *dialogue*, Tyndale adopted this form in his reply,⁶ and the two combatants valiantly crossed their swords, though wide seas lay between them. This theological duel is not without importance in the history of the Reformation. The struggles of diplomacy, of sacerdotalism, and of royalty were not enough; there must be struggles of doctrine. Rome had set the hierarchy above the faith; the Reformation was to restore faith to its place above the hierarchy.

MORE. Christ said not, the Holy Ghost shall *write*, but shall *teach*. Whatsoever the church says, it is the word of God, though it be not in Scripture.

TYNDALE. What! Christ and the apostles not spoken of *Scriptures*!.....*These are written, says St John, that ye believe and through belief have life.* (1 John ii. 1; Rom. xv. 4; Matthew xxii. 29.)⁷

MORE. The apostles have taught by *mouth* many things they did not *write*, because they should not come into the hands of the heathen for mocking.

TYNDALE. I pray you what thing more to be mocked by the heathen could they teach than the resurrection; and that Christ was God and man, and died between two thieves? And yet all these things the apostles *wrote*. And again, purgatory, penance, and satisfaction for sin, and praying to saints, are marvellous agreeable unto the superstition of the heathen people, so that they need not to abstain from writing of them for fear lest the heathen should have mocked them.⁸

MORE. We must not examine the teaching of the church by Scripture, but understand Scripture by means of what the church says.

TYNDALE. What! Does the air give light to the sun, or the sun to the air? Is the church before the gospel, or the gospel before the church? Is not the father older than the son? *God begot us with his own will, with the word of truth,* says St James (i. 18.) If he who begetteth is before him who is begotten, the *word* is before the church,

¹ The Dialogue consisted of 250 pages, and was printed by John Eastel, More's brother-in-law. Tyndale's answer did not appear until later; we have thought it our duty to introduce it here.

² Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue.

³ Ibid. p. 101.

⁴ Ibid. p. 26, 28.

¹ Foxe, iv. p. 601.

² Ibid. p. 600.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Nisard, *Hommes illustres de la renaissance. Œuvres des Vieux Mondes.*

or, to speak more correctly, before the *congregation*.

MORE. Why do you say *congregation* and not *church*?

TYNDALE. Because by that word *church*, you understand nothing but a multitude of shorn and oiled, which we now call the spirituality or clergy; while the word of right is common unto all the congregation of them that believe in Christ.¹

MORE. The church is the pope and his sect or followers.

TYNDALE. The pope teacheth us to trust in holy works for salvation, as penance, saints' merits, and friars' coats.² Now, he that hath no faith to be saved through Christ, is not of Christ's church.³

MORE. The Romish church from which Lutherans came out, was before them, and therefore is the right one.

TYNDALE. In like manner you may say, the church of the Pharisees, whence Christ and his apostles came out, was before their, and was therefore the right church, and consequently Christ and his disciples are heretics.

MORE. No: the apostles came out from the church of the Pharisees because they found not Christ there; but your priests in Germany and elsewhere, have come out of our church, because they wanted wives.

TYNDALE. Wrong.....these priests were at first attached to what you call *heretics*, and then they took wives; but yours were first attached to the *holy* doctrine of the pope, and then they took harlots.⁴

MORE. Luther's books be open, if ye will not believe us.

TYNDALE. Nay, ye have shut them up, and have even burnt them.....

MORE. I marvel that you deny *purgatory*, Sir William, except it be a plain point with you to go straight to hell.⁵

TYNDALE. I know no other purging but faith in the cross of Christ; while you, for a groat or a sixpence, buy some secret pills [indulgences] which you take to purge your lives of your sins.⁷

MORE. Faith, then, is your purgatory, you say: there is no need, therefore, of works—a most immoral doctrine!

TYNDALE. It is faith *alone* that saves us, but not a *bare* faith. When a horse beareth a saddle and a man thereon, we may well say that the horse only and alone beareth the saddle, but we do not mean the saddle empty, and no man thereon.⁸

In this manner did the catholic and the evangelical carry on the discussion. According to Tyndale, what constitutes the true church is the work of the Holy Ghost within; according to More, the constitution of the papacy without. The spiritual character of the gospel is thus put in opposition to the

formalist character of the Roman church. The Reformation restored to our belief solid foundation of the word of God; and it substituted the rock. In the vision to which we have just been led the advantage remained not with the catholic Erasmus, a friend of More's, embarras the course the latter was taking, Mr. Tunstall: "I cannot heartily congratulate More."¹

Henry interrupted the celebrated in these contents to send him to Calais where a peace was negotiating between France and the empire. Wolsey would have been pleased to go himself; but his court suggested to the king, "that it was that he might not expedite the matter divorce." Henry, therefore, despising More, Knight, and Tunstall; but Wolsey had created so many delays that they arrived until after the conclusion of the Peace (August, 1529). The king's revenge was extreme. Du Bellay had in vain urged him to spend a *good preparatory July* to him *swallow the dose*.² Henry was with Wolsey, Wolsey threw the blame on the ambassador, and the ambassador defended himself, he tells us, "with too small a nail."³

By way of compensation, the English envoys concluded with the emperor a prohibiting on both sides the printing and sale of "any Lutheran books." So that they could have wished for a good pretext, for a few burning piles, it may be singular opportunity occurred. In the month of 1529, Tyndale and Frith had left England for Antwerp, and were thus in the vicinity of the English envoys. What had been unable to effect, it was through the two most intelligent men in Britain not fail to accomplish. "Tyndale was captured," said More and Tunstall.—"do not know what sort of a country you are in," replied Hackett. "Will you let me go on the 7th of April, Harman as me at Antwerp for damages, caused imprisonment? If you can lay anything my charge as a private individual. I am the officer, I am ready to answer for me but if you arrest me as ambassador, I no judge but the emperor. Upon which procurator had the audacity to reply, 'was arrested as ambassador'; and the king of Antwerp only set me at liberty on condition that I should appear again at the first summons." These merchants are so proud of their franchises, that they would resist Charles himself." This anecdote was all calculated to encourage More; as caring about a pursuit, which promised of little use, he returned to England.

¹ Thomas More non admodum gratulator. Erasmus, 1472.

² Juillet préparatoire pour lui faire avaler la dose.

³ Du bec et des ongles. Du Bellay to Montmorency, Grand, III, p. 326.

⁴ Herbert, p. 176. ⁵ Hackett to Wolsey, Brussels, 12th April, 1529. ⁶ Nahe, vol. I, p. 22.

¹ Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, p. 12, 13.

² 1. 1. 1. p. 10. ³ Ibid. p. 174. ⁴ Ibid. p. 214. ⁵ Ibid. p. 197.

⁶ Ibid. p. 29. ⁷ Ibid. p. 120. ⁸ Ibid.

bishop of London, who was left behind, isted in the project, and repaired to werp to put in execution.

tyndale was at that time greatly embar- ed ; considerable debts, incurred with his ters, compelled him to suspend his la- rs. Nor was this all: the prelate who spurned him so harshly in London had arrived in the very city where he lay sealed.....What would become of him?... merchant, named Augustin Packington, a er man, but somewhat inclined to dis- ulation, happening to be at Antwerp on iness, hastened to pay his respects to the op. The latter observed, in the course onversation: "I should like to get hold he books with which England is poison- "

"I can perhaps serve you in that mat- " replied the merchant. "I know the mings, who have bought Tyndale's books; hat if your lordship will be pleased to for them, I will make sure of them " "Oh, oh!" thought the bishop, "Now, he proverb says, I shall have God by the Gentle Master Packington," he added a flattering tone, "I will pay for them tsoever they cost you. I intend to burn t at St Paul's cross." The bishop, having and already on Tyndale's Testaments, ied himself on the point of seizing Tyn- : himself.

ackington, being one of those men who : to conciliate all parties, ran off to Tyn- , with whom he was intimate, and said : William, I know you are a poor man, and e a heap of New Testaments and books by , for which you have beggared yourself; I have now found a merchant who will them all, and with ready money too."— /ho is the merchant?" said Tyndale.— he bishop of London."—"Tonstall?..... e buys my books, it can only be to burn n."—"No doubt," answered Packington; t what will he gain by it? The whole d will cry out against the priest who ns God's word, and the eyes of many will opened. Come, make up your mind, Wil- n; the bishop shall have the books, you money, and I the thanks.".....Tyndale isted the proposal; Packington became re pressing. "The question comes to this," aid; "shall the bishop pay for the books hall he not? for, make up your mind..... ill have them."—"I consent," said the ormer at last; "I shall pay my debts, and ag out a new and more correct edition of Testament." The bargain was made.

relong the danger thickened around Tyn- e. Placards, posted at Antwerp and oughout the province, announced that the peror, in conformity with the treaty of mbray, was about to proceed against the ormers and their writings. Not an officer justice appeared in the street but Tyndale's nds trembled for his liberty. Under such

circumstances, how could he print his tran- slation of Genesis and Deuteronomy? He made up his mind about the end of August to go to Hamburg, and took his passage in a vessel loading for that port. Embarking with his books, his manuscripts, and the rest of his money, he glided down the Scheldt, and soon found himself afloat on the German ocean.

But one danger followed close upon another. He had scarcely passed the mouth of the Meuse when a tempest burst upon him, and his ship, like that of old which bore St Paul, was almost swallowed up by the waves.— "Satan, envying the happy course and suc- cess of the gospel," says a chronicler, "set to his might how to hinder the blessed la- bours of this man." The seamen toiled, Tyndale prayed, all hope was lost. The reform- or alone was full of courage, not doubting that God would preserve him for the accom- plishment of his work. All the exertions of the crew proved useless; the vessel was dashed on the coast, and the passengers escaped with their lives. Tyndale gazed with sorrow upon that ocean which had swallowed up his beloved books and precious manuscripts, and deprived him of his resources.¹ What labours, what perils! banishment, poverty, thirst, in- sults, watchings, persecution, imprisonment, the stake!.....Like Paul, he was in perils by his own countrymen, in perils among strange people, in perils in the city, in perils in the sea. Recovering his spirits, however, he went on board another ship, entered the Elbe, and at last reached Hamburg.

Great joy was in store for him in that city. Coverdale, Foxe informs us, was waiting there to confer with him, and to help him in his labours.² It has been supposed that Coverdale went to Hamburg to invite Tyndale, in Cromwell's name, to return to England;³ but it is merely a conjecture, and requires confirmation. As early as 1527, Coverdale had made known to Cromwell his desire to translate the Scriptures.⁴ It was natural that, meeting with difficulties in this under- taking, he should desire to converse with Tyndale. The two friends lodged with a pious woman named Margaret van Emmer- sen, and spent some time together in the au- tumn of 1529, undisturbed by the sweating sickness which was making such cruel havoc all around them. Coverdale returned to Eng- land shortly after; the two reformers had, no doubt, discovered that it was better for each of them to translate the Scriptures separately.

Before Coverdale's return, Tonstall had gone back to London, exulting at carrying with him the books he had bought so dearly. But when he reached the capital, he thought he had better defer the meditated *auto da fe* until some striking event should give it in-

¹ Foxe, v. p. 150.

² Lost both his money, his copies,....*Ibid.*

³ Coverdale tarried for him and helped him. *Ibid.*

⁴ Anderson's *Annals of the Bible*, l. p. 28.

⁵ This is the date assigned in Coverdale's *Reynolds* (Paris Soc. p. 495).

creased importance. And, besides, just at that moment, very different matters were engaging public attention on the banks of the Thames, and the liveliest emotions agitated every mind.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Royal Session—Sitting of the 15th June; the Queen's Protest—Sitting of the 21st June—Summons to the King and Queen—Catherine's Speech—She retires—Impression on the Audience—The King's Declaration—Wolsey's Protest—Quarrel between the Bishops—New Sitting—Apparition to the Maid of Kent—Wolsey charged by Henry—The Earl of Wiltshire at Wolsey's—Private Conference between Catherine and the two Legates.

AFFAIRS had changed in England during the absence of Tonstall and More; and even before their departure, events of a certain importance had occurred. Henry, finding there was nothing more to hope from Rome, had turned to Wolsey and Campeggio. The Roman nuncio had succeeded in deceiving the king. "Campeggio is very different from what he is reported," said Henry to his friends: "he is not for the emperor, as I was told; I have said somewhat to him which has changed his mind."¹ No doubt he had made some brilliant promise.

Henry therefore, imagining himself sure of his two legates, desired them to proceed with the matter of the divorce without delay. There was no time to lose, for the king was informed that the pope was on the point of recalling the commission given to the two cardinals; and as early as the 19th of March, Salviati, the pope's uncle and secretary of state, wrote to Campeggio about it.² Henry's process, once in the court of the pontifical chancery, it would have been long before it got out again. Accordingly, on the 31st of May, the king, by a warrant under the great seal, gave the legates leave to execute their commission, "without any regard to his own person, and having the fear of God only before their eyes."³ The legates themselves had suggested this formula to the king.

On the same day the commission was opened; but to begin the process was not to end it. Every letter which the nuncio received forbade him to do so in the most positive manner. "Advance slowly and never finish," were Clement's instructions.⁴ The trial was to be a farce, played by a pope and two cardinals.

The ecclesiastical court met in the great hall of the Blackfriars, commonly called the "parliament chamber." The two legates having successively taken the commission

in their hands, devoutly declared that if were resolved to execute it (they should be said, to elude it), made the required oath and ordered a peremptory citation of king and queen to appear on the 18th June at nine in the morning. Campeggio was eager to proceed *shoutly*; the session was adjourned for three weeks. The citation caused a great stir among the people. "What!" said they, "a king and a queen constrained to appear, in their own real, before their own subjects." The papacy gave an example which was to be strictly followed in after-years both in England and in France.

On the 18th of June Catherine appeared before the commission in the parliamt chamber, and stepping forward with dignity said with a firm voice: "I protest against the legates as incompetent judges, and appeal to the pope."⁵ This proceeding of a queen's, her pride and firmness, troubled her enemies, and in their vexation they grew exasperated against her. "Instead of praising God to bring this matter to a good conclusion," they said, "she endeavours to turn away the people's affections from the king. Instead of showing Henry the love of a youthful wife, she keeps away from him night and day. There is even cause to fear they added, "that she is in concert with certain individuals who have formed the horrible design of killing the king and the cardinal."⁶ But persons of generous hearts seeing only a queen, a wife, and a mother attacked in her dearest affections, showed themselves full of sympathy for her.

On the 21st of June, the day to which the court adjourned, the two legates entered the parliament chamber with all the pomp belonging to their station, and took their seats on a raised platform. Near them sat the bishops of Bath and Lincoln, the abbot of Westminster, and Doctor Taylor, master of the rolls, whom they had added to the commission. Below them were the secretaries, among whom the skilful Stephen Gardiner held the chief rank. On the right hung a cloth of estate where the king was surrounded by his officers; and on the left a little lower, was the queen, attended by her ladies. The archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops were seated between the legates and Henry VIII., and on both sides of the throne were stationed the councillors of the king and queen. The latter were Fisher, bishop of Rochester, Standish of St Asaph, West of Ely, and Doctor Biller. The people, when they saw this procession, were far from being dazzled by the pomp. "Less show and more virtue," they said, "would better become such judges."

The pontifical commission having been read, the legates declared that *if* would

¹ Burnet, Records, p. xxv.

² E. quanto altro non si possa, forse si penserà ad avvocare la causa a se. Lettere di XIII. uomini illustri, 14th March 1529.

³ Ut solum Deum per oculos habentes. Rymer, Acta ad annum.

⁴ Sua beatitudine ricorda, che il procedere sia lento ed in modo alcuno non si venga al giudizio. To Card. Campeggio, 29th May, 1529. Lett. di Principi.

⁵ Se in illis tanquam iudices suos non assensit, per provocavit. Sanders, p. 32.

⁶ Burnet's Ref. l. p. 24.

judge without fear or favour, and would admit of neither recusation nor appeal.¹ Then the usher cried: "Henry, king of England, come into court." The king, cited in his own capital to accept as judges two priests, his subjects, repressed the throbbing of his proud heart, and replied, in the hope that this strange trial would have a favourable issue: "Here I am." The usher continued: "Catherine, queen of England, come into court." The queen handed the cardinals a paper in which she protested against the legality of the court, as the judges were the subjects of her opponent,² and appealed to Rome. The cardinals declared they could not admit this paper, and consequently Catherine was again called into court. At this second summons she rose, devoutly crossed herself, made the circuit of the court to where the king sat, bending with dignity as she passed in front of the legates, and fell on her knees before her husband. Every eye was turned upon her. Then speaking in English, but with a Spanish accent, which by recalling the distance she was from her native home, pleaded eloquently for her, Catherine said with tears in her eyes, and in a tone at once dignified and impassioned:

"SIR,—I beseech you, for all the love that hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right; take some pity on me, for I am a poor woman and a stranger, born out of your dominions. I have here no assured friend, much less impartial counsel, and I flee to you as to the head of justice within this realm. Alas! Sir, wherein have I offended you, or what occasion given you of displeasure, that you should wish to put me from you? I take God and all the world to witness, that I have been to you a true, humble, and obedient wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure. Never have I said or done ought contrary thereto, being always well pleased and content with all things wherein you had delight; neither did I ever grudge in word or countenance, or show a visage or spark of discontent. I loved all those whom you loved, only for your sake. This twenty years I have been your true wife, and by me ye have had divers children, although it hath pleased God to call them out of this world, which yet hath been no default in me."

The judges, and even the most servile of the courtiers, were touched when they heard these simple and eloquent words, and the queen's sorrow moved them almost to tears. Catherine continued:—

"SIR,—When ye married me at the first, God to be my judge I was a true maid: whether it be true or not, I put it to conscience.....If there be any just

cause that ye can allege against me, I am contented to depart from your kingdom, albeit to my great shame and dishonour; and if there be none, then let me remain in my former estate until death. Who united us? The king, your father, who was called the second Solomon; and my father, Ferdinand, who was esteemed one of the wisest princes that, for many years before, had reigned in Spain. It is not, therefore, to be doubted that the marriage between you and me is good and lawful. Who are my judges? Is not one the man that has put sorrow between you and me?.....a judge whom I refuse and abhor!—Who are the councillors assigned me? Are they not officers of the crown, who have made oath to you in your own council?..... Sir, I conjure you not to call me before a court so formed. Yet, if you refuse me this favour.....your will be done.....I shall be silent, I shall repress the emotions of my soul, and remit my just cause to the hands of God."

Thus spoke Catherine through her tears:³ humbly bending, she seemed to embrace Henry's knees. She rose and made a low obeisance to the king. It was expected that she would return to her seat; but leaning on the arm of Griffiths, her receiver-general, she moved towards the door. The king, observing this, ordered her to be recalled; and the usher following her, thrice cried aloud: "Catherine, queen of England, come into court."—"Madam," said Griffiths, "you are called back."—"I hear it well enough," replied the queen, "but go you on, for this is no court wherein I can have justice: let us proceed." Catherine returned to the palace, and never again appeared before the court either by proxy or in person.⁴

She had gained her cause in the minds of many. The dignity of her person, the quaint simplicity of her speech, the propriety with which, relying upon her innocence, she had spoken of the most delicate subjects, and the tears which betrayed her emotion, had created a deep impression. But "the sting in her speech," as an historian says,⁵ was her appeal to the king's conscience, and to the judgment of Almighty God, on the capital point in the cause. "How could a person so modest, so sober in her language," said many, "dare utter such a falsehood? Besides, the king did not contradict her."

Henry was greatly embarrassed: Catherine's words had moved him. Catherine's defence, one of the most touching in history, had gained over the accuser himself. He therefore felt constrained to render this testimony to the accused: "Since the queen has withdrawn, I will, in her absence, declare to

¹ Qui discessionem inter ipsam et virum suum. Polyd. Virg. p. 600.

² Hinc illa debilititer dicente. Ibid. p. 604. and Cavendish.

³ Burnet, Records, p. 36. In this letter the king says

Both we and the queen appeared in person.

⁴ Fuller, p. 173.

you all present, that she has been to me as true and obedient a wife as I could desire. She has all the virtues and good qualities that belong to a woman. She is as noble in character as in birth."

But Wolsey was the most embarrassed of all. When the queen had said, without naming him, that one of her judges was the cause of all her misfortunes, looks of indignation were turned upon him.¹ He was unwilling to remain under the weight of this accusation. As soon as the king had finished speaking, he said: "Sir, I humbly beg your majesty to declare before this audience, whether I was the first or chief mover in this business." Wolsey had formerly boasted to Du Bellay, "that the first project of the divorce was set on foot by himself, to create a perpetual separation between the houses of England and Spain;"² but now it suited him to affirm the contrary. The king, who needed his services, took care not to contradict him. "My lord cardinal," he said, "I can well excuse you herein. Marry, so far from being a mover, ye have been rather against me in attempting thereof. It was the bishop of Tarbes, the French ambassador, who begot the first scruples in my conscience by his doubts on the legitimacy of the princess Mary." This was not correct. The bishop of Tarbes was not in England before the year 1527, and we have proofs that the king was meditating a divorce in 1526.³ "From that hour," he continued, "I was much troubled, and thought myself in danger of God's heavy displeasure, who, wishing to punish my incestuous marriage, had taken away all the sons my wife had borne me. I laid my grief before you, my lord of Lincoln, then being my ghostly father; and by your advice I asked counsel of the rest of the bishops, and you all informed me under your seals, that you shared in my scruples."—"That is the truth," said the archbishop of Canterbury.—"No, Sir, not so, under correction," quoth the bishop of Rochester, "you have not my hand and seal."—"No?" exclaimed the king, showing him a paper which he held in his hand; "is not this your hand and seal?"—"No, forsooth," he answered. Henry's surprise increased, and turning with a frown to the archbishop of Canterbury, he asked him: "What say you to that?" "Sir, it is his hand and seal," replied Warham.—"It is not," rejoined Rochester; "I told you I would never consent to any such act."—"You say the truth," responded the archbishop, "but you were fully resolved at the last, that I should subscribe your name and put your seal."—"All which is untrue," added

Rochester, in a passion. The bishop was not very respectful to his primate. "Well, well," said the king, wishing to end the dispute: "we will not stand in argument with you; for you are but one man."⁴ The court adjourned. The day had been better for Catherine than for the prelates.

In proportion as the first sitting had been pathetic, so the discussions in the second between the lawyers and bishops were calculated to revolt a delicate mind. The advocates of the two parties vigorously debated *pro* and *con* respecting the consummation of Arthur's marriage with Catherine. "It is a very difficult question," said one of the counsel; "none can know the truth."—"But I know it," replied the bishop of Rochester.—"What do you mean?" asked Wolsey.—"My lord," he answered, "he was the very Truth who said: *What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder*: that is enough for me."—"So every body thinks," rejoined Wolsey; "but whether it was God who united Henry of England and Catherine of Aragon, *hoc restat probandum*, that remains to be proved. The king's council decides that the marriage is unlawful, and consequently it was not *id* who joined them together." The two bishops then exchanged a few wordless edifying than those of the preceding day. Several of the hearers expressed a sentiment of disgust. "It is a disgrace to the court," said Dr Ridley with no little indignation, "that you dare discuss questions which fill every right-minded man with horror." This sharp reprimand put an end to the debate.

The agitations of the court spread to the convents; priests, monks, and nuns were everywhere in commotion. It was not long before astonishing revelations began to circulate through the cloisters. There was no talk then of an old portrait of the Virgin that winked its eyes; but other miracles were invented. "An angel," it was rumoured, "has appeared to Elizabeth Barton, the maid of Kent, as he did formerly to Adam, to the patriarchs, and to Jesus Christ." At the epochs of the creation and of the redemption, and in the times which lead from one to the other, miracles are natural; God then appeared, and his coming without any signs of power, would be as surprising as the rising of the sun unattended by its rays of light. But the Romish Church does not stop there; it claims in every age, for its saints, the privilege of miraculous powers, and the miracles are multiplied in proportion to the ignorance of the people. And accordingly the angel said to the epileptic maid of Kent: "Go to the unfaithful king of England, and tell him there are three things he desires, which I forbid now and for ever. The first is the power of the pope; the second the new doctrine; the third Anne Boleyn. If he takes her for his wife, God will visit him."

¹ Videtur Wolseum infestis fore omnium oculis conspecti. Polyd. Virg. p. 645.

² Du Bellay to Montmorency. Le Grand, Preuves, p. 166, 318.

³ See Pace's letter to Henry in 1526. Le Grand, Preuves, p. 1. Pace there shows that it is incorrect to say: *Deuteronomium abrogare Leviticum* (Deuteronomy abrogates Leviticus), so far as concerns the prohibition to take the wife of a deceased brother.

⁴ Cavendish's Wolsey, p. 222.

vision-seeing maid delivered the message to king,¹ whom nothing could now stop.

the contrary, he began to find out that they proceeded too slowly, and the ideas times crossed his mind that he was bed by this minister. One fine summer's ing, Henry as soon as he rose summoned cardinal to him at Bridewell. Wolsey ned thither, and remained closeted with ing from eleven till twelve. The latter way to all the fury of his passion and iolence of his despotism. "We must

this matter promptly," he said, "we positively." Wolsey retired very un- and returned by the Thames to West- er. The sun darted his bright rays on ater. The bishop of Carlisle, who sat o cardinal's side, remarked, as he wiped rehad: "A very warm day, my lord." es," replied the unhappy Wolsey, "if ad been *chafed* for an hour as I have you would say it was a *hot* day." he reached his palace, the cardinal lay on his bed to seek repose; he was not long.

herine had grown in Henry's eyes, as as in those of the nation. The king k from a judgment; he even began to of his success. He wished that the would consent to a separation. This occurred to his mind after Wolsey's de- re, and the cardinal had hardly closed es before the Earl of Wiltshire (Anne n's father) was announced to him with ssage from the king. "It is his ma- s pleasure," said Wiltshire, "that you ent to the queen the shame that will

to her from a judicial condemnation, ersuade her to confide in his wisdom." y, commissioned to execute a task he to be impossible, exclaimed: "Why t put such fancies in the king's head?" hen he spoke so reproachfully that hire, with tears in his eyes, fell on his beside the cardinal's bed.² Boleyn.

us of seeing his daughter queen of Eng- feared perhaps that he had taken a course. "It is well," said the cardi- collecting that the message came from r VIII., "I am ready to do everything ase his majesty." He rose, went to Place to fetch Campeggio, and together waited on the queen.

two legates found Catherine quietly rk with her maids of honour. Wolsey used the queen in Latin: "Nay, my she said, "speak to me in English; I all the world could hear you."—"We , madam, to communicate to *you alone* unsel and opinion."—"My lord," said reen, "you are come to speak of things d my capacity;" and then, with noble city, showing a skein of red silk hang- out her neck, she continued: "These

are my occupations, and all that I am capable of. I am a poor woman, without friends in this foreign country, and lacking wit to answer persons of wisdom as ye be; and yet, my lords, to please you, let us go to my withdrawing room."

At these words the queen rose, and Wolsey gave her his hand. Catherine earnestly maintained her rights as a woman and a queen. "We who were in the outer chamber," says Cavendish, "from time to time could hear the queen speaking very loud, but could not understand what she said." Catherine, instead of justifying herself, boldly accused her judge. "I know, Sir Cardinal," she said with noble candour, "I know who has given the king the advice he is following: it is you. I have not ministered to your pride—I have blamed your conduct—I have complained of your tyranny, and my nephew the emperor has not made you pope.....Hence all my misfortunes. To revenge yourself you have kindled a war in Europe, and have stirred up against me this most wicked matter. God will be my judge.....and yours!" Wolsey would have replied, but Catherine haughtily refused to hear him, and while treating Campeggio with great civility, declared that she would not acknowledge either of them as her judges. The cardinals withdrew, Wolsey full of vexation, and Campeggio beaming with joy, for the business was getting more complicated. Every hope of accommodation was lost: nothing remained now but to proceed judicially.

CHAPTER IX.

The Trial resumed—Catherine summoned—Twelve Articles—The Witnesses' Evidence—Arthur and Catherine really married—Campeggio opposes the argument of Divine Right—Other Arguments—The Legates required to deliver Judgment—Their tergiversations—Change in Men's Minds—Final Session—General Expectation—Adjournment during Harvest—Campeggio excuses this impertinence—The King's indignation—Husfolk's Violence—Wolsey's reply—He is ruined—General Accusations—The Cardinal turns to an Episcopal Life.

The trial was resumed. The bishop of Bath and Wells waited upon the queen at Greenwich, and peremptorily summoned her to appear in the parliament-chamber.¹ On the day appointed Catherine limited herself to sending an appeal to the pope. She was declared contumacious, and the legates proceeded with the cause.

Twelve articles were prepared, which were to serve for the examination of the witnesses, and the summary of which was, that the marriage of Henry with Catherine, being forbidden both by the law of God and of the church, was null and void.²

showed this unto the king. Letter to Cromwell in vol. i. p. 272.
Mish, p. 282.

¹ In quadam superiori camera; the queen's dining-chamber
nuncupata, 20 die mensis Junii. Rymer, Acta, p. 178.
² Divino, ecclesiastico jure....nullo casu et in iudicio.
Herbert, p. 262.

The hearing of the witnesses began, and Dr Taylor, archdeacon of Buckingham, conducted the examination. Their evidence, which would now be taken only with closed doors, may be found in Lord Herbert of Cherbury's History of Henry VIII. The duke of Norfolk, high-treasurer of England, the duke of Suffolk, Maurice St John, gentleman-carver to Prince Arthur, the viscount Fitzwalter and Anthony Willoughby, his cup-bearers, testified to their being present on the morrow of the wedding at the breakfast of the prince, then in sound health, and reported the conversation that took place.¹ The old duchess of Norfolk, the earl of Shrewsbury, and the marquis of Dorset, confirmed these declarations, which proved that Arthur and Catherine were really married. It was also called to mind that, at the time of Arthur's death, Henry was not permitted to take the title of prince of Wales, because Catherine hoped to give an heir to the crown of England.²

"If Arthur and Catherine were really married," said the king's counsellors after these extraordinary depositions, "the marriage of this princess with Henry, Arthur's brother, was forbidden by the divine law, by an express command of God contained in Leviticus, and no dispensation could permit what God had forbidden." Campeggio would never concede this argument, which limited the right of the popes; it was necessary therefore to abandon the *divine right* (which was in reality to lose the cause), and to seek in the bull of Julius II. and in his famous brief for flaws that would invalidate them both;³ and this the king's counsel did, although they did not conceal the weakness of their position. "The motive alleged in the dispensation," they said, "is the necessity of preserving a cordial relation between Spain and England; now, there was nothing that threatened their harmony. Moreover, it is said in this document that the pope grants it at the prayer of Henry, prince of Wales. Now as this prince was only thirteen years old, he was not of age to make such a request. As for the brief, it is found neither in England nor in Rome; we cannot therefore admit its authenticity." It was not difficult for Catherine's friends to invalidate these objections. "Besides," they added, "a union that has lasted twenty years, sufficiently establishes its own lawfulness. And will you declare the Princess Mary illegitimate, to the great injury of this realm?"

The king's advocates then changed their course. Was not the Roman legate provided with a decretal pronouncing the divorce, in case it should be proved that Arthur's marriage had been really consummated? Now, this fact had been proved by the depositions. "This is the moment for delivering judg-

ment," said Henry and his counsellors Campeggio. "Publish the pope's decretal. But the pope feared the sword of Charles then hanging over his head; and according whenever the king advanced one step, Romish prelate took several in an opposite direction. "I will deliver judgment in days," said he; and when the five days expired, he bound himself to deliver it in

"Restore peace to my troubled conscience," exclaimed Henry. The legate replied courteously: he had gained a few days' delay, and that was all he desired.

Such conduct on the part of the Roman legate produced an unfavourable effect in England, and a change took place in public mind. The first movement had been for Catherine; the second was for Her Clement's endless delays and Campeggio's stratagems exasperated the nation. The king's argument was simple and popular: "The pope cannot dispense with the law of God;" while the queen, by appealing to authority of the Roman pontiff, displeased both high and low. "No precedent," said the lawyers, "can justify the king's marriage with his brother's widow."

There were, however, some evangelists who thought Henry was "troubled" more by his passions than by his conscience; and they asked how it happened that a prince, who represented himself to be so disturbed by the possible transgression of a law of doubtful interpretation, could die after twenty years, to violate the indissoluble law which forbade the divorce? On the 21st of July, the day fixed for the *clandestinum*, the cause was adjourned until the Friday following, and no one doubted that the matter would then be terminated.

All prepared for this important day, the king ordered the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to be present at the sitting of court; and being himself impatient to see the so much coveted judgment, he sat in a gallery of the parliament-chamber like the judges.

The legates of the holy see having taken their seats, the attorney general signified them, "that everything necessary for the information of their conscience having been judicially laid before them, that day had been fixed for the conclusion of the trial. There was a pause; every one feeling the importance of this judgment, waited for with impatience. "Either the papacy pronounces my divorce from Catherine," the king had said, "or I shall divorce myself from the papacy." That was the question Henry put the question. All eyes, and particularly the king's, were turned on the judges; Campeggio could not retreat; must now say *yes* or *no*. For some time he was silent. He knew for certain that the queen's appeal had been admitted by Clement VII. and that the latter had concluded an alliance with the emperor. It was

¹ Quoad Arthuro mane postridie potum faceret, idque ut, absente, quoniam diceret se illa nocte in calida Hispaniarum regione peregrinatum fuisse. Sanders, p. 42.

² Foxe, v. p. 51.

³ Herbert gives them at length, p. 262-267.

longer in his power to grant the king's request. Clearly foreseeing that a *no* would perhaps forfeit the power of Rome in England, while a *yes* might put an end to the plans of religious emancipation which alarmed him so much, he could not make up his mind to say either *yes* or *no*.

At last the nuncio rose slowly from his chair, and all the assembly listened with emotion to the oracular decision which for so many years the powerful king of England had sought from the Roman pontiff. "The general vacation of the harvest and vintage," he said, "being observed every year by the court of Rome, dating from to-morrow the 24th of July, the beginning of the dog-days, we adjourn, to some future period, the conclusion of these pleadings."¹

The auditors were thunderstruck. "What! because the *malaria* renders the air of Rome dangerous at the end of July, and compels the Romans to close their courts, must a trial be broken off on the banks of the Thames, when its conclusion is looked for so impatiently?" The people hoped for a judicial sentence, and they were answered with a jest; it was thus Rome made sport of Christendom. Campeggio, to disarm Henry's wrath, gave utterance to some noble sentiments; but his whole line of conduct raises legitimate doubts as to his sincerity. "The queen," he said, "denies the competency of the court; I must therefore make my report to the pope, who is the source of life and honour, and wait his sovereign orders. I have not come so far to please any man, be he king or subject. I am an old man, feeble and sickly, and fear none but the Supreme Judge, before whom I must soon appear. I therefore adjourn this court until the 1st of October."

It was evident that this adjournment was only a formality intended to signify the definitive rejection of Henry's demand. The same custom prevails in the British legislature.

The king, who from his place of concealment had heard Campeggio's speech, could scarcely control his indignation. He wanted a regular judgment; he clung to forms; he desired that his cause should pass successfully through all the windings of ecclesiastical procedure, and yet here it is wrecked upon the vacations of the Romish court. Henry was silent, however, either from prudence, or because surprise deprived him of the power of speech, and he hastily left the gallery.

Norfolk, Suffolk, and the other courtiers, did not follow him. The king and his ministers, the peers and the people, and even the clergy, were almost unanimous, and yet the pope pronounced his *veto*. He humbled the Defender of the Faith to flatter the author of the sack of Rome. This was too much.

The impetuous Suffolk started from his seat, struck his hand violently on the table in front of him, cast a threatening look upon the judges and exclaimed: "By the mass, the old saying is confirmed to-day, that no cardinal has ever brought good to England."²

"—Sir, of all men in this realm," replied Wolsey, "you have the least cause to disparage cardinals, for if I, poor cardinal, had not been, you would not have had a head on your shoulders."³ It would seem that Wolsey pacified Henry, at the time of the duke's marriage with the Princess Mary. "I cannot pronounce sentence," continued Wolsey, "without knowing the good pleasure of his holiness." The two dukes and the other noblemen left the hall in anger, and hastened to the palace.⁴ The legates, remaining with their officers, looked at each other for a few moments. At last Campeggio, who alone had remained calm during this scene of violence, arose, and the audience dispersed.

Henry did not allow himself to be crushed by this blow. Rome, by her strange proceedings, aroused in him that suspicious and despotic spirit, of which he gave such tragic proofs in after-years. The papacy was making sport of him. Clement and Wolsey tossed his divorce from one to the other like a ball which, now at Rome and now at London, seemed fated to remain perpetually in the air. The king thought he had been long enough the plaything of his holiness and of the crafty cardinal; his patience was exhausted, and he resolved to show his adversaries that Henry VIII. was more than a match for these bishops. We shall find him seizing this favourable opportunity, and giving an unexpected solution to the matter.

Wolsey sorrowfully hung his head; by taking part with the nuncio and the pope, he had signed the warrant of his own destruction. So long as Henry had a single ray of hope, he thought proper still to dissemble with Clement VII.; but he might vent all his anger on Wolsey. From the period of the *Roman Vacations* the cardinal was ruined in his master's mind. Wolsey's enemies seeing his favour decline, hastened to attack him. Suffolk and Norfolk in particular, impatient to get rid of an insolent priest who had so long chafed their pride, told Henry that Wolsey had been continually playing false; they went over all his negotiations month by month and day by day, and drew the most overwhelming conclusions from them. Sir William Kingston and Lord Manners laid before the king one of the cardinal's letters which Sir Francis Bryan had obtained from the papal archives. In it the cardinal desired Clement to spin out the

¹ Mensam que proponebatur magno ictu concutens. Per sacram, inquit, missam, nemo unquam legatorum aut cardinalium quicquam boni ad Angliam apportavit. Sanders, p. 69.

² "Avendish, p. 233.

³ Duces ex iudicio diccedentes, ut ipse omnia sua transadde famula ardebat. Sanders, p. 69.

⁴ Peris generales messum et vindemiarum. Herbert, p. 270; Cavendish, p. 226.

divorce question, and finally to oppose it, seeing (he added) that if Henry was separated from Catherine, a friend to the reformers would become queen of England.¹ This letter clearly expressed Wolsey's inmost thoughts: Rome at any price.....and perish England and Henry rather than the popedom! We can imagine the king's anger.

Anne Boleyn's friends were not working alone. There was not a person at court whom Wolsey's haughtiness and tyranny had not offended; no one in the king's council in whom his continual intrigues had not raised serious suspicions. He had (they said) betrayed in France the cause of England; kept up in time of peace and war secret intelligence with Madam, mother of Francis I.; received great presents from her;² oppressed the nation, and trodden under foot the laws of the kingdom. The people called him *Frenchman* and *traitor*, and all England seemed to vie in throwing burning brands at the superb edifice which the pride of this prelate had so laboriously erected.³

Wolsey was too clear-sighted not to discern the signs of his approaching fall. "Both the rising and the setting sun (for thus an historian calls Anne Boleyn and Catherine of Aragon) frowned upon him,"⁴ and the sky, growing darker around him, gave token of the storm that was to overwhelm him. If the cause failed, Wolsey incurred the vengeance of the king; if it succeeded, he would be delivered up to the vengeance of the Boleyns, without speaking of Catherine's, the emperor's, and the pope's. Happy Campeggio! thought the cardinal, he has nothing to fear. If Henry's favour is withdrawn from him, Charles and Clement will make him compensation. But Wolsey lost everything when he lost the king's good graces. Detested by his fellow-citizens, despised and hated by all Europe, he saw to whatever side he turned nothing but the just reward of his avarice and falseness. He strove in vain, as on other occasions, to lean on the ambassador of France; Du Bellay was solicited on the other side. "I am exposed here to such a heavy and continual fire that I am half dead," exclaimed the bishop of Bayonne,⁵ and the cardinal met with an unusual reserve in his former confidant.

Yet the crisis approached. Like a skilful but affrighted pilot, Wolsey cast his eyes around him to discover a port in which he could take refuge. He could find none but his see of York. He therefore began once more to complain of the fatigues of power, of the weariness of the diplomatic career, and to extol the sweetness of an episcopal life. On a sudden he felt a great interest about the flock of whom he had never thought be-

fore. Those around him shook their well knowing that such a retreat was to Wolsey the bitterest of disgraces, single idea supported him; if he fell, it was because he had clung more to the than to the king: he would be the man his faith.—What a faith, what a martyr

CHAPTER X.

Anne Boleyn at Hever—She Reads the Obedience of Jean Man—Is recalled to Court—Miss Galsworthy—Zouch—Tyndale's Book converts Zouch—Zouch's Chapel-Royal—The Book seized—Anne applies to the King—The King reads the Book—Pretended Indulgence Book on Henry—The Court at Woodstock—The King's Goblets—Henry's Katecom for Anne.

WHILE these things were taking place was living at Hever Castle in retirement and sadness. Scruples from time to time alarmed her conscience. It is true, she represented to her unceasingly that liberation and the safety of his people demanded the dissolution of a union condemned by divine law, and that what he solicited a pope had granted. Had not Alexander annulled, after ten years, the marriage of Ladislaus and Beatrice of Naples? If Louis XII., the father of his people, be divorced from Joan of France? Nothing more common, he said, than to see the of a prince authorized by a pope; these of the state must be provided for everything else. Carried away by arguments and dazzled by the splendid throne, Anne Boleyn consented to us Henry's side the rank belonging to it. Yet, if she was imprudent and ambitious was feeling and generous, and the tunes of a queen whom she respected made her reject with terror the idea of her place. The fertile pastures of Kent the gothic halls of Hever Castle were the witnesses of the mental calm this young lady experienced. The entertainment of seeing the queen again the idea that the two cardinals, her enemies were plotting her ruin, made her adopt resolution of not returning to court, as shut herself up in her solitary chamber.

Anne had neither the deep piety of Henry, nor the somewhat vague and spirituality observable in Margaret of Valois. It was not feeling which prevailed in religion, it was knowledge, and a horror of superstition and pharisaism. Her mind required light and activity, and at that she sought in reading the consolation necessary to her position. One day opened one of the books prohibited in England, which a friend of the Reformation given her: *The Obedience of a Christian*. Its author was William Tyndale, that noble man whom Wolsey's agents were hunting in Brabant and Germany, and this

¹ Edm. Campion *De divorcio*. Herbert, p. 299.

² Du Bellay's Letters. Le Grand, Preuves, p. 374.

³ *Noria etiam furoris et insania facibus incenderunt.*

Banders, p. 42.

⁴ Fuller, p. 172.

⁵ Du Bellay to Montmorency 16th June. Le Grand, Preuves, p. 384.

recommendation to Anne. "If thou believest the promises," she read, "then God's truth justifieth thee; that is, forgiveth thy sins and cleanse thee with his Holy Spirit. If thou have true faith, so seest thou the exceeding and infinite love and mercy which God hath shewn thee freely in Christ: then must thou needs love again: and love cannot but compel thee to work. If when tyrants oppose thee thou have power to confess, then art thou sure that thou art safe.¹ If thou be fallen from the way of truth, come thereto again and thou art safe. Yea, Christ shall save thee, and the angels of heaven shall rejoice at thy coming."² These words did not change Anne's heart, but she marked with her nail, as was her custom,³ other passages which struck her more, and which she desired to point out to the king if, as she hoped, she was ever to meet him again. She believed that the truth was there, and took a lively interest in those whom Wolsey, Henry, and the pope were at that time persecuting.

Anne was soon dragged from these pious lessons, and launched into the midst of a world full of dangers. Henry, convinced that he had nothing to expect henceforward from Campeggio, neglected those proprieties which he had hitherto observed, and immediately after the adjournment ordered Anne Boleyn to return to court; he restored her to the place she had formerly occupied, and even surrounded her with increased splendour. Every one saw that Anne, in the king's mind, was queen of England; and a powerful party was formed around her, which proposed to accomplish the definitive ruin of the cardinal.

After her return to court, Anne read much less frequently *The Obedience of a Christian Man* and the *Testament of Jesus Christ*. Henry's homage, her friends' intrigues, and the whirl of festivities, bade fair to stifle the thoughts which solitude had aroused in her heart. One day having left Tyndale's book in a window, Miss Gainsford, a fair young gentlewoman⁴ attached to her person, took it up and read it. A gentleman of handsome mien, cheerful temper, and extreme mildness, named George Zouch, also belonging to Anne's household, and betrothed to Miss Gainsford, profiting by the liberty his position gave him, indulged sometimes in "love tricks."⁵ On one occasion when George desired to have a little talk with her, he was annoyed to find her absorbed by a book of whose contents he knew nothing; and taking advantage of a moment when the young lady had turned away her head, he laughingly snatched it from her. Miss Gainsford ran after Zouch to recover her book; but just at that moment she heard her mistress calling her, and she

left George, threatening him with her finger.

As she did not return immediately, George withdrew to his room, and opened the volume; it was the *Obedience of a Christian Man*. He glanced over a few lines, then a few pages, and at last read the book through more than once. He seemed to hear the voice of God. "I feel the Spirit of God," he said, "speaking in my heart as he has spoken in the heart of him who wrote the book."¹ The words which had only made a temporary impression on the preoccupied mind of Anne Boleyn, penetrated to the heart of her quarry and converted him. Miss Gainsford, fearing that Anne would ask for her book, entreated George to restore it to her; but he positively refused, and even the young lady's tears failed to make him give up a volume in which he had found the life of his soul. Becoming more serious, he no longer jested as before; and when Miss Gainsford peremptorily demanded the book, he was, says the chronicler, "ready to weep himself."

Zouch, finding in this volume an edification which empty forms and ceremonies could not give, used to carry it with him to the king's chapel. Dr Sampson, the dean, generally officiated; and while the choir chanted the service, George would be absorbed in his book, where he read: "If when thou seest the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, thou believest in this promise of Christ: *This is my body that is broken for you*, and if thou have this promise fast in thine heart, thou art saved and justified thereby; thou eatest his body and drinkest his blood. If not, so helpeth it thee not, though thou hearest a thousand masses in a day: no more than it should help thee in a dead thirst to behold a bush at a tavern door, if thou knewest not thereby that there was wine within to be sold."² The young man dwelt upon these words: by faith he ate the body and drank the blood of the Son of God. This was what was passing in the palaces of Henry VIII.; there were saints in the household of Caesar.

Wolsey, desirous of removing from the court everything that might favour the Reformation, had recommended extreme vigilance to Dr Sampson so as to prevent the circulation of the innovating books. Accordingly, one day when George was in the chapel absorbed in his book, the dean, who, even while officiating, had not lost sight of the young man, called him to him after the service, and rudely taking the book from his hands, demanded: "What is your name, and in whose service are you?" Zouch having replied, the dean withdrew with a very angry look, and carried his prey to the cardinal.

When Miss Gainsford heard of this mishap, her grief was extreme; she trembled at

¹ Tyndale and Frith's Works, vol. I. p. 206.

² Tyndale's Works, vol. I. p. 300.

³ Wyatt's Memoirs, p. 438.

⁴ Strype, I. p. 171.

⁵ Ibid. p. 172.

¹ Strype, p. 172.

² Tyndale and Frith's Works, vol. I. p. 206.

the thought that the *Obedience of a Christian Man* was in Wolsey's hands. Not long after this, Anne having asked for her book, the young lady fell on her knees, confessed all, and begged to be forgiven.¹ Anne uttered not a word of reproach; her quick mind saw immediately the advantage she might derive from this affair. "Well," said she, "it shall be the dearest book to them that ever the dean or cardinal took away."

"The noble lady," as the chronicler styles her, immediately demanded an interview of the king, and on reaching his presence she fell at his feet,² and begged his assistance. "What is the matter, Anne," said the astonished monarch. She told him what had happened, and Henry promised that the book should not remain in Wolsey's hands.

Anne had scarcely quitted the royal apartments, when the cardinal arrived with the famous volume, with the intention of complaining to Henry of certain passages which he knew could not fail to irritate him, and to take advantage of it even to attack Anne, if the king should be offended.³ Henry's icy reception closed his mouth; the king confined himself to taking the book, and bowing out the cardinal. This was precisely what Anne had hoped for. She begged the king to read the book, which he promised to do.

And Henry accordingly shut himself up in his closet, and read the *Obedience of a Christian Man*. There were few works better calculated to enlighten him, and none, after the Bible, that has had more influence upon the Reformation in England. Tyndale treated of *obedience*, "the essential principle," as he terms it, "of every political or religious community." He declined against the unlawful power of the popes, who usurped the lawful authority of Christ and of his Word. He professed polite did sermons too favourable doubtless to absolute power, but calculated to show that the reformers were not, as had been asserted, instigators of rebellion. Henry read as follows:—

"The king is in the room of God in this world. He that resisteth the king, resisteth God; he that judgeth the king, judgeth God. He is the minister of God to defend thee from a thousand inconveniences; though he be the greatest tyrant in the world, yet is he unto thee a great benefit of God; for it is better to pay the tenth than to lose all, and to suffer wrong of one man than of every man."⁴

These are indeed strange doctrines for rebels to hold, thought the king; and he continued:—

"Let kings, if they had lover [rather] be Christians in deed than so to be called, give themselves altogether to the wealth [well-being] of their realms after the ensample of

Jesus Christ; remembering that the people are God's, and not theirs; yea, are Christ's inheritance, bought with his blood. The most despised person in his realm (if he is a Christian) is equal with him in the kingdom of God and of Christ. Let the king put off all pride, and become a brother to the poorest of his subjects."⁵

It is probable that these words were less satisfactory to the king. He kept on reading:—

"Emperors and kings are nothing now-a-days, but even hangmen unto the pope and bishops, to kill whomsoever they condemn, as Pilate was unto the scribes and pharisees and high bishops to hang Christ."⁶

This seemed to Henry rather strong language.

"The pope hath received no other authority of Christ than to preach God's word. Now, this word should rule only, and not bishops' decrees or the pope's pleasure. *In presentia majoris cessat potestas minoris*, in the presence of the greater, the less hath no power.⁷ The pope, against all the doctrine of Christ, which saith, *My kingdom is not of this world*, hath usurped the right of the emperor. Kings must make account of their doings only to God.⁸ No person may be exempt from this ordinance of God; neither can the profession of monks and friars, or anything that the popes or bishops can lay for themselves, except them from the sword of the emperor or king, if they break the laws. For it is written, (Rom. xiii.) Let every soul submit himself unto the authority of the higher powers."⁹

"What excellent reading!" exclaimed Henry, when he had finished; "this is truly a book for all kings to read, and for me particularly."¹⁰

Captivated by Tyndale's work, the king began to converse with Anne about the church and the pope; and she who had seen Margaret of Valois unassumingly endeavour to instruct Francis I. strove in like manner to enlighten Henry VIII. She did not possess the influence over him she desired; this unhappy prince was, to the very end of his life, opposed to the evangelical reformation; protestants and catholics have been equally mistaken when they have regarded him as being favourable to it. "In a short time," says the annalist quoted by Strype at the end of his narrative, "the king, by the help of this virtuous lady, had his eyes opened to the truth. He learned to seek after that truth, to advance God's religion and glory, to detest the pope's doctrine, his lies, his pomp, and pride, and to deliver his subjects from the Egyptian darkness and Babylonian bonds that the pope had brought him and his subjects under. Despising the rebellions of his subjects and the rage of so many mighty po-

¹ She on her knees told it all. Strype, vol. i. p. 172.

² Upon her knees she desired the king's help for her book. *Ibid.*

³ Wyatt's Memoirs, p. 441.

⁴ Tyndale's Works, edited by Russell, vol. i. p. 212.

⁵ Tyndale's Works, p. 232.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 274.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 232.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 232.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 232.

¹⁰ Strype, i. p. 174.

tentates abroad, he set forward a religious reformation, which, beginning with the triple-crowned head, came down to all the members of the hierarchy." History has rarely delivered a more erroneous judgment. Henry's eyes were never opened to the truth, and it was not he who made the Reformation. It was accomplished first of all by Scripture, and then by the ministry of simple and faithful men baptized of the Holy Ghost.

Yet Tyndale's book and the conduct of the legates had given rise in the king's mind to new thoughts which he sought time to mature. He desired also to conceal his anger from Wolsey and Campeggio, and dissipate his spleen, says the historian ('ollier; he therefore gave orders to remove the court to the palace of Woodstock. The magnificent park attached to this royal residence, in which was the celebrated bower constructed (it is said) by Henry II. to conceal the fair Rosamond, offered all the charms of the promenade, the chase, and solitude.¹ Hence he could easily repair to Langley, Grafton, and other country seats. It was not long before the entertainments, horse-races, and other rural sports began. The world with its pleasures and its grandeur, were at the bottom the idols of Anne Boleyn's heart; but yet she felt a certain attraction for the new doctrine, which was confounded in her mind with the great cause of all knowledge, perhaps even with her own. More enlightened than the generality of women, she was distinguished by the superiority of her understanding not only over her own sex, but even over many of the gentlemen of the court. While Catherine, a member of the third order of St Francis, indulged in trifling practices, the more intelligent, if not more pious Anne, cared but little for amulets which the friars had blessed, for apparitions, or visions of angels. Woodstock furnished her with an opportunity of curing Henry VIII. of the superstitious ideas natural to him. There was a place in the forest said to be haunted by evil spirits; not a priest or a courtier dared approach it. A tradition ran that if a king ventured to cross the boundary, he would fall dead. Anne resolved to take Henry there. Accordingly, one morning she led the way in the direction of the place where these mysterious powers manifested their presence (as it was said) by strange apparitions; they entered the wood; they arrived at the so much dreaded spot; all hesitated; but Anne's calmness reassured her companions; they advanced; they found.....nothing but trees and turf, and, laughing at their former terrors, they explored every corner of this mysterious resort of the evil spirits. Anne returned to the palace, congratulating herself on the triumph Henry had gained over

his imaginary fears.¹ This prince, who could as yet bear with superiority in others, was struck with Anne Boleyn's.

Never too gay nor yet too melancholy,
A heavenly mind is hers, like angels holy.
None purer ever soared above the sky,
O mighty marvel, thus in many eyes
See of what monster strange the humble serf am I;
Monster indeed, for in her frame divine
A woman's form, man's heart, and angel's head combine.

These verses of Clement Marot, written in honour of Margaret of Valois, faithfully express what Henry then felt for Anne, who had been with Marot in the household of that princess. Henry's love may perhaps have deceived him as to Anne's excellencies.

CHAPTER XI.

Embarrassment of the Pope—The Triumphs of Charles decide him—He traverses the Cause to Rome—Wolsey's Dejection—Henry's Wrath—His Fears—Wolsey obtains Comfort—Arrival of the two Legates at Grafton—Wolsey's Reception by Henry—Wolsey and Norfolk at Dinner—Henry with Anne—Conference between the King and the Cardinal—Wolsey's Joy and Grief—The Supper at Euston—Campeggio's Farewell Audience—Wolsey's Disgrace—Campeggio at Dover—He is accused by the Courtiers—Leaves England—Wolsey foresees his own Fall and that of the Papacy.

WHILE the court was thus taking its pleasure at Woodstock, Wolsey remained in London, a prey to the acutest anguish. "This avocation to Rome," wrote he to Gregory Da Casale, "will not only completely alienate the king and his realm from the apostolic see, but will ruin me utterly."² This message had hardly reached the pope, before the imperial ambassadors handed to him the queen's protest, and added in a very significant tone: "If your holiness does not call this cause before you, the emperor, who is determined to bring it to an end, will have recourse to other arguments." The same perplexity always agitated Clement: Which of the two must be sacrificed, Henry or Charles? Anthony de Leyva, who commanded the imperial forces, having routed the French army, the pope no longer doubted that Charles was the elect of Heaven. It was not Europe alone which acknowledged this prince's authority; a new world had just laid its power and its gold at his feet. The formidable priest-king of the Aztecs had been unable to withstand Cortez; could the priest-king of Rome withstand Charles V.?

¹ Foote, v. p. 126; Miss Benger's Life of Anne Boleyn, p. 299.

² Jamais trop gay, ne trop mélancolique.
Elle a un chef un esprit angélique.
Le plus subtil qui onc au ciel vola.
O grand' merveille: on peut voir par cela
Que je suis serf d'un tel monstre fort étrange:
Monstre je dy, car pour tout vray elle a
Corps féminin, cœur d'homme et tête d'ange.

¹ The letters from the king's secretaries Gardiner and Tuke to Wolsey, dated Woodstock, run from 4th August to 24th September. State Papers, i. p. 330-347.

² Non solum regium animum et totum hoc regnum a sedis apostolicæ devotione penitus alienabit, ac me omnino perdet et funditus destruet. State Papers, vii. p. 168.

Cortez had returned from Mexico, bringing with him Mexican chiefs in all their barbarous splendour, with thousands of *peas*, with gold and silver and emeralds of extraordinary size, with magnificent tissues and birds of brilliant plumage. He had accompanied Charles, who was then going to Italy, to the place of embarkation, and had sent to Clement VII. costly gifts of the precious metals, valuable jewels, and a troop of Mexican dancers, buffoons, and jugglers, who charmed the pope and the cardinal above all things.¹

Clement, even while refusing Henry's prayer, had not as yet granted the emperor's. He thought he could now resist no longer the star of a monarch victorious over two worlds, and hastened to enter into negotiations with him. Sudden terrors still assailed him from time to time: My refusal (he said to himself) may perhaps cause me to lose England. But Charles, holding him in his powerful grasp, compelled him to submit. Henry's antecedents were rather encouraging to the pontiff. How could he imagine that a prince, who alone of all the monarchs of Europe had once contended against the great reformer, would now separate from the popedom? On the 6th of July Clement declared to the English envoys that he *avoked to Rome* the cause between Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon. In other words, this was refusing the divorce. "There are twenty-three points in this case," said the courtiers, "and the debate on the first has lasted a year; before the end of the trial, the king will be not only past marrying but past living."²

When he learned that the fatal blow had been struck, Bennett in a tone of sadness exclaimed: "Alas! most holy father, by this act the Church in England will be utterly destroyed; the king declared it to me with tears in his eyes."³—"Why is it my fortune to live in such evil days?" replied the pope, who, in his turn, began to weep;⁴ "but I am encircled by the emperor's forces, and if I were to please the king, I should draw a fearful ruin upon myself and upon the church.....God will be my judge."

On the 15th of July Da Casale sent the fatal news to the English minister. The king was cited before the pope, and in case of refusal condemned in a fine of 10,000 ducats. On the 18th of July peace was proclaimed at Rome between the pontiff and the emperor, and on the next day (those dates are important) Clement, wishing still to make one more attempt to ward off the blow with which the papacy was threatened, wrote to Cardinal Wolsey: "My dear son, how can I describe to you my affliction? Show in this matter the prudence which so

distinguishes you, and preserve the those kindly feelings which he has manifested towards me."⁵ A use tempt! Far from saving the papacy was to be wrecked along with it.

Wolsey was thunderstruck. At the time he was assuring Henry of the ment of Clement and Francis, by deserting him. The "political" he failed, which the cardinal had the skilful, and which had been so to Henry now had none but enemies continent of Europe, and the reformation was daily spreading over his kingdom. Wolsey's anguish cannot be described: power, his pomp, his palaces were all ended; who could tell whether he would preserve his liberty and his life?—reward for so much duplicity.

But the king's wrath was to be than even the minister's alarm. His fied servants wondered how they should announce the pontiff's decision. Gardin after his return from Rome, had been secretary of state, went down to Lan the 3d of August to communicate it. What news for the proud Tudor! The sion on the divorce was forbidden; land; the cause avoked to Rome, the buried and unjustly lost; Francis I. with the emperor; Charles and Clement the point of exchanging at Bologna most striking signs of their unchangeable alliance; the services rendered by the pope to the popedom repaid with the black gratitude; his hope of giving an heir crown disgracefully frustrated; and, not least, Henry VIII., the proudest of Christendom, summoned to Rome year before an ecclesiastical tribunal was too much for Henry. His wrathment restrained, burst forth like a thunder,⁶ and all trembled around. "Do they presume," he exclaimed, "my cause elsewhere than in my own nations? I, the king of England, summoned before an Italian tribunal!.....Yes, I will go to Rome, but it shall be with mighty army that the pope, and his and all Italy shall be struck with it. I forbid the letters of citation to be read," he continued; "I forbid the citation to consider its functions at a Henry would have desired to tear off peggio's purple robes, and throw this of the Roman church into prison in frighten Clement; but the very man of the insult compelled him to restrain self. He feared above all things to humbled in the eyes of England, hoped, by showing moderation, to be

¹ Ut dictum regem in solita orna non benet tunc vela. Burnet, Records, ii. p. xxviii.

² He became much incensed. Herbert, p. 2.

³ quam dici potest excanduit. Sanders, p. 51.

⁴ He would do the same with such a man.

⁵ army royal, as should be formidable to the pope.

⁶ Italy. State Papers, vii. p. 124; Burnet, Records

¹ Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, book vii. chap. iv.

² Fuller, p. 274. ³ Burnet, Records, ii. p. xxviii. ⁴ Ibid.

he had received. "Let everything," he told Gardiner, "to conceal from these letters of citation, which hurtful to my glory. Write to Wolsey have the greatest confidence in his ty, and that he ought, by good hands to win over Campeggio¹ and the counsellors, and, above all, prevail them at any price not to serve these letters on me." But Henry had given his instructions when the in- which he had been the object recur- his imagination; the thought of Cle- taunted him night and day, and he to exact a striking vengeance from stiff. Rome desires to have no more with England.....England in her turn set off Rome. Henry will sacrifice r, Clement, and the church; nothing top his fury. The crafty pontiff has led his game, the king shall beat him; and from age to age the popedom shed tears over the imprudent folly of a

after insupportable delays which had the nation, a thunderbolt fell upon id. Court, clergy, and people, from it was impossible to conceal these events, were deeply stirred, and the kingdom was in commotion. Wolsey, ping to ward off the ruin impending th himself and the papacy, immediate- play all that dexterity which Henry oken of; he so far prevailed that ers citatorial were not served on the ut only the brief addressed to Wolsey nent VII." The cardinal, all radiant is trivial success, and desirous of pro- ry it to raise his credit, resolved to ac- ry Campeggio, who was going down on to take leave of the king. When ming of the two legates was heard of t, the agitation was very great. The of Norfolk and Suffolk regarded this ling as the last effort of their enemy, treated Henry not to receive him. king will receive him," said some. king will not receive him," answered

At length one Sunday morning it nounced that the prelates were at the f the mansion. Wolsey looked round a anxious eye for the great officers who accustomed to introduce him. They ad and desired Campeggio to follow When the legate had been taken to rtments, Wolsey waited his turn; but as his consternation on being inform- there was no chamber appointed for the palace. Sir Henry Norris, groom stole, offered Wolsey the use of his own and the cardinal followed him, almost; beneath the humiliation he had under-

He made ready to appear before the

king, and summoning up his courage, pro- ceeded to the presence-chamber.

The lords of the council were standing in a row according to their rank; Wolsey, tak- ing off his hat, passed along saluting each of them with affected civility. A great number of courtiers arrived, impatient to see how Hen- ry would receive his old favourite: and most of them were already exulting in the striking disgrace of which they hoped to be witnesses. At last the king was announced.

Henry stood under the cloth of state; and Wolsey advanced and knelt before him. Deep silence prevailed throughout the cham- ber.....To the surprise of all, Henry stooped down and raised him up with both hands..... Then, with a pleasing smile, he took Wolsey to the window, desired him to put on his hat, and talked familiarly with him. "Then," says Cavendish, the cardinal's gentleman usher, "it would have made you smile to behold the countenances of those who had laid wagers that the king would not speak with him."

But this was the last ray of evening which then lighted up the darkening fortunes of Wolsey: the star of his favour was about to set for ever.....The silence continued, for every one desired to catch a few words of the conversation. The king seemed to be accus- ing Wolsey, and Wolsey to be justifying him- self. On a sudden Henry pulled a letter out of his bosom, and showing it to the cardinal, said in a loud voice: "How can that be? is not this your hand?" It was no doubt the letter which Bryan had intercepted. Wolsey replied in an under-tone, and seemed to have appeased his master. The dinner hour hav- ing arrived, the king left the room telling Wolsey that he would not fail to see him again; the courtiers were eager to make their profoundest reverences to the cardinal, but he haughtily traversed the chamber, and the dukes hastened to carry to Anne Boleyn the news of this astonishing reception.

Wolsey, Campeggio, and the lords of the council sat down to dinner. The cardinal, well aware that the terrible letter would be his utter ruin, and that Henry's good graces had no other object than to prepare his fall, began to hint at his retirement. "Truly," said he with a devout air, "the king would do well to send his bishops and chaplains home to their cures and benefices." The company looked at one another with astonish- ment. "Yea, marry," said the duke of Nor- folk somewhat rudely, "and so it were meet for you to do also."—"I should be very well contented therewith," answered Wolsey, "if it were the king's pleasure to license me with leave to go to my cure at Winchester."—"Nay, to your benefice at York, where your greatest honour and charge is," replied Nor- folk, who was not willing that Wolsey should be living so near Henry.—"Even as it shall please the king," added Wolsey, and changed the subject of conversation.

Henry had caused himself to be announced

grace's dexterity....by good handling of the ear- neggio. State Papers, vol. i. p. 326. p. 342. Cavendish, p. 227-228.

to Anne Boleyn, who (says Cavendish) "kept state at Grafton more like a queen than a simple maid." Possessing extreme sensibility, and an ardent imagination, Anne, who felt the slightest insult with all the sensibility of her woman's heart, was very dissatisfied with the king after the report of the dukes. Accordingly, heedless of the presence of the attendants, she said to him: "Sir, is it not a marvellous thing to see into what great danger the cardinal hath brought you with all your subjects?"—"How so, sweetheart?" asked Henry. Anne continued: "Are you ignorant of the hatred his exactions have drawn upon you? There is not a man in your whole realm of England worth one hundred pounds, but he hath made you his debtor." Anne here alluded to the loan the king had raised among his subjects. "Well, well," said Henry, who was not pleased with these remarks, "I know that matter better than you."—"If my lord of Norfolk, my lord of Suffolk, my uncle, or my father had done much less than the cardinal hath done," continued Anne, "they would have lost their heads ere this." "Then I perceive," said Henry, "you are none of his friends."—"No, sir, I have no cause, nor any that love you," she replied. The dinner was ended; the king, without appearing at all touched, proceeded to the presence-chamber where Wolsey expected him.

After a long conversation, carried on in a low tone, the king took Wolsey by the hand and led him into his private chamber. The courtiers awaited impatiently the termination of an interview which might decide the fate of England; they walked up and down the gallery, often passing before the door of the closet, in the hope of catching from Wolsey's looks, when he opened it, the result of this secret conference; but one quarter of an hour followed another, these became hours, and still the cardinal did not appear. Henry having resolved that this conversation should be the last, was no doubt collecting from his minister all the information necessary to him. But the courtiers imagined he was returning into his master's favour; Norfolk, Suffolk, Wiltshire, and the other enemies of the prime minister, began to grow alarmed, and hastened off to Anne Boleyn, who was their last hope.

It was night when the king and Wolsey quitted the royal closet; the former appeared gracious, the latter satisfied; it was always Henry's custom to smile on those he intended to sacrifice. "I shall see you in the morning," he said to the cardinal with a friendly air. Wolsey made a low bow, and turning round to the courtiers, saw the king's smile reflected on their faces. Wiltshire, Duke, and even Suffolk, were full of civility. "Well," thought he, "the motion of such wealth-recks as these shows me from what quarter the wind of favour is blowing."

But a moment after the wind changed. Men with torches waited the cardinal at the gates of the palace, and conducted him to the place where he would pass the night. Thus he was not to share the same roof with Henry. He was to lie at Euston, one of Empson's houses, about three miles off. Wolsey, rep his vexation, mounted his horse, the six preceded him with their links, and a hour's riding along very bad roads, he reached the lodging assigned him.

He had sat down to supper, to which his most intimate friends had been invited, when suddenly Gardiner was announced. Gardiner owed everything to the cardinal, and yet he had not appeared before his return from Rome. He comes now to play the hypocrite and the spy. Wolsey. But as soon as the secret was uttered, Wolsey rose, made him a good compliment, and prayed him to take "Master Secretary," he asked, "what you have been since your return from Rome?" "I have been following the court for to place."—"You have been hunting. Have you any dogs?" asked the minister, who knew very well what Gardiner had been doing in the king's closet. "A few," replied Gardiner. Wolsey thought even the secretary was a bloodhound track. And yet after supper he took the minister aside, and conversed with him all night. He thought it prudent to do nothing that might clear up his past and Wolsey sounded Gardiner, just himself had been sounded by Henry before.

The same night at Grafton the king gave Campeggio a farewell audience, and dismissed him very kindly, "by giving him present and other matters," says Du Bellay. He then returned to Anne Boleyn. She had pointed out to her the importance of the present moment; she therefore asked obtained of Henry, without any grudge, his promise never to speak to his minister again.¹ The insults of the pope exasperated the king of England, and he could not punish Clement, he took vengeance on the cardinal.

The next morning, Wolsey, impatient for the interview which Henry had promised, rode back early to Grafton. As he came near, he met a numerous train of servants and sumpter-horses; and afterwards Henry, with Anne Boleyn, many lords and ladies of the court, came to meet him. "What does all this portend?" thought the cardinal in dismay. "My master," said the king, as he drew near, "I come with you now. You will return to me with cardinal Campeggio." Then he spurred into his horse, Henry galloped.

¹ Burnet's Ref. vol. I. p. 66.

² Du Bellay to the Grand Master. Le Grand. P. 376; also Cavendish.

with a friendly salutation. After him came Anne Boleyn, who rode past Wolsey with head erect, and casting on him a proud look. The court proceeded to Hartwell Park, where Anne had determined to keep the king all day. Wolsey was confounded. There was no room for doubt; his disgrace was certain. His head swam, he remained immovable for an instant, and then recovered himself; but the blow he had received had not been unobserved by the courtiers, and the cardinal's fall became the general topic of conversation.

After dinner, the legates departed, and on the second day reached Moor Park, a mansion built by Archbishop Neville, one of Wolsey's predecessors, who for high treason had been first imprisoned at Calais, and afterwards at Ham. These recollections were by no means agreeable to Wolsey. The next morning the two cardinals separated, Campeggio proceeded to Dover and Wolsey to London.

Campeggio was impatient to get out of England, and great was his annoyance, on reaching Dover, to find that the wind was contrary. But a still greater vexation was in reserve. He had hardly lain down to rest himself, before his door was opened, and a band of sergeants entered the room. The cardinal, who knew what scenes of this kind meant in Italy, thought he was a dead man,¹ and fell trembling at his chaplain's feet begging for absolution. Meantime the officers opened his luggage, broke into his chests, scattered his property about the floor, and even shook out his clothes.²

Henry's tranquillity had not been of long duration. "Campeggio is the bearer of letters from Wolsey to Rome," whispered some of the courtiers; "who knows but they contain treasonable matter?" "There is, too, among his papers the famous decretal pronouncing the divorce," said one; "if we had but that document it would finish the business." Another affirmed that Campeggio "had large treasure with him of my lord's (Wolsey's) to be conveyed in great tons to Rome,"³ whither it was surmised the cardinal of York would escape to enjoy the fruits of his treason. "It is certain," added a third, "that Campeggio, assisted by Wolsey, has been able to procure your majesty's correspondence with Anne Boleyn, and is carrying it away with him." Henry, therefore, sent a messenger after the nuncio, with orders that his baggage should be thoroughly searched.

Nothing was found, neither letters, nor bull, nor treasures. The bull had been destroyed; the treasures Wolsey had never thought of entrusting to his colleague; and the letters of Anne and Henry, Campeggio had sent on before by his son Rodolph, and the pope was stretching out his hands to re-

ceive them, proud, like his successors, of the robbery committed by two of his legates.

Campeggio being reassured, and seeing that he was neither to be killed nor robbed, made a great noise at this act of violence, and at the insulting remarks which had given rise to it. "I will not leave England," he caused Henry to be informed, "until I have received satisfaction." "My lord forgets that he is legate no longer," replied the king, "since the pope has withdrawn his powers; he forgets, besides, that, as bishop of Salisbury, he is my subject; as for the remarks against him and the cardinal of York, it is a liberty the people of England are accustomed to take, and which I cannot put down." Campeggio, anxious to reach France, was satisfied with these reasons, and soon forgot all his sorrows at the sumptuous table of cardinal Duprat.

Wolsey was not so fortunate. He had seen Campeggio go away, and remained like a wrecked seaman thrown on a desert isle, who has seen depart the only friends capable of giving him any help. His necromancy had forewarned him that this would be a fatal year.⁴ The angel of the maid of Kent had said: "Go to the cardinal and announce his fall, because he has not done what you had commanded him to do."⁵ Other voices besides hers made themselves heard: the hatred of the nation, the contempt of Europe, and, above all, Henry's anger, told him that his hour was come. It was true the pope said, that he would do all in his power to save him;⁶ but Clement's good offices would only accelerate his ruin. Du Bellay, whom the people believed to be the cardinal's accomplice, bore witness to the change that had taken place in men's minds. While passing on foot through the streets of the capital, followed by two valets, "his ears were so filled with coarse jests as he went along," he said, "that he knew not which way to turn."⁷ "The cardinal is utterly undone," he wrote, "and I see not how he can escape." The idea occurred to Wolsey, from time to time, to pronounce the divorce himself; but it was too late. He was even told that his life was in danger. Fortune, blind and bald, her foot on the wheel, fled rapidly from him, nor was it in his power to stop her. And this was not all: after him (he thought) there was no one who could uphold the church of the pontiffs in England. The ship of Rome was sailing on a stormy sea among rocks and shoals; Wolsey at the helm looked in vain for a port of refuge; the vessel leaked on every side; it was rapidly sinking, and the cardinal uttered a cry of distress. Alas! he had desired to save Rome, but Rome would not have it so.

¹ He had learnt of his necromancy that this would be a jeopardous year for him. Tyndale's Works, i. p. 440.

² Sir p. i. p. 371.

³ Herbert, p. 298.

⁴ Du Bellay to Montmorency, 12th October. Le Grand,

Preuves, p. 364.

¹ Le Grand, vol. ii. p. 184. Life of Campeggio, by Sigonius.

² *Bardine's Great Journal*, Sanders, p. 61.

³ Cavendish, p. 364. See also Le Grand, ii. p. 264.

CHAPTER XII.

A Meeting at Waltham—Youth of Thomas Cranmer—His early Education—Studies Scripture for three Years—His Functions as Examiner—The Supper at Waltham—New View of the Divorce—Fox communicates it to Henry—Cranmer's Vexation—Conference with the King—Cranmer at the Boleyns.

As Wolsey's star was disappearing in the West in the midst of stormy clouds, another was rising in the East, to point out the way to save Britain. Men, like stars, appear on the horizon at the command of God.

On his return from Woodstock to Greenwich, Henry stopped full of anxiety at Waltham in Essex. His attendants were lodged in the houses of the neighbourhood. Fox, the almoner, and Secretary Gardiner, were quartered on a gentleman named Cressy, at Waltham Abbey. When supper was announced, Gardiner and Fox were surprised to see an old friend enter the room. It was Thomas Cranmer, a Cambridge doctor. "What! is it you?" they said, "and how came you here?" "Our host's wife is my relation," replied Cranmer, "and as the epidemic is raging at Cambridge, I brought home my friend's sons, who are under my care." As this new personage is destined to play an important part in the history of the Reformation, it may be worth our while to interrupt our narrative, and give a particular account of him.

Cranmer was descended from an ancient family, which came into England, as is generally believed, with the Conqueror. He was born at Aslacton in Nottinghamshire on the 2d July 1489, six years after Luther. His early education had been very much neglected; his tutor, an ignorant and severe priest, had taught him little else than patiently to endure severe chastisement—a knowledge destined to be very useful to him in after-life. His father was an honest country gentleman, who cared for little besides hunting, racing, and military sports. At this school, the son learnt to ride, to handle the bow and the sword, to fish, and to hawk; and he never entirely neglected these exercises, which he thought essential to his health. Thomas Cranmer was fond of walking, of the charms of nature, and of solitary meditations; and a hill, near his father's mansion, used often to be shown where he was wont to sit, gazing on the fertile country at his feet, fixing his eyes on the distant spires, listening with melancholy pleasure to the chiming of the bells, and indulging in sweet contemplations. About 1504, he was sent to Cambridge, where "barbarism still prevailed," says an historian.¹ His plain, noble, and modest air conciliated the affections of many, and, in 1510, he was elected fellow of Jesus College. Possessing a tender heart, he became attached, at the age of twenty-three, to a young person of good birth (says

Foxe,) or of inferior rank, as other writers assert. Cranmer was unwilling to imitate the disorderly lives of his fellow-students, and although marriage would necessarily close the career of honours, he married the young lady, resigned his fellowship (in conformity with the regulations), and took a modest lodging at the Dolphin. He then began to study earnestly the most remarkable writings of the times, polishing, it has been said, his old asperity on the productions of Erasmus, of Lefevre of Etaples, and other great authors; every day his crude understanding received new brilliancy.² He then began to teach in Buckingham (afterwards Magdalene) College, and thus provided for his wants.

His lessons excited the admiration of enlightened men, and the anger of obscure ones, who disdainfully called him (because of the inn at which he lodged) *the hostler*. "This name became him well," said Fuller, for in his lessons he roughly rubbed the backs of the friars, and famously carried the hides of the lazy priests.³ His wife dying a year after his marriage, Cranmer was re-elected fellow of his old college, and the first writing of Luther's having appeared, he said: "I must know on which side the truth lies. There is only one infallible source, the Scriptures; in them I will seek for God's truth."⁴ And for three years he constantly studied the holy books,⁵ without commentary, without human theology, and hence he gained the name of the *Scripturist*. At last his eyes were opened; he saw the mysterious bond which unites all biblical revelations, and understood the completeness of God's design. Then without forsaking the Scriptures, he studied all kinds of authors.⁶ He was a slow reader, but a close observer; he never opened a book without having a pen in his hand.⁷ He did not take up with any particular party or age; but possessing a free and philosophic mind, he weighed all opinions in the balance of his judgment,⁸ taking the Bible for his standard.

Honours soon came upon him; he was made successively doctor of divinity, professor, university preacher, and examiner. He used to say to the candidates for the ministry: "Christ sendeth his hearers to the Scriptures, and not to the church."⁹ "But," replied the monks, "they are so difficult."—"Explain the obscure passages by those which are clear," rejoined the professor, "Scripture by Scripture. Seek, pray, and he who has the key of David will open them to you." The

¹ Ad eos non aliter quam ad cotem, quotidia priscam de-terminat scabietem. Melch. Adam. Vita Theol. l.

² Behold the very fountain. Foxe, viii. p. 4.

³ Totum trionium sacre Scripturæ monumentis per-sequens impendit. M. Adam. p. 1.

⁴ Like a merchant greedy of all good things. Foxe, viii. p. 4.

⁵ Tardus quidem lector sed rehemens observator. M. Adam. p. 1.

⁶ Nunc calamo nunquam ad scriptoris enjuncquam librum accessit. Ibid.

⁷ Omnes omnium opiniones tacito secum judicio trutinabat. Ibid.

⁸ Cranmer's Works, p. 17, 18.

⁹ Fides barbaries. Melch. Adam. Vita Theol. l.

nks, affrighted at this task, withdrew burst-
with anger; and ere long Cranmer's name
was a name of dread in every convent. Some,
however, submitted to the labour, and one of
them, Doctor Barrett, blessed God that the
miner had turned him back; "for," said

"I found the knowledge of God in the
book he compelled me to study." Cran-
mer toiled at the same work as Latimer,
Aldford, and Bilney.

Fox and Gardiner having renewed ac-
quaintance with their old friend at Waltham
Abbey, they sat down to table, and both the
monk and the secretary asked the doctor
what he thought of the divorce. It was the
usual topic of conversation, and not long be-
fore, Cranmer had been named member of a
commission appointed to give their opinion
on this affair. "You are not in the right
way," said Cranmer to his friends; "you
must not cling to the decisions of the
church. There is a surer and a shorter way
which alone can give peace to the king's con-
science."—"What is that?" they both asked.

"The true question is this," replied Cran-
mer: "What says the word of God? If
God has declared a marriage of this nature
to be *evil*, the pope cannot make it *good*. Discon-
tinue these interminable Roman negotiations.
When God has spoken man must obey."—
But how shall we know what God has
said?"—"Consult the universities; they
will discern it more surely than Rome."

This was a new view. The idea of consult-
ing the universities had been acted upon be-
fore; but then their own opinions only had
been demanded: now, the question was
simply to know *what God says in his word*.
The word of God is above the church," was
a principle laid down by Cranmer, and in
this principle consisted the whole of the Re-
formation. The conversation at the supper-
table of Waltham was destined to be one of
these secret springs which an invisible Hand
was in motion for the accomplishment of his
great designs. The Cambridge doctor, sud-
denly transported from his study to the foot
of the throne, was on the point of becoming
one of the principal instruments of Divine
reformation.

The day after this conversation, Fox and
Gardiner arrived at Greenwich, and the king
summoned them into his presence the same
evening. "Well, gentlemen," he said to
them, "our holidays are over; what shall we
do now? If we still have recourse to Rome,
I do not know when we shall see the end of this
struggle."—"It will not be necessary to take
long a journey," said Fox; "we know a
shorter and surer way."—"What is it?"
asked the king eagerly.—"Doctor Cranmer,
whom we met yesterday at Waltham, thinks
that the Bible should be the sole judge in
our cause." Gardiner, vexed at his col-
league's frankness, desired to claim all the

honour of this luminous idea for himself; but
Henry did not listen to him. "Where is
Doctor Cranmer?" said he, much affected.
"Send, and fetch him immediately. Mother
of God! (this was his customary oath) this
man has the right sowing by the ear." If this
had only been suggested to me two years
ago, what expense and trouble I should have
been spared."

Cranmer had gone into Nottinghamshire;
a messenger followed and brought him back.
"Why have you entangled me in this affair?"
he said to Fox and Gardiner. "Pray make
my excuses to the king." Gardiner, who
wished for nothing better, promised to do all
he could; but it was of no use. "I will have
no excuses," said Henry. The wily courtier
was obliged to make up his mind to intro-
duce the ingenuous and upright man, to
whom that station, which he himself had so
coveted, was one day to belong. Cranmer
and Gardiner went down to Greenwich, both
alike dissatisfied.

Cranmer was then forty years of age, with
pleasing features, and mild and winning eyes,
in which the candour of his soul seemed to
be reflected. Sensible to the pains as well
as to the pleasures of the heart, he was des-
tined to be more exposed than other men to
anxieties and falls; a peaceful life in some
remote parsonage would have been more to
his taste than the court of Henry VIII.
Blessed with a generous mind, unhappily he
did not possess the firmness necessary in a
public man; a little stone sufficed to make
him stumble. His excellent understanding
showed him the better way; but his great
timidity made him fear the more dangerous.
He was rather too fond of relying upon the
power of men, and made them unhappy con-
cessions with too great facility. If the king
had questioned him, he would never have
dared advise so bold a course as that he had
pointed out; the advice had slipped from him
at table during the intimacy of familiar con-
versation. Yet he was sincere, and after
doing everything to escape from the conse-
quences of his frankness, he was ready to
maintain the opinion he had given.

Henry, perceiving Cranmer's timidity, gra-
tiously approached him. "What is your
name," said the king, endeavouring to put
him at his ease? "Did you not meet my
secretary and my almoner at Waltham?"
And then he added: "Did you not speak to
them of my great affair?"—repeating the
words ascribed to Cranmer. The latter could
not retreat: "Sir, it is true, I did say so."—
"I see," replied the king with animation,
"that you have found the breach through
which we must storm the fortress. Now,
sir doctor, I beg you, and as you are my sub-
ject I command you, to lay aside every other
occupation, and to bring my cause to a con-
clusion in conformity with the ideas you have

¹ God knows, and not I. Fox, viii. 7.

² Burnet, vol. i. p. 60.

³ Ibid.

put forth. All that I desire to know is, whether my marriage is contrary to the laws of God or not. Employ all your skill in investigating the subject, and thus bring comfort to my conscience as well as to the queen's.¹

Cranmer was confounded; he recoiled from the idea of deciding an affair on which depended, it might be, the destinies of the nation, and sighed after the lonely fields of Aslacton. But grasped by the vigorous hand of Henry, he was compelled to advance.

"Sir," said he, "pray intrust this matter to doctors more learned than I am."—"I am very willing," answered the king, "but I desire that you will also give me your opinion in writing." And then summoning the earl of Wiltshire to his presence, he said to him: "My lord, you will receive Doctor Cranmer into your house at Durham Place, and let him have all necessary quiet to compose a report for which I have asked him." After this precise command, which admitted of no refusal, Henry withdrew.

In this manner was Cranmer introduced by the king to Anne Boleyn's father, and not, as some Romanist authors have asserted, by Sir Thomas Boleyn to the king.² Wiltshire conducted Cranmer to Durham House (now the Adelphi in the Strand), and the pious doctor on whom Henry had imposed these quarters, soon contracted a close friendship with Anne and her father, and took advantage of it to teach them the value of the divine Word, as *the pearl of great price*.³ Henry, while profiting by the address of a Wolsey and a Gardiner, paid little regard to the men; but he respected Cranmer, even when opposed to him in opinion, and until his death placed the learned doctor above all his courtiers and all his clerks. The pious man often succeeds better, even with the great ones of this world, than the ambitious and the intriguing.

CHAPTER XIII.

Wolsey in the Court of Chancery—Accused by the Dukes—Refuses to give up the Great Seal—His Despair. He gives up the Seal—Order to depart—His Inventory—Alarm—The Scene of Departure. Favourable Message from the King—Wolsey's Joy—His Fool—Arrival at Esher.

WHILE Cranmer was rising notwithstanding his humility, Wolsey was falling in despite of his stratagems. The cardinal still governed the kingdom, gave instructions to ambassadors, negotiated with princes, and filled his sumptuous palaces with his haughtiness. The king could not make up his mind to turn him off; the force of habit, the need he

had of him, the recollection of the se Henry had received from him, pleaded favour. Wolsey without the seals appeared almost as inconceivable as the king without his crown. Yet the fall of one of the powerful favourites recorded in history inevitably approaching, and we must describe it.

On the 9th of October, after the Midmas vacation, Wolsey, desirous of showing a bold face, went and opened the high court of chancery with his accustomed pomp; he noticed, with uneasiness, that none of the king's servants walked before him, as had been accustomed to do. He sat on the bench with an inexpressible disposition of spirits, and the various members of the court sat before him with an aspect there was something gloomy and solemn in this sitting, as if all were taking part in a funeral; it was destined indeed to be the last act of the cardinal's power. Some before (Foxe says on the 1st of October) the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with lords of the privy council, had gone to Windsor, and denounced to the king the duke's unconstitutional relations with the pope, his usurpations, "his robberies, the discords sown by his means between Christian princes."¹ Such motives had not sufficed; but Henry had striven. Wolsey had not kept any of his promise the matter of the divorce; it would appear that he had advised the pope to communicate the king, and thus raise people against him.² This enormity not at that time known by the prince, even probable that it did not take place later. But Henry knew enough, at gave his attorney-general, Sir Christopher Hales, orders to prosecute Wolsey.

Whilst the heart-broken cardinal was playing his authority for the last time in the court of chancery, the attorney-general, accusing him in the King's Bench for having obtained papal bulls conferring on him jurisdiction which encroached on the power; and calling for the application of penalties of *præsumptio*. The two dukes received orders to demand the seals from the king; and the latter, informed of what taken place, did not quit his palace on the 10th, expecting every moment the arrival of the messengers of the king's anger, no one appeared.

The next day the two dukes arrived: "is the king's good pleasure," said the cardinal, who remained seated in his chair, "that you give up the broad seal and retire to Esher" (a country-seat Hampton Court). Wolsey, whose power of mind never failed him, demanded the commission under which they were going. "We have our orders from

¹ For the discharging of both our consciences. Foxe, viii. p. 8.

² Sanders, p. 57; Lingard, vol. vi. chap. iii. Compare Foxe, vol. viii. p. 8.

³ Teque nobilis illius margarita desiderio teneri. Erasmus. Bæp. p. 1704.

¹ Du Bellay to Montmorency, 22d October. Lettres, p. 577.

² Banks, Deutsche Geschichte, iii. p. 146.

majesty's mouth," said they.—"That may be sufficient for you," replied the cardinal, "but not for me. The great seal of England was delivered to me by the hands of my sovereign; I may not deliver it at the simple word of any lord, unless you can show me your commission." Suffolk broke out into a passion, but Wolsey remained calm, and the two dukes returned to Windsor. This was the cardinal's last triumph.

The rumour of his disgrace created an immense sensation at court, in the city, and among the foreign ambassadors. Du Bellay hastened to York Place (Whitehall) to contemplate this great ruin and console his unhappy friend. He found Wolsey, with dejected countenance and lustreless eyes, "shrunk to half his wonted size," wrote the ambassador to Montmorency, "the greatest example of fortune which was ever beheld." Wolsey desired "to set forth his case" to him; but his thoughts were confused, his language broken, "for heart and tongue both failed him entirely;" he burst into tears. The ambassador regarded him with compassion: "Alas!" thought he, "his enemies cannot but feel pity for him." At last the unhappy cardinal recovered his speech, but only to give way to despair. "I desire no more authority," he exclaimed, "nor the pope's legation, nor the broad seal of EnglandI am ready to give up everything, even to my shirt!.....I can live in a hermitage, provided the king does not hold me in disgrace." The ambassador "did all he could to comfort him," when Wolsey, catching at the plank thrown out to him, exclaimed: "Would that the king of France and Madame might pray the king to moderate his anger against me. But above all," he added in alarm, "take care the king never knows that I have solicited this of you." Du Bellay wrote indeed to France, that the king and Madame alone could "withdraw their affectionate servant from the gates of hell," and Wolsey being informed of these despatches, his hopes recovered a little. But this bright gleam did not last long.

On Sunday the 17th of October, Norfolk and Suffolk reappeared at Whitehall, accompanied by Fitzwilliam, Taylor, and Gardiner, Wolsey's former dependant. It was six in the evening; they found the cardinal in an upper chamber, near the great gallery, and presented the king's orders to him. Having read them he said: "I am happy to obey his majesty's commands;" then having ordered the great seal to be brought him, he took it out of the white leather case in which he kept it, and handed it to the dukes, who placed it in a box, covered with crimson velvet, and ornamented with the arms of England," ordered Gardiner to seal it up with

red wax, and gave it to Taylor to convey to the king.

Wolsey was thunderstruck; he was to drink the bitter cup even to the dregs: he was ordered to leave his palace forthwith, taking with him neither clothes, linen, nor plate; the dukes had feared that he would convey away his treasures. Wolsey comprehended the greatness of his misery; he found strength however to say: "Since it is the king's good pleasure to take my house and all it contains, I am content to retire to Esher." The dukes left him.

Wolsey remained alone. This astonishing man, who had risen from a butcher's shop to the summit of earthly greatness—who, for a word that displeased him, sent his master's most faithful servants (Pace for instance) to the Tower—and who had governed England as if he had been its monarch, and even more, for he had governed without a parliament: was driven out, and thrown, as it were, upon a dunghill. A sudden hope flashed like lightning through his mind; perhaps the magnificence of the spoils would appease Henry. Was not Esau pacified by Jacob's present? Wolsey summoned his officers: "Set tables in the great gallery," he said to them. "and place on them all I have intrusted to your care, in order to render me an account." These orders were executed immediately. The tables were covered with an immense quantity of rich stuffs, silks and velvets of all colours, costly furs, rich copes and other ecclesiastical vestures; the walls were hung with cloth of gold and silver, and webs of a valuable stuff named baudykin,¹ from the looms of Damascus, and with tapestry, representing scriptural subjects or stories from the old romances of chivalry. The gilt chamber and the council chamber, adjoining the gallery, were both filled with plate, in which the gold and silver were set with pearls and precious stones; these articles of luxury were so abundant that basketfuls of costly plate, which had fallen out of fashion, were stowed away under the tables. On every table was an exact list of the treasures with which it was loaded, for the most perfect order and regularity prevailed in the cardinal's household. Wolsey cast a glance of hope upon this wealth, and ordered his officers to deliver the whole to his majesty.

He then prepared to leave his magnificent palace. That moment of itself so sad, was made sadder still by an act of affectionate indiscretion. "Ah, my lord," said his treasurer, Sir William Gascoigne, moved even to tears, "your grace will be sent to the Tower." This was too much for Wolsey: to go and join his victims!.....He grew angry, and exclaimed: "Is this the best comfort you can give your master in adversity? I would have

¹ Du Bellay to Montmorency. *Le Grand, Preuves*, p. 371.
² In quadam thesauro de veluto crimineo. *Bymer, Act.* p. 128.

¹ Baldekinum, pannus omnium ditissimus cujus upote stamen ex filo eart, subtegmen ex sericeo texitur, plumarie opere intertextum. *Ducange's Glossary.*

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you and all such blasphemous reporters know that it is untrue."

It was necessary to depart; he put round his neck a chain of gold, from which hung a pretended relic of the true cross; this was all he took. "Would to God," he exclaimed, as he placed it on, "that I had never had any other." This he said alluding to the legate's cross which used to be carried before him with so much pomp. He descended the back stairs, followed by his servants, some silent and dejected, others weeping bitterly, and proceeded to the river's brink, where a barge awaited him. But, alas! it was not alone. The Thames was covered with innumerable boats full of men and women. The inhabitants of London, expecting to see the cardinal led to the Tower, desired to be present at his humiliation, and prepared to accompany him. Cries of joy hailing his fall were heard from every side; nor were the cruellest sarcasms wanting. "The butcher's dog will bite no more," said some; "look, how he hangs his head." In truth, the unhappy man, distressed by a sight so new to him, lowered those eyes which were once so proud, but now were filled with bitter tears. This man, who had made all England tremble, was then like a withered leaf carried along the stream. All his servants were moved; even his fool, William Patch, sobbed like the rest. "O wavering and newfangled multitude," exclaimed Cavendish, his gentleman usher.¹ The hopes of the citizens were disappointed; the barge, instead of descending the river, proceeded upwards in the direction of Hampton Court; gradually the shouts died away, and the flotilla dispersed.

The silence of the river permitted Wolsey to indulge in less bitter thoughts, but it seemed as if invisible furies were pursuing him, now that the people had left him. He left his barge at Putney, and mounting his mule, though with difficulty, proceeded slowly with downcast looks. Shortly after, upon lifting his eyes, he saw a horseman riding rapidly down the hill towards them. "Whom do you think it can be?" he asked of his attendants. "My lord," replied one of them, "I think it is Sir Henry Norris." A flash of joy passed through Wolsey's heart. Was it not Norris, who, of all the king's officers, had shown him the most respect during his visit to Grafton? Norris came up with them, saluted him respectfully, and said: "The king bids me declare that he still entertains the same kindly feelings towards you, and sends you this ring as a token of his confidence." Wolsey received it with a trembling hand: it was that which the king was in the habit of sending on important occasions. The cardinal immediately alighted from his mule, and kneeling down in the road, raised his hands to heaven with an indescribable expression of happiness. The fallen man would have pulled off his velvet under-cap,

but unable to undo the strings, he bent them, and threw it on the ground. He remained on his knees bareheaded praying fervently amidst profound silence. God's forgiveness had never caused Wolsey some pleasure as Henry's.

Having finished his prayer, the cardinal put on his cap, and remounted his mule. "Gentle Norris," said he to the king's messenger, "if I were lord of a kingdom, half of it would scarcely be enough to reward you for your happy tidings; but I have nothing left except the clothes on my back. Then taking off his gold chain: "Take this," he said; "it contains a piece of the true cross. In my happier days I would have parted with it for a thousand pounds." The cardinal and Norris separated: but Wolsey soon stopped, and the whole train halted on the heath. The thought troubled him greatly that he had nothing to send the king; he called Norris back, and looking round him saw mounted on a sorry horse poor William Patch, who had lost all his gaiety since his master's misfortune. "Present this poor jester to the king from me," said Wolsey to Norris; "his buffoonery is a pleasure fit for a prince: he is worth a thousand pounds." Patch, offended at being treated thus, burst into a violent passion, his eyes flashed fire, he foamed at the mouth, kicked and fought, and bit all who approached him; but the inexorable Wolsey, who looked upon him merely as a toy, ordered six of the tallest yeomen to lay hold of him. They carried off the unfortunate creature, who long continued to utter his piercing cries. At the very moment when his master had pity on him, Wolsey, like the servant in the parable, had no pity on his poor companion in misfortune.

At last they reached Esher. What a residence compared with Whitehall!..... It was little more than four bare walls. The most urgent necessities were procured from the neighbouring houses, but Wolsey could not adapt himself to this cruel contrast. Beside he knew Henry VIII.: he knew that he might send Norris one day with a gold ring and the executioner the next with a rope. Gloomy and dejected, he remained seated in his lonely apartments. On a sudden he would rise from his seat, walk hurriedly up and down, speak aloud to himself, and then falling back in his chair, he would weep like a child. This man who formerly had shaken kingdoms, had been overthrown in the twinkling of an eye, and was now atoning for his perfidies in humiliation and terror,—a striking example of God's judgment.

¹ The poor fool took on, and fired so in such a rage. Cavendish, p. 257.

¹ Cavendish, Wolsey, p. 252.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Thomas More elected Chancellor—A Lay Government one of the great facts of the Reformation—Wolsey accused of subordinating England to the Pope—He implores the King's Clemency—His Condemnation—Cromwell at Esher—His Character—He sets out for London—Sir Christopher Haies recommends him to the King—Cromwell's interview with Henry in the Park—A new Theory—Cromwell elected Member of Parliament—Opened by Sir Thomas More—Attack on Ecclesiastical Abuses—Reforms pronounced by the Convocation—Three Bills—Rochester attacks them—Resistance of the House of Commons—Struggles—Henry Sanctions the Three Bills—Alarm of the Clergy and Disturbances.

DURING all this time everybody was in commotion at court. Norfolk and Suffolk, at the head of the council, had informed the Star Chamber of the cardinal's disgrace. Henry knew not how to supply his place. Some suggested the archbishop of Canterbury; the king would not hear of him. "Wolsey," says a French writer, "had disgusted the king and all England with those subjects of two masters who, almost always, sold one to the other. They preferred a lay minister." "I verily believe the priests will never more obtain it," wrote Du Bellay. The name of Sir Thomas More was pronounced. He was a layman, and that quality, which a few years before would, perhaps, have excluded him, was now a recommendation. A breath of Protestantism wafted to the summit of honours one of its greatest enemies. Henry thought that More, placed between the pope and his sovereign, would decide in favour of the interests of the throne, and of the independence of England. His choice was made.

More knew that the cardinal had been thrown aside because he was not a sufficiently docile instrument in the matter of the divorce; the work required of him was contrary to his convictions; but the honour conferred on him was almost unprecedented; very seldom indeed had the seals been intrusted to a mere knight.¹ He followed the path of ambition and not of duty; he showed, however, in after days that his ambition was of no common sort. It is even probable that, foreseeing the dangers which threatened to destroy the papal power in England, More wished to make an effort to save it. Norfolk installed the new chancellor in the Star Chamber. "His majesty," said the duke, "has not cast his eyes upon the nobility of the blood, but on the worth of the person. He desires to show by this choice that there are among the laity and gentlemen of England, men worthy to fill the highest offices in the kingdom, to which, until this hour, bishops and noblemen alone think they have a right."² The Reformation which restored religion to the general body of the church, took away at the same time political power

from the clergy. The priests had deprived the people of Christian activity, and the governments of power; the gospel restored to both what the priests had usurped. This result could not but be favourable to the interests of religion; the less cause kings and their subjects have to fear the intrusion of clerical power into the affairs of the world, the more will they yield themselves to the vivifying influence of faith.

More lost no time; never had lord-chancellor displayed such activity. He rapidly cleared off the cases which were in arrear, and having been installed on the 26th of October he called on Wolsey's cause on the 28th or 29th. "The crown of England," said the attorney-general, "has never acknowledged any superior but God." Now, the said Thomas Wolsey, legate *a latere*, has obtained from the pope certain bulls, by virtue of which he has exercised since the 28th of August 1523 an authority derogatory to his majesty's power, and to the rights of his courts of justice. The crown of England cannot be put under the pope; and we therefore accuse the said legate of having incurred the penalties of *præmunire*."

There can be no doubt that Henry had other reasons for Wolsey's disgrace than those pointed out by the attorney-general; but England had convictions of a higher nature than her sovereign's. Wolsey was regarded as the pope's accomplice, and this was the cause of the great severity of the public officer and of the people. The cardinal is generally excused by alleging that both king and parliament had ratified the unconstitutional authority with which Rome had invested him; but had not the powers conferred on him by the pope produced unjustifiable results in a constitutional monarchy? Wolsey, as papal legate, had governed England without a parliament; and, as if the nation had gone back to the reign of John, he had substituted *de facto*, if not in theory, the monstrous system of the famous bull *Unam Sanctam*³ for the institution of *Magna Charta*. The king, and even the lords and commons, had connived in vain at these illegalities; the rights of the constitution of England remained not the less inviolable, and the best of the people had protested against their infringement. And hence it was that Wolsey, conscious of his crime, "put himself wholly to the mercy and grace of the king,"⁴ and his council declared his ignorance of the statutes he was said to have infringed. We cannot here allege, as some have done, the prostration of Wolsey's moral powers; he could, even after his fall, reply with energy to Henry VIII. When, for instance, the

¹ It has been often asserted that Sir Thomas More was the first layman to whom the office of chancellor was intrusted, but there were no less than six between a. d. 1342 and 1400; viz. Sir Robert Boucher, knight; Sir Robert de Thorp, knight; Sir R. de la Scrope, knight; Sir M. de la Pole; R. Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and Sir T. Beaumont, knight.

² More's Life, p. 172.

³ The crown of England, free at all times, has been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subject to God in all things. Herbert, p. 231. See also Articles of Impeachment, sec. 1.

⁴ Since the 13th of Nov. 1502. Raynold ad ann. *Unguentum ergo gladius est in potestate ecclesie, spiritualis scilicet et materialis.*

⁵ Cavendish, p. 276.

king sent to demand for the crown his palace of Whitehall, which belonged to the see of York, the cardinal answered: "Show his majesty from me that I must desire him to call to his most gracious remembrance that there is both a heaven and a hell;" and when other charges besides those of complicity with the papal aggression were brought against him, he defended himself courageously, as will be afterwards seen. If therefore the cardinal did not attempt to justify himself for infringing the rights of the crown, it was because his conscience bade him be silent. He had committed one of the gravest faults of which a statesman can be guilty. Those who have sought to excuse him have not sufficiently borne in mind that, since the Great Charter, opposition to Romish aggression has always characterized the constitution and government of England. Wolsey perfectly recollected this; and this explanation is more honourable to him than that which ascribes his silence to weakness or to cunning.

The cardinal was pronounced guilty, and the court passed judgment, that by the statute of *præmunire* his property was forfeited, and that he might be taken before the king in council. England, by sacrificing a churchman who had placed himself above kings, gave a memorable example of her inflexible opposition to the encroachments of the papacy. Wolsey was confounded, and his troubled imagination conjured up nothing but perils on every side.

While More was lending himself to the condemnation of his predecessor, whose friend he had been, another layman of still humbler origin was preparing to defend the cardinal, and by that very act to become the appointed instrument to throw down the convents in England, and to shatter the secular bonds which united this country to the Roman pontiff.

On the 1st of November, two days after Wolsey's condemnation, one of his officers, with a prayer-book in his hand, was leaning against the window in the great hall, apparently absorbed in his devotions. "Good morrow," said Cavendish as he passed him, on his way to the cardinal for his usual morning duties. The person thus addressed raised his head, and the gentleman-usher, seeing that his eyes were filled with tears, asked him: "Master Cromwell, is my lord in any danger?"—"I think not," replied Cromwell, "but it is hard to lose in a moment the labour of a life. In his master's fall Cromwell foreboded his own. Cavendish endeavoured to console him. "God willing, this is my resolution," replied Wolsey's ambitious solicitor; "I intend this afternoon, as soon as my lord has dined, to ride to London, and so go to court, where I will either make or mar before I come back again." At

this moment Cavendish was summoned, as he entered the cardinal's chamber.

Cromwell, devoured by ambition, had clung to Wolsey's robe in order to attain power; but Wolsey had fallen, and the solicitor, dragged along with him, strove to reach by other means the object of his desires. Cromwell was one of those earnest and vigorous men whom God prepares for critical times. Blessed with a solid judgment and intrepid firmness, he possessed quality rare in every age, and particularly under Henry VIII.,—fidelity in misfortune. The ability by which he was distinguished was not at all times without reproach: success seems to have been his first thought.

After dinner Cromwell followed Wolsey into his private room: "My lord, permit me to go to London, I will endeavour to save you." A gleam passed over the cardinal's saddened features.—"Leave the room," he said to his attendants. He then had a long private conversation with Cromwell,¹ at the end of which the latter mounted his horse and set out for the capital, riding to the assault of power with the same activity as he had marched to the attack of Rome. He did not hide from himself that it would be difficult to procure access to the king; for certain ecclesiastics, jealous of Wolsey, had spoken against his solicitor at the time of the secularization of the convents, and Henry could not endure him. But Cromwell knew that fortune favours the bold, and, carried away by his ambitious dreams, he galloped on, saying to himself: "One foot in the stirrup, and my fortune is made!"

Sir Christopher Hales, a zealous Roman catholic, entertained a sincere friendship for him; and to this friend Cromwell applied. Hales proceeded immediately to the palace (2d November) where he found a numerous company talking about the cardinal's ruin. "There was one of his officers," said Hales "who would serve your majesty well."—"Who is he?" asked Henry.—"Cromwell."—"Do not speak to me of that man, I hate him," replied the king angrily; and upon that all the courtiers chimed in with his majesty's opinion. This opening was not very encouraging; but Lord Russell, earl of Bedford advancing to the midst of the group around the king, said boldly: "Permit me, Sir, to defend a man to whom I am indebted for my life. When you sent me privately into Italy, your majesty's enemies, having discovered me at Bologna, would have put me to death, had not Thomas Cromwell saved me. Sir, since you have now to do with the pope, there is no man (I think) in all England who will be fitter for your pur pose."—"Indeed," said the king; and after a little reflection, he said to Hales: "Ver-

¹ Long communication with my lord in secret. Cavendish, p. 570.

² The king began to detect the mention of him. Fox, i. p. 360.

³ In a vehement boldness. Ibid. p. 367.

¹ Cavendish, p. 569.

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well then, let your client meet me in White-hall gardens." The courtiers and the priests withdrew in great discomfiture.

The interview took place the same day at the appointed spot. "Sir," said Cromwell to his majesty, "the pope refuses your divorce... But why do you ask his consent? Every Englishman is master in his own house, and why should not you be so in England? Ought a foreign prelate to share your power with you? It is true, the bishops make oath to your majesty, but they make another to the pope immediately after, which absolves them from the former. Sir, you are but half a king, and we are but half your subjects.¹ This kingdom is a two-headed monster. Will you bear with such an anomaly any longer? What! are you not living in an age when Frederick the Wise and other German princes have thrown off the yoke of Rome? Do likewise; become once more a king; govern your kingdom in concert with your lords and commons. Henceforward let Englishmen alone have any thing to say in England; let not your subjects' money be cast any more into the yawning gulf of the Tiber; instead of imposing new taxes on the nation, convert to the general good those treasures which have hitherto only served to fatten proud priests and lazy friars. Now is the moment for action. Rely upon your parliament; proclaim yourself the head of the church in England. Then shall you see an increase of glory to your name, and of prosperity to your people."

Never before had such language been addressed to a king of England. It was not only on account of the divorce that it was necessary to break with Rome; it was, in Cromwell's view, on account of the independence, glory, and prosperity of the monarchy. These considerations appeared more important to Henry than those which had hitherto been laid before him; none of the kings of England had been so well placed as he was to understand them. When a Tudor had succeeded to the Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet kings, a man of the free race of the Celts had taken on the throne of England the place of princes submissive to the Roman pontiffs. The ancient British church, independent of the papacy, was about to rise again with this new dynasty, and the Celtic race, after eleven centuries of humiliation, to recover its ancient heritage. Undoubtedly, Henry had no recollection of this kind: but he worked in conformity with the peculiar character of his race, without being aware of the instinct which compelled him to act. He felt that a sovereign, who submits to the pope, becomes, like King John, his vassal; and now, after having been the second in his realm, he desired to be the first.

The king reflected on what Cromwell had said; astonished and surprised, he sought to

understand the new position which his bold adviser had made for him. "Your proposal pleases me much," he said; "but can you prove what you assert?" "Certainly," replied this able politician, "I have with me a copy of the oath the bishops make to the Roman pontiff." With these words he drew a paper from his pocket, and placed the oath before the king's eyes. Henry, jealous of his authority even to despotism, was filled with indignation, and felt the necessity of bringing down that foreign authority which dared dispute the power with him, even in his own kingdom. He drew off his ring and gave it to Cromwell, declaring that he took him into his service, and soon after made him a member of his privy council. England, we may say, was now virtually emancipated from the papacy.

Cromwell had laid the first foundations of his greatness. He had remarked the path his master had followed, and which had led to his ruin,—complicity with the pope; and he hoped to succeed by following the contrary course, namely, by opposing the papacy. He had the king's support, but he wanted more. Possessing a clear and easy style of eloquence, he saw what influence a seat in the great council of the nation would give him. It was somewhat late, for the session began on the next day, (8d November,) but to Cromwell nothing was impossible. The son of his friend, Sir Thomas Rush, had been returned to parliament; but the young member resigned his seat, and Cromwell was elected in his place.

Parliament had not met for seven years, the kingdom having been governed by a prince of the Roman church. The reformation of the church, whose regenerating influence began to be felt already, was about to restore to the nation those ancient liberties of which a cardinal had robbed it; and Henry being on the point of taking very important resolutions, felt the necessity of drawing nearer to his people. Everything betokened that a good feeling would prevail between the parliament and the crown, and that "the priests would have a terrible fright."¹

While Henry was preparing to attack the Roman church in the papal supremacy, the commons were getting ready to war against the numerous abuses with which it had covered England. "Some even thought," says Tyndale, "that this assembly would reform the church, and that the golden age would come again."² But it was not from acts of parliament that the Reformation was destined to proceed, but solely from the word of God. And yet the commons, without touching upon doctrine, were going to do their duty manfully in things within their province, and the parliament of 1529 may be regarded (Lord Herbert of Cherbury observes)

¹ Foxe, v. p. 366. See also Apol. Regis. Poll. ad Car. l. pp. 120, 121.

¹ Du Bellay to Montmorency, *Le Grand, France*, p. 378, 380. ² Works i. p. 601.

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as the first Protestant parliament of England.¹ "The bishops require excessive fines for the probates of wills," said Tyndale's old friend, Sir Henry Guilford. "As testamentary executor to Sir William Compton I had to pay a thousand marks sterling."—"The spiritual men," said another member, "would rather see the poor orphans die of hunger than give them the lean cow, the only thing their father left them."² "Priests," said another, "have farms, tanneries, and warehouses, all over the country. In short, the clerks take everything from their flocks, and not only give them nothing, but even deny them the word of God."

The clergy were in utter consternation. The power of the nation seemed to awaken in this parliament for the sole purpose of attacking the power of the priest. It was important to ward off these blows. The convocation of the province of Canterbury, assembling at Westminster on the 5th of November, thought it their duty, in self-defence, to reform the most crying abuses. It was therefore decreed, on the 12th of November, that the priests should no longer keep shops or taverns, play at dice or other forbidden games, pass the night in suspected places, be present at disreputable shows,³ go about with sporting dogs, or with hawks, falcons, or other birds of prey, on their fist;⁴ or, finally, hold suspicious intercourse with women.⁵ Penalties were denounced against these various disorders; they were doubled in case of adultery; and still further increased in the case of more abominable impurities.⁶ Such were the laws rendered necessary by the manners of the clergy.

These measures did not satisfy the Commons. Three bills were introduced having reference to the fees on the probate of wills, mortuaries, pluralities, non-residence, and the exercise of secular professions. "The destruction of the church is aimed at," exclaimed Bishop Fisher, when these bills were carried to the Lords, "and if the church falls, the glory of the kingdom will perish. Lutheranism is making great progress amongst us, and the savage cry that has already echoed in Bohemia, *Down with the church*, is now uttered by the Commons.....How does that come about? Solely from want of faith.—My lords, save your country! save the church!" Sir Thomas Audley, the speaker, with a deputation of thirty members, immediately went to Whitehall. "Sir," they said to the king, "we are accused of being with-

out faith, and of being almost as bad as the *Turks*. We demand an apology for such a sensitive language." Fisher pretended that he only meant to speak of the *Bohemians* and the Commons, by no means satisfied zealously went on with their reforms.

These the king was resolved to concede but he determined to take advantage of the to present a bill making over to him all the money borrowed of his subjects. John Peti one of the members for the city, boldly opposed this demand. "I do not know other persons' affairs," he said, "and I cannot give what does not belong to me. But as regard myself personally, I give without reserve a that I have lent the king." The royal bill passed, and the satisfied Henry gave his consent to the bills of the Commons. Ever dispensation coming from Rome, which might be contrary to the statutes, was strictly forbidden. The bishops exclaimed that the Commons were becoming schismatical; disturbances were excited by certain priests but the clerical agitators were punished, as the people, when they heard of it, were delighted beyond measure.

CHAPTER XV.

The Last Hour—More's Fanaticism—Debates in Convocation—Royal Proclamation—The Bishop of Norwich—Sentences condemned—Latimer's Opposition—The New Testament Burnt—The Persecution begins—Hilton—Bayfield—Tonstall and Packington—Bayfield arrested—The Actor Patmore—Lollards' Tower—Tyndale and Patmore—A Musician—Froese the Painter—Placards and Martyrdom of Bennet—Thomas More and John Peckham.

THE moment when Henry aimed his first blows at Rome was also that in which he began to shed the blood of the disciples of the gospel. Although ready to throw off the authority of the pope, he would not recognise the authority of Christ: obedience to the Scriptures is, however, the very soul of the Reformation.

The king's contest with Rome had filled the friends of Scripture with hope. The artisans and tradesmen, particularly those who lived near the sea, were almost wholly won over to the gospel. "The king is one of us," they used to boast; "he wishes his subjects to read the New Testament. Our faith, which is the true one, will circulate through the kingdom, and by Michaelmas next those who believe as we do will be more numerous than those of a contrary opinion. We are ready, if needs be, to die in the struggle."¹ This was indeed to be the fate of many.

Language such as this aroused the clergy. "The last hour has come," said Stokesley, who had been raised to the see of London

¹ It was the first step, a great and bold sally towards that reformation. Herbert, p. 324.

² Rather than give to them the silly cow, if he had but any one. Foxe, iv. p. 411.

³ Quod non exerceant tabernas, nec ludant taxillis vel aliis ludis prohibitis; quod non pernoveant in locis suspiciis; quod non intrent in honestis spectaculis, &c. Convocatio prelatorum. Wilkins, t. concilia, iii. p. 717.

⁴ Canes venaticus loris ducere ac accipitris manibus. Ibid. p. 723.

⁵ Mulierum colloquia suspecta nullatenus habeant. Ibid. p. 722.

⁶ In ceteris carnalis spurcitie penitus eroveat. Ibid. p. 721.

¹ The bishop of Norwich to Primate Warham, 10th May 1530. Cotton MSS. Cleopatra, E. v. folio 36v; Ellis & Hall, i. p. 264.

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tonstall's translation to Durham; "if I had not have Luther's heresy pervade the whole of England, we must hasten to it in the sea." Henry was fully disposed to do so; but as he was not on very terms with the clergy, a man was found to serve as mediator between him and the bishops. He was soon found.

Thomas More's noble understanding in passing from ascetic practices to humanism, and the humanist turning into a visitor. In his opinion, the burning of the heretics was just and necessary.¹ He has been reproached with binding even

Christians to a tree in his garden, he called "the tree of truth," and of flogging them with his own hand,² as declared that he never gave "a stripe or a blow, nor so much as a flip on the ear," to any of his religious advisers,³ and we willingly credit his denial. It is pleasant to think that if the author of the *Utopia* was a severe judge, the man who held one of the most famous of the sixteenth century never discharged the duties of an executioner.

The bishops led the attack. "We must be Lord's field of the thorns which it," said the archbishop of Canterbury on the 29th of November immediately after which the bishop read to his colleagues the list of that he desired to have condemned. There were a number of works by Tyndale, Melancthon, Zwingle, Ecclampander, Omeranus, Brentius, Bucer, Jonas, Lambert, Fryth, and Fish.⁴ The particular was set down. "It is able to translate the Scripture into English," said one of the prelates.⁵—"It is useful for the laity to read it in their own tongue," said another.—"If you read the Bible," added a third, "you will be all heretics."—"By circulating the Bible," exclaimed several, "you will be a nation against the king." Sir T. More laid the bishops' petition before the king some time after, Henry gave up by proclamation that "no one should write any book, or keep any without his bishop's license;—that should keep any heretical book in his house—that the bishops should detain the books in prison at their discretion, and proceed to the execution of the guilty;—finally, that the chancellor, the judges of the peace, and other magistrates, should aid and assist the bishops."⁶ Such a cruel proclamation of Henry VIII., marks the beginning of the English Reformation.

The clergy were not yet satisfied. The blind and octogenarian bishop of Norwich, being more ardent than the youngest of his priests, recommenced his complaints. "My diocese is accumbered with such as read the Bible," said he to the archbishop of Canterbury, "and there is not a clerk from Cambridge but savoureth of the frying-pan. If this continues any time, they will undo us all. We must have greater authority to punish them, than we have."

Consequently, on the 24th of May 1530, More, Warham, Tonstall, and Gardiner having been admitted into St Edward's chamber at Westminster, to make a report to the king concerning heresy, they proposed forbidding, in the most positive manner, the New Testament and certain other books in which the following doctrines were taught: "That Christ has shed his blood for our iniquities, as a sacrifice to the Father.—Faith only doth justify us.—Faith without good works is no little or weak faith, it is no faith.—Labouring in good works to come to heaven, thou dost shame Christ's blood."⁷

Whilst nearly every one in the audience-chamber supported the prayer of the petition, there were three or four doctors who kept silence. At last one of them, it was Latimer, opposed the proposition. Bilney's friend was more decided than ever to listen to no other voice than God's. "Christ's sheep hear no man's voice but Christ's," he answered Dr Redman, who had called upon him to submit to the church; "trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God."⁸ The church, in Latimer's opinion, presumed to set up its own voice in the place of Christ's, and the Reformation did the contrary; this was his abridgment of the controversy. Being called upon to preach during Christmas tide, he had censured his hearers because they celebrated that festival by playing at cards, like mere worldlings, and then proceeded to lay before their eyes Christ's *cards*, that is to say, his laws.⁹ Being placed on the Cambridge commission to examine into the question of the king's marriage, he had conciliated the esteem of Henry's deputy, Doctor Butts, the court physician who had presented him to his master, by whose orders he preached at Windsor.

Henry felt disposed at first to yield something to Latimer. "Many of my subjects," said he to the prelates assembled in St Edward's hall, "think that it is my duty to cause the Scriptures to be translated and given to the people." The discussion immediately began between the two parties;¹⁰ and Latimer concluded by asking "that the Bible should be permitted to circulate freely in English."¹¹—"But the most part overcame the better," he tells us.¹² Henry declared that

¹ Works, A Dialogue concerning Heresies, p. 274.
² Mem. vol. i. p. 315; Foxe, iv. p. 698.

³ 1573, ch. xxvii. pp. 901-902.
⁴ See catalogue in Wilkins' Concilia, pp. 713 to 720, and of opinion (p. 717, note) that this document belongs to the year 1529. There are, however, some portions of the text which have evident reference to the year

1530, Works, vol. i. p. 1.

⁵ Foxe, iv. pp. 477, 678.

⁷ Wilkins, Concilia, iii. p. 728-731.

⁸ Latimer's Remains, p. 227.

⁹ Sermons, p. 8.

¹⁰ Wilkins, Concilia, iii. p. 730.

¹¹ Latimer's Remains, p. 245.

¹² Ibid.

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the teaching of the priests was sufficient for the people, and was content to add, "that he would give the Bible to his subjects when they renounced the arrogant pretension of interpreting it according to their own fancies."—"Shun these books," cried the priests from the pulpit, "detest them, keep them not in your hands, deliver them up to your superiors."¹ Or if you do not, your prince, who has received from God the sword of justice, will use it to punish you." Rome had every reason to be satisfied with Henry VIII. Tonstall, who still kept under lock and key the Testaments purchased at Antwerp through Packington's assistance, had them carried to St Paul's churchyard, where they were publicly burnt. The spectators retired shaking the head, and saying: "The teaching of the priests and of Scriptures must be in contradiction to each other, since the priests destroy them." Latimer did more: "You have promised us the word of God," he wrote courageously to the king, "perform your promise now rather than to-morrow! The day is at hand when you shall give an account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword."² Latimer well knew that by such language he hazarded his life; but that he was ready to sacrifice, as he tells us himself.³

Persecution soon came. Just as the sun appeared to be rising on the Reformation, the storm burst forth. "There was no stone the bishops left unremoved," says the chronicler, "any corner unsearched, for the diligent execution of the king's proclamation; whereupon ensued a grievous persecution and slaughter of the faithful."⁴

Thomas Hitton, a poor and pious minister of Kent, used to go frequently to Antwerp to purchase New Testaments. As he was returning from one of these expeditions, in 1529, the bishop of Rochester caused him to be arrested at Gravesend, and put to the cruellest tortures, to make him deny his faith.⁵ But the martyr repeated with holy enthusiasm: "Salvation cometh by faith and not by works, and Christ giveth it to whomsoever he will."⁶ On the 20th of February 1530 he was tied to the stake and there burned to death.⁷

Scarcely were Hitton's sufferings ended for bringing the Scriptures into England, when a vessel laden with New Testaments arrived at Colchester. The indefatigable Bayfield, who accompanied these books, sold them in London, went back to the continent, and returned to England in November; but this time the Scriptures fell into the hands of Sir Thomas More. Bayfield, undismayed, again visited the Low Countries, and soon reappear-

ed, bringing with him the New Testament and the works of almost all the Reformers. "How cometh it that there are so many New Testaments from abroad?" asked the stall of Packington; "you promised me that you would buy them all."—"They have printed more since," replied the wily merchant; "and it will never be better so low as they have letters and stamps [type and dies.] My lord, you had better buy the stamps too, and so you shall be sure."⁸

Instead of the stamps, the priests sought after Bayfield. The bishop of London could not endure this godly man. Having once asked Bainham, (who afterwards suffered martyrdom) whether he knew a single individual who, since the days of the apostles, had lived according to the true faith in Jesus Christ the latter answered: "Yes, I know Bayfield. Being tracked from place to place, he fled from the house of his pious hostess, and hid himself at his binder's, where he was discovered, and thrown into the Lollards' tower."⁹

As he entered the prison Bayfield noticed a priest named Patmore, pale, weakened by suffering, and ready to sink under the ill treatment of his jailers. Patmore, won on by Bayfield's piety, soon opened his heart to him. When rector of Haddam, he had found the truth in Wickliffe's writings. "They have burnt his bones," he said, "but from his ashes shall burst forth a well-spring of life. Delighting in good works, he used to fill his granaries with wheat, and when the market prices were high, he would send his corn to the poor in such abundance as to bring down the prices."¹⁰ "It is contrary to the law of God to burn heretics," he said; and growing bolder, he added: "I care no more for the pope's curse than for a bundle of hay."¹¹

His curate, Simon Smith, unwilling to imitate the disorderly lives of the priest and finding Joan Bennore, the rector's servant, to be a discreet and pious person desired to marry her. "God," said Patmore "has declared marriage lawful for all men and accordingly it is permitted to the priest in foreign parts."¹² The rector alluded to Wittemberg, where he had visited Luther. After his marriage Smith and his wife quitted England for a season, and Patmore accompanied them as far as London.

The news of this marriage of a priest—fact without precedent in England—mad Stokesley throw Patmore into the Lollard tower, and although he was ill, neither fire, light, nor any other comfort was granted him. The bishop and his vicar-general visited him alone in his prison, and endeavoured by their threats to make him deny his faith.

It was during these circumstances that Bayfield was thrust into the tower. By his

¹ Wilkins, Concilia, III. p. 726.

² Latimer's Remains, p. 308.

³ I had rather suffer extreme punishment. Ibid. p. 296.

⁴ Foxe, vol. IV. p. 679.

⁵ Dieted and tormented him secretly. Tyndale's Works, vol. I. p. 405.

⁶ For the constant and manifest testimony of Jesus Christ and of his free grace and salvation. Foxe, vol. IV. p. 619.

⁷ The bishops murdered him most cruelly. Tyndale, vol. I. p. 405.

⁸ Foxe, vol. IV. p. 670.

⁹ Ibid. p. 680.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 681.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Yet it was in other countries beyond sea. Ibid.

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Christian words he revived Patmore's languishing faith,¹ and the latter complained to the king that the bishop of London prevented his feeding the flock which God had committed to his charge. Stokesley, comprehending whence Patmore derived his new courage,² removed Bayfield from the Lollards' tower and shut him up in the coal-house, where he was fastened upright to the wall by the neck, middle, and legs.³ The unfortunate gospeller of Bury passed his time in continual darkness, never lying down, never seated, but nailed as it were to the wall, and never hearing the sound of human voice. We shall see him hereafter issuing from this horrible prison to die on the scaffold.

Patmore was not the only one in his family who suffered persecution; he had in London a brother named Thomas, a friend of John Tyndale, the younger brother of the celebrated reformer. Thomas had said that the truth of Scripture was at last reappearing in the world, after being hidden for many ages;⁴ and John Tyndale had sent five marks to his brother William, and received letters from him. Moreover, the two friends (who were both tradesmen) had distributed a great number of Testaments and other works. But their faith was not deeply rooted, and it was more out of sympathy for their brothers that they had believed; accordingly, Stokesley, so completely entangled them, that they confessed their "crime." More, delighted at the opportunity which offered to cover the name of Tyndale with shame, was not satisfied with condemning the two friends to pay a fine of L.100 each; he invented a new disgrace. He sewed on their dress some sheets of the New Testament which they had circulated, placed the two penitents on horseback with their faces towards the tail, and thus paraded them through the streets of London, exposed to the jeers and laughter of the populace. In this, More succeeded better than in his refutation of the reformer's writings.

From that time the persecution became more violent. Husbandmen, artists, tradespeople, and even noblemen, felt the cruel fangs of the clergy and of Sir Thomas More. They sent to jail a pious musician who used to wander from town to town, singing to his harp a hymn in commendation of Martin Luther and of the Reformation.⁵ A painter, named Edward Freese, a young man of ready wit, having been engaged to paint some hangings in a house, wrote on the borders certain sentences of the Scripture. For this he was seized and taken to the bishop of London's palace at Fulham, and there imprisoned, where his chief nourishment was bread made out of sawdust.⁶ His poor wife, who was

pregnant, went down to Fulham to see her husband; but the bishop's porter had orders to admit no one, and the brute gave her so violent a kick, as to kill her unborn infant, and cause the mother's death not long after. The unhappy Freese was removed to the Lollards' tower, where he was put into chains, his hands only being left free. With these he took a piece of coal, and wrote some pious sentences on the wall; upon this he was manacled, but his wrists were so severely pinched, that the flesh grew up higher than the irons. His intellect became disturbed; his hair in wild disorder soon covered his face, through which his eyes glared fierce and haggard. The want of proper food, bad treatment, his wife's death, and his lengthened imprisonment, entirely undermined his reason; when brought to St Paul's, he was kept three days without meat; and when he appeared before the consistory the poor prisoner, silent and scarce able to stand, looked around and gazed upon the spectators, "like a wild man." The examination was begun, but to every question put to him, Freese made the same answer: "My Lord is a good man." They could get nothing from him but this affecting reply. Alas! the light shone no more upon his understanding, but the love of Jesus was still in his heart. He was sent back to Bearys Abbey, where he did not remain long; but he never entirely recovered his reason.¹ Henry VIII. and his priests inflicted punishments still more cruel even than the stake.

Terror began to spread far and wide. The most active evangelists had been compelled to flee to a foreign land; some of the most godly were in prison; and among those in high station there were many, and perhaps Latimer was one, who seemed willing to shelter themselves under an exaggerated moderation. But just as the persecution in London had succeeded in silencing the most timid, other voices more courageous were raised in the provinces. The city of Exeter was at that time in great agitation; placards had been discovered on the gates of the cathedral containing some of the principles "of the new doctrine." While the mayor and his officers were seeking after the author of these "blasphemies," the bishop and all his doctors, "as hot as coals," says the chronicler,² were preaching in the most fiery style. On the following Sunday, during the sermon, two men who had been the busiest of all the city in searching for the author of the bills were struck by the appearance of a person seated near them. "Surely, this fellow is the heretic," they said. But their neighbour's devotion, for he did not take his eyes off his book, quite put them out: they did not perceive that he was reading the New Testament in Latin.

This man, Thomas Bennet, was indeed the

¹ Confirmed by him in the doctrine. Foxe, vol. iv. p. 681.

² Confirmed him in the doctrine. Ibid. iv. p. 68.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. v. p. 34.

⁵ His name was Robert Lamb. Ibid.

⁶ Fed with fine manchet made of sawdust, or at least a great part thereof. Ibid. iv. p. 682.

¹ Foxe, iv. p. 682.

² Ibid. v. p. 12.

offender. Being converted at Cambridge by the preaching of Bilney, whose friend he was, he had gone to Torrington for fear of the persecution, and thence to Exeter, and after marrying to avoid unchastity (as he says)¹ he became schoolmaster. Quiet, humble, courteous to every body, and somewhat timid, Bennet had lived six years in that city without his faith being discovered. At last his conscience being awakened he resolved to fasten by night to the cathedral gates certain evangelical placards. "Everybody will read the writing," he thought, "and nobody will know the writer." He did as he had proposed.

Not long after the Sunday on which he had been so nearly discovered, the priests prepared a great pageant, and made ready to pronounce against the unknown heretic the great curse "with book, bell, and candle." The cathedral was crowded, and Bennet himself was among the spectators. In the middle stood a great cross on which lighted tapers were placed, and around it were gathered all the Franciscans and Dominicans of Exeter. One of the priests having delivered a sermon on the words: *There is an accursed thing in the midst of thee, O Israel*,² the bishop drew near the cross and pronounced the curse against the offender. He took one of the tapers and said: "Let the soul of the unknown heretic, if he be dead already, be quenched this night in the pains of hell fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out;" and with that he put out the candle. Then taking off a second, he continued: "and let us pray to God, if he be yet alive, that his eyes be put out, and that all the senses of his body may fail him, as now the light of this candle is gone;" extinguishing the second candle. After this, one of the priests went up to the cross and struck it, when the noise it made in falling re-echoing along the roof so frightened the spectators that they uttered a shriek of terror, and held up their hands to heaven, as if to pray that the divine curse might not fall on them. Bennet, a witness of this comedy, could not forbear smiling. "What are you laughing at?" asked his neighbours: "here is the heretic, here is the heretic, hold him fast." This created great confusion among the crowd, some shouting, some clapping their hands, others running to and fro; but, owing to the tumult, Bennet succeeded in making his escape.

The excommunication did but increase his desire to attack the Romish superstitions; and accordingly, before five o'clock the next morning (it was in the month of October 1530), his servant-boy fastened up again by his orders on the cathedral gates some placards similar to those which had been torn down. It chanced that a citizen going to early mass saw the boy, and running up to

him, caught hold of him and pulled down the papers; and then dragging the boy with on hand, and with the placards in the other, he went to the mayor of the city. Bennet's servant was recognised; his master was immediately arrested, and put in the stocks, "with as much favour as a dog would find," say Foxe.

Exeter seemed determined to make itself the champion of sacerdotalism in England. For a whole week, not only the bishop, but all the priests and friars of the city, visited Bennet night and day. But they tried in vain to prove to him that the Roman church was the true one. "God has given me grace to be of a better church," he said.—"Do you not know that ours is built upon St Peter?"—"The church that is built upon a man," he replied, "is the devil's church and no God's." His cell was continually thronged with visitors; and, in default of arguments the most ignorant of the friars called the prisoner a heretic, and spat upon him. A length they brought to him a learned doctor of theology, who, they supposed, would infallibly convert him. "Our ways are God's ways," said the doctor gravely. But he soon discovered that theologians can do nothing against the word of the Lord. "He only is my way," replied Bennet, "who saith, *I am the way, the truth, and the life*. In his we will I walk;—his truth will I embrace;—his everlasting life will I seek."

He was condemned to be burnt; and Mor having transmitted the order *de comburend* with the utmost speed, the priests placed Bennet in the hands of the sheriff on the 15th of January 1531, by whom he was conducted to the Liverydole, a field without the city, where the stake was prepared. When Bennet arrived at the place of execution, he briefly exhorted the people, but with such unction, that the sheriff's clerk, as he heard him, exclaimed: "Truly this is a servant of God." Two persons, however, seemed unmoved: they were Thomas Carew, and John Barnehouse, both holding the station of gentlemen. Going up to the martyr, they exclaimed in a threatening voice: "Say *Preco sanctam Mariam et omnes sanctos Dei*."—"I know no other advocate but Jesus Christ," replied Bennet. Barnehouse was so enraged at these words, that he took a furze-bush upon a pike, and setting it on fire, thrust it into the martyr's face, exclaiming: "Accursed heretic, pray to our Lady, or I will make you do it."—"Alas!" replied Bennet patiently, "trouble me not;" and then holding up his hands, he prayed: "Father forgive them!" The executioners immediately set fire to the wood, and the most fanatics of the spectators, both men and women seized with an indescribable fury, tore up stakes and bushes, and whatever they could lay their hands on, and flung them all into the flames to increase their violence. Bennet, lifting up his eyes to heaven, exclaimed

¹ Ut ne scortator aut immundus quædam uxorem ducit.
Foxe, v. p. 12. ² Jeremia, vii. 31.

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"Lord, receive my spirit." Thus died, in the sixteenth century, the disciples of the Reformation sacrificed by Henry VIII.

The priests, thanks to the king's sword, began to count on victory; yet schoolmasters, musicians, tradesmen, and even ecclesiastics, were not enough for them. They wanted nobler victims, and these were to be looked for in London. More himself, accompanied by the lieutenant of the Tower,¹ searched many of the suspected houses. Few citizens were more esteemed in London than John Petiti, the same who, in the house of Commons, had so nobly resisted the king's demand about the loan. Petit was learned in history and in Latin literature: he spoke with eloquence, and for twenty years had worthily represented the city. Whenever any important affair was debated in parliament, the king feeling uneasy, was in the habit of inquiring, which side he took? This political independence, very rare in Henry's parliaments, gave umbrage to the prince and his ministers. Petit, the friend of Bilney, Ryth, and Tyndale, had been one of the first to England to taste the sweetness of God's word,² and had immediately manifested that cautious characteristic by which the gospel with makes itself known, namely, charity. He abounded in almsgiving, supported a great number of poor preachers of the gospel in his own country and beyond the seas; and whenever he noted down these generous ideas in his books, he wrote merely the words: "Lent unto Christ."³ He moreover forbade his testamentary executors to call in these debts.

Petit was tranquilly enjoying the sweets of domestic life in his modest home in the society of his wife and two daughters, Blanche and Audrey, when he received an unexpected visit. One day, as he was praying in his closet, a loud knock was heard at the street door. His wife ran to open it, but seeing Lord-chancellor More, she returned hurriedly to her husband, and told him that the lord-chancellor wanted him. More, who followed her, entered the closet, and with inquisitive eyes ran over the shelves of the library, but could find nothing suspicious. Presently he made as if he would retire, and Petit accompanied him. The chancellor stopped at the door and said to him: "You assert that you have none of these new books?"—"You have seen my library," replied Petit.—"I am informed, however," replied More, "that you not only read them, but pay for the printing." And then he added in a severe tone: "Follow the lieutenant." In spite of the tears of his wife and daughters this independent member of parliament was conducted to the Tower, and shut up in a damp dungeon where he had nothing but straw to lie upon. His wife went thither each day in vain, asking with tears permission to see him, or at least to

send him a bed; the jailers refused her everything; and it was only when Petit fell dangerously ill that the latter favour was granted him. This took place in 1530, sentence was passed in 1531:⁴ we shall see Petit again in his prison. He left it, indeed, but only to sink under the cruel treatment he had there experienced.

Thus were the witnesses to the truth struck down by the priests, by Sir Thomas More, and by Henry VIII. A new victim was to be the cause of many tears. A meek and humble man, one dear to all the friends of the gospel, and whom we may regard as the spiritual father of the Reformation in England, was on the point of mounting the burning pile raised by his persecutors. Some time prior to Petit's appearance before his judges, which took place in 1531, an unusual noise was heard in the cell above him; it was Thomas Bilney, whom they were conducting to the tower.⁵ We left him at the end of 1528 after his fall. Bilney had returned to Cambridge tormented by remorse; his friends in vain crowded round him by night and by day; they could not console him, and even the Scriptures seemed to utter no voice but that of condemnation.⁶ Fear made him tremble constantly, and he could scarcely eat or drink. At length a heavenly and unexpected light dawned in the heart of the fallen disciple; a witness whom he had vexed—the Holy Spirit—spoke once more in his heart. Bilney fell at the foot of the cross, shedding floods of tears, and there he found peace. But the more God comforted him, the greater seemed his crime. One only thought possessed him, that of giving his life for the truth. He had shrunk from before the burning pile; its flames must now consume him. Neither the weakness of his body, which his long anguish had much increased, nor the cruelty of his enemies, nor his natural timidity, nothing could stop him: he strove for the martyr's crown. At ten o'clock one night, when every person in Trinity Hall was retiring to rest, Bilney called his friends round him, reminded them of his fall, and added: "You shall see me no more.....Do not stay me: my decision is formed and I shall carry it out. My face is set to go to Jerusalem."⁷ Bilney repeated the words used by the Evangelist, when he describes Jesus going up to the city where he was to be put to death. Having shaken hands with his brethren, this venerable man, the foremost of the evangelists of England in order of time, left Cambridge under cover of the night, and proceeded to Norfolk, to confirm in the faith those who had believed, and to invite the ignorant multitude to the Saviour. We shall not follow him in this last and solemn minis-

¹ Strype, p. 312.

² Ibid. p. 312.

³ He thought that all the while the Scriptures were against him. *Lathmer's Sermons*, p. 22.

⁴ Foxe, iv. p. 622. See *Lake St. St.*

¹ Strype, i. p. 312.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. p. 314.

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try; these facts and others of the same kind belong to a later date. Before the year 1531 closed in, Bilney, Bainham, Bayfield, Tewkesbury, and many others, struck by Henry's sword, sealed by their blood the testimony rendered by them to the perfect grace of Christ.

CHAPTER XVI.

Wolsey's Terror—Impeachment by the Peers—Cromwell saves him—The Cardinal's illness—Ambition returns to him—His practices in Yorkshire—He is arrested by Northumberland—His departure—Arrival of the Constable of the Tower—Wolsey at Leicester Abbey—Persecuting language—He dies—Three Movements: Supremacy, Scripture, and Faith.

WHILE many pious Christians were languishing in the prisons of England, the great antagonist of the Reformation was disappearing from the stage of this world. We must return to Wolsey, who was still detained at Esher.¹

The cardinal, fallen from the summit of honours, was seized with those panic terrors usually felt after their disgrace by those who have made a whole nation tremble, and he fancied he saw an assassin lay hid behind every door. "This very night," he wrote to Cromwell on one occasion, "I was as one that should have died. If I might, I would not fail to come on foot to you, rather than this my speaking with you shall be put over and delayed. If the displeasure of my Lady Anne be somewhat assuaged, as I pray God the same may be, then I pray you exert all possible means of attaining her favour."²

In consequence of this, Cromwell hastened down to Esher two or three days after taking his seat in Parliament, and Wolsey, all trembling, recounted his fears to him. "Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lady Anne perhaps, desire my death." Did not Thomas à Becket, an archbishop like me, stain the altar with his blood?".....Cromwell reassured him, and, moved by the old man's fears, asked and obtained of Henry an order of protection.

Wolsey's enemies most certainly desired his death; but it was from the justice of the three estates, and not by the assassin's dagger that they sought it. The House of Peers authorized Sir Thomas More, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and fourteen other lords, to impeach the cardinal-legate of high treason. They forgot nothing: that haughty formula, *Ego et rex meus*, I and my king, which Wolsey had often employed; his infringement of the laws of the kingdom; his

monopolizing the church revenues; the crying injustice of which he had been guilty,—as for instance, in the case of Sir John Stanley, who was sent to prison until he gave up a lease to the son of a woman who had borne the cardinal two children; many families ruined to satisfy his avarice; treatise concluded with foreign powers without the king's order; his exactions, which had impoverished England; and the foul disease and infectious breath with which he had polluted his majesty's presence.¹ These were some of the forty-four grievances presented by the peers to the king, and which Henry sent down to the Lower House to their consideration.

It was at first thought that nobody in the Commons would undertake Wolsey's defence and it was generally expected that he would be given up to the vengeance of the law (the bill of impeachment prayed) or in other words, to the axe of the executioner. But one man stood up, and prepared, though alone to defend the cardinal: this was Cromwell. The members asked of each other, who that unknown man was; he soon made himself known. His knowledge of facts, his familiarity with the laws, the force of his eloquence and the moderation of his language, surprised the house. Wolsey's adversaries had hardly aimed a blow, before the defender had already parried it. If any charge was brought forward to which he could not reply, he proposed an adjournment until the next day, departed for Esher at the end of the sitting conferred with Wolsey, returned during that night, and next morning reappeared in the Commons with fresh arms. Cromwell carried the house with him; the impeachment failed and Wolsey's defender took his station among the statesmen of England. This victory, one of the greatest triumphs of parliamentary eloquence at that period, satisfied both the ambition and the gratitude of Cromwell. It was now firmly fixed in the king's favour, esteemed by the Commons, and admired by the people: circumstances which furnished him with the means of bringing to a favourable conclusion the emancipation of the church of England.

The ministry, composed of Wolsey's enemies, was annoyed at the decision of the Lower House, and appointed a commission to examine into the matter. When the cardinal was informed of this he fell into new terrors. He lost all appetite and desire of sleep,² and a fever attacked him at Christmas. "The cardinal will be dead in four days," said his physician to Henry, "if he receives no comfort shortly from you and Lady Anne."—"I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds," exclaimed the king. I desired to preserve Wolsey in case his minister's consummate ability should become

¹ Burnet and some more modern historians are, in my opinion, mistaken when they state that Wolsey was present in Parliament at the close of 1529. See State Papers, 1 pp. 347 to 354.

² Ibid. p. 351, mutilated by Sir.

³ *Timebat sibi dampnum et periculum de corpore suo per quoddam suum amicum.* Rymer, Fœdera, p. 128.

¹ Article vi. Herbert, p. 296.

² *Cum prostrationibus appetitus et continue incommode.* V. see to Gardiner, Cavendish, Appendix, p. 474.

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ury, which was by no means unlikely. gave the doctor his portrait in a ring, and, at the king's desire, added the of gold that hung at her girdle. The ed cardinal placed the presents on his id as he gazed on them he felt his h return. He was removed from his ble dwelling at Esher to the royal at Richmond, and before long he was go into the park, where every night l his breviary.

ition and hope returned with life. If g desired to destroy the papal power gland, could not the proud cardinal e it? Might not Thomas Wolsey do Henry VIII. what Thomas à Becket e under Henry II. His see of York, orance of the priests, the superstition people, the discontent of the great,—ld be of service to him; and indeed, rs later, 40,000 men were under arms ment in Yorkshire to defend the cause e. Wolsey, strong in England by the t of the nation (such at least was his), aided without by the pope and the ntal powers, might give the law to and crush the Reformation.

king having permitted him to go to Wolsey prayed for an increase to his iscopal revenues, which amounted, r, to four thousand pounds sterling.¹ granted him a thousand marks, and dinal, shortly before Easter 1530, de- with a train of 160 persons. He t it was the beginning of his tri-
1

sey took up his abode at Cawood Cas- rkshire, one of his archiepiscopal es, and strove to win the affections of ple. This prelate, once "the haugh- men," says George Cavendish, the ho knew him, and served him best, quite a pattern of affability. He n open table, distributed bounteous t his gate, said mass in the village es, went and dined with the neighbour- try, gave splendid entertainments, and o several princes imploring their help. assured that he even requested the excommunicate Henry VIII.² All hus prepared, he thought he might is solemn entry into York, prepara- his enthronization, which was fixed nday the 5th of November.

y movement of his was known at every action was canvassed, and its nce exaggerated. "We thought we ough him down," some said, "and is rising up again." Henry himself urned. "The cardinal, by his detest- ntrigues," he said, "is conspiring : my crown, and plotting both at home road;" the king even added *others* and

low.¹ Wolsey's destruction was resolved upon.

The morning after All Saints day (Friday, 2d November) the earl of Northumberland, attended by a numerous escort, arrived at Cawood, where the cardinal was still residing. He was the same Percy whose affection for Anne Boleyn had been thwarted by Wolsey; and there may have been design in Henry's choice. The cardinal eagerly moved forward to meet this unexpected guest, and impatient to know the object of his mission, took him into his bed-chamber, under the pretence of changing his travelling dress.² They both remained some time standing at a window without uttering a word: the earl looked confused and agitated, whilst Wolsey endeavoured to repress his emotion. But at last, with a strong effort, Northumberland laid his hand upon the arm of his former master, and with a low voice said: "My lord, I arrest you for high treason." The cardinal remained speechless, as if stunned. He was kept a prisoner in his room.

It is doubtful whether Wolsey was guilty of the crime with which he was charged. We may believe that he entertained the idea of some day bringing about the triumph of the popedom in England, even should it cause Henry's ruin; but perhaps this was all. But, an idea is not a conspiracy, although it may rapidly expand into one.

More than three thousand persons attracted (not by hatred, like the Londoners, when Wolsey departed from Whitehall) but by enthusiasm, collected the next day before the castle to salute the cardinal. "God save your grace," they shouted on every side, and a numerous crowd escorted him at night; some carried torches in their hands, and all made the air re-echo with their cries. The unhappy prelate was conducted to Sheffield Park, the residence of the earl of Shrewsbury. Some days after his arrival, the faithful Cavendish ran to him, exclaiming: "Good news, my lord! Sir William Kingston and twenty-four of the guard are come to escort you to his majesty."—"Kingston!" exclaimed the cardinal, turning pale, "Kingston!" and then slapping his hand on his thigh, he heaved a deep sigh. This news had crushed his mind. One day a fortune-teller, whom he consulted, had told him: *You shall have your end at Kingston*; and from that time the cardinal had carefully avoided the town of Kingston on Thames. But now he thought he understood the prophecy.....Kingston, constable of the Tower, was about to cause his death. They left Sheffield park; but fright had given Wolsey his death blow. Several times he was near falling from his mule, and on the third day, when they reached Leicester abbey, he said

¹ Così mi disse el Re, che contra de S. M. di machinava nel regno a fuori, et m'a detto dove e come. Le Grand, *Proces*, p. 225.

² And there you may shift your apparel. Cavendish, p. 247.

¹ State Papers, vol. I. p. 324.
² Hall, p. 772.

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as he entered: "Father abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you;" and immediately took to his bed. This was on Saturday the 26th of November.

On Monday morning, tormented by gloomy forebodings, Wolsey asked what was the time of day. "Past eight o'clock," replied Cavendish.—"That cannot be," said the cardinal, "eight o'clock.....No! for by eight o'clock you shall lose your master." At six on Tuesday, Kingston having come to inquire about his health, Wolsey said to him: "I shall not live long."—"Be of good cheer," rejoined the governor of the Tower.—"Alas, Master Kingston," exclaimed the cardinal, "if I had served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs!" and then he added with downcast head: "This is my just reward." What a judgment upon his own life!

On the very threshold of eternity (for he had but a few minutes more to live) the cardinal summoned up all his hatred against the Reformation, and made a last effort. The persecution was too slow to please him: "Master Kingston," he said, "attend to my last request: tell the king that I conjure him in God's name to destroy this new pernicious sect of Lutherans." And then, with astonishing presence of mind in this his last hour, Wolsey described the misfortunes which the Hussites had, in his opinion, brought upon Bohemia; and then, coming to England, he recalled the times of Wickliffe and Sir John Oldcastle. He grew animated; his dying eyes yet shot forth fiery glances. He trembled lest Henry VIII., unfaithful to the pope, should hold out his hand to the Reformers. "Master Kingston," said he, in conclusion, "the king should know that if he tolerates heresy, God will take away his power, and we shall then have mischief upon mischief.....barrenness, scarcity, and disorder to the utter destruction of this realm."

Wolsey was exhausted by the effort; after a momentary silence, he resumed with a dying voice: "Master Kingston, farewell! My time draweth on fast. Forget not what I have said and charged you withal; for when I am dead ye shall peradventure understand my words better." It was with difficulty he uttered these words; his tongue began to falter, his eyes became fixed, his sight failed him; he breathed his last. At the same minute the clock struck eight, and the attendants standing round his bed looked at each other in affright. It was the 29th of November, 1530.

Thus died the man once so much feared. Power had been his idol: to obtain it in the state, he had sacrificed the liberties of England; and to win it or to preserve it in the church, he had fought against the Reformation. If he encouraged the nobility in the luxuries and pleasures of life, it was only to render them more supple and more servile;

if he supported learning, it was only that might have a clergy fitted to keep the in their leading-strings. Ambitious, intriguing, and impure of life, he had been as anxious for the sacerdotal prerogative as austere Becket; and by a singular contrast a shirt of hair was found on the body of voluptuous man. The aim of his life had been to raise the papal power higher than had ever been before, at the very moment when the Reformation was attempting to bring it down; and to take his seat on pontifical throne with more than the authority of a Hildebrand. Wolsey, as pope, would have been the man of his age, and in political world he would have done for Roman primacy what the celebrated Leo did for it soon after by his fanaticism. Oblivious to renounce this idea, worthy only of middle ages, he had desired at least to restore the pope's power in his own country; but again he had failed. The pilot who had steered England at the helm of the Romish church was thrown overboard, and the ship, left itself, was about to founder. And yet, ere in death, he did not lose his courage. The last throbs of his heart had called for victory; the last words from his failing lips, the message to his master, his last testament been.....Persecution. This testament to be only too faithfully executed.

The epoch of the fall and death of cardinal Wolsey, which is the point at which we are now, was not only important, because it ended the life of a man who had presided over the destinies of England, and had endeavoured to grasp the sceptre of the world; but it had an especial consequence, because then the great movements were accomplished, from which the great transformation of the sixteenth century was to proceed. Each of these movements has its characteristic result.

The first is represented by Cromwell. The supremacy of the pope in England was about to be wrested from him, as it was in all reformed churches. But a step further taken in England. That supremacy was transferred to the person of the king. Wolsey had exercised as vicar-general a power till then unknown. Unable to become pope at the Vatican, he had made himself pope at Whitehall. Henry had permitted the minister to raise this hierarchical edifice by the side of his own. But he had soon discovered that there ought not to be two thrones in England, or at least not two. He had dethroned Wolsey; and resolutely seating himself in his place, he was about to assume at Whitehall that tiara which his ambitious prelate had prepared for him. Some persons, when they saw this, claimed, that if the papal supremacy was abolished, that of the word of God ought to be substituted. And, indeed, the Reformation is not to be found in this movement.

The second, which was essential to the renewal of the church, was represented by Cranmer, and consisted particularly in re-establishing the authority of holy Scripture. Wolsey did not fall alone, nor did Cranmer rise alone: each of these two men carried with him the systems he represented. The fabric of Roman traditions fell with the first; the foundations of the holy Scriptures were laid by the second; and yet, while we render all justice to the sincerity of the Cambridge doctor, we must not be blind to his weaknesses, his subserviency, and even a certain degree of negligence, which, by allowing parasite plants to shoot up here and there, permitted them to spread over the living rock of God's word. Not in this movement, then, was found the Reformation with all its energy and all its purity.

The third movement was represented by the martyrs. When the church takes a new life, it is fertilized by the blood of its confessors: and being continually exposed to corruption, it has constant need to be purified by suffering.¹ Not in the palaces of Henry VIII., nor even in the councils where the

question of throwing off the papal supremacy was discussed, must we look for the true children of the Reformation; we must go to the Tower of London, to the Lollards' towers of St Paul's and of Lambeth, to the other prisons of England, to the bishops' cellars, to the fetters, the stocks, the rack, and the stake. The godly men who invoked the sole intercession of Christ Jesus, the only head of his people, who wandered up and down, deprived of everything, gagged, scoffed at, scourged, and tortured, and who, in the midst of all their tribulations, preserved their Christian patience, and turned, like their Master, the eyes of their faith towards Jerusalem:—these were the disciples of the Reformation in England. The purest church is the church under the cross.

The father of this church in England was not Henry VIII. When the king cast into prison or gave to the flames men like Hitton, Bennet, Patmore, Petit, Bayfield, Bilney, and so many others, he was not "the father of the Reformation of England," as some have so falsely asserted; he was its executioner.

The church of England was foredoomed to be in its renovation a church of martyrs; and the true father of this church is our Father which is in heaven.

¹ 1 Peter iv. 17.—*Pierumque ecclesia est coetus exiguus sustinens varias et ingentes erumnas.* Melancthon, *Loc.*



